

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF TELUGU

HCC NO 181

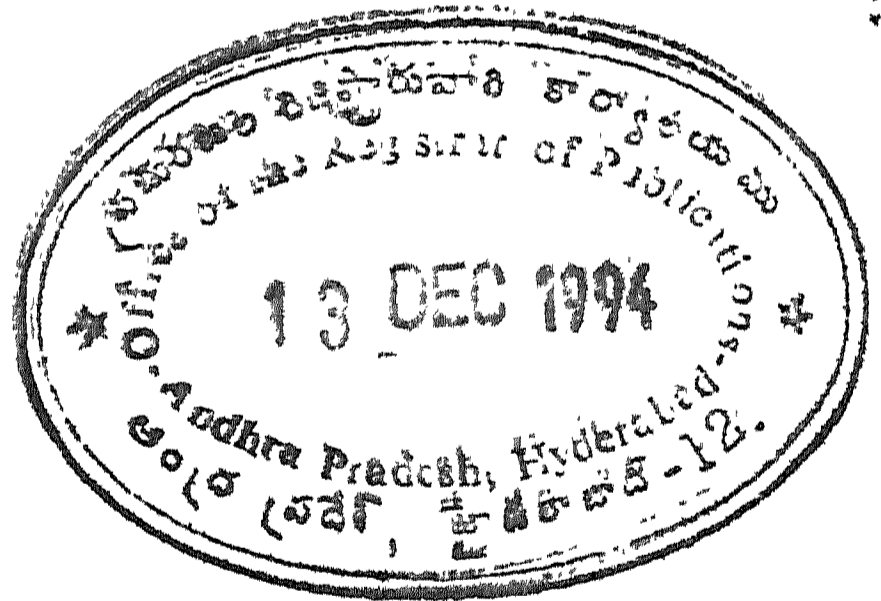
HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF TELUGU

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO OLD TELUGU

c. 200 B.C. — 1000 A.D.

KORADA MAHADEVA SASTRI

217/RAP



SRI VENKATESWARA UNIVERSITY
POST-GRADUATE CENTRE
ANANTAPUR (Andhra Pradesh)

1969

Copies can be had from

The Registrar, Sri Venkateswara University
Tirupati

Price Rs. ~~301~~-0 00

To
The Memory
of My Father

“siddhir lōkād dr̥śyā lōkō ‘nanyādr̥śāśca nityāśca
saṁskārārthō niyamō ‘niyamād grāmyam hi yattvapabhramśah”

“śāstra-prayōga-vacasōḥ śāstram balavad-ucyatē
aniṣpannē padē tēna prayōgāśrayaṇam hitam”

“śiṣṭānām uktau sūtrāṇām abhāvē anuśāsanakārā ēva daṇḍanīyāḥ”

FOREWORD

BY

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Emeritus Professor of Comparative Philology,
University of Calcutta;
Ex-Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council;
National Professor of India in Humanities;
President, Sahitya Akademi

The present monograph unquestionably forms an important contribution to our serious study of Telugu linguistics in particular and of Dravidian in general. In order to arrive at a full and authentic study of the evolution of the Dravidian speech in India, there must be, as a basic preliminary, a series of detailed descriptive studies of all the Dravidian languages and dialects—or at least of the more important among them, important linguistically. Then after that there should be another series of historical grammars of these languages, the diachronistic treatment going parallelly with the synchronistic. The Indian scholars who speak the various Dravidian languages have now become quite alive to the importance of Dravidian studies. For a long number of decades, after his pioneer work of Robert Caldwell on the Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages of South India first appeared in 1854, Indian scholars were not so very much interested in Dravidian Linguistics particularly, although there were very erudite scholars of their mother-tongues among Tamilian, Keralan, Kannadiga and Andhra people. An eminent scholar of Sanskrit and Tamil like V. Swaminatha Aiyar virtually brought about a revolution in Dravidian Studies by giving through his critical editions nearly the entire mass of the oldest literature in any Dravidian language—the Sangam literature of Tamil, and that was over half a century ago. One by one Dravidian scholars began to make their appearance and take up seriously the histories of their mother-tongues. We have for example K. V. Subbayya, whose first essays on the historical grammar of Dravidian appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1909. There were here and there isolated scholars like K. Amritha Rao, and there were scholars of the old type like K. Narasimhacharya for Kannada. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar of Ernakulam had to his credit a great deal of very important

work, but his career was cut short very early. We should also mention that veteran scholar of Sanskrit and Tamil Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, whose valuable contributions on Tamil grammar are well-known.

But particularly after our Independence a tremendous amount of interest was felt in Indian languages, and a veritable Renaissance of Indian Linguistics made its appearance. Young scholars of Dravidian now came forward and some very important results were arrived at. There are a good number of brilliant scholars for Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada, and for Telugu we have to mention in the first instance Prof. Bh. Krishnamurti. The writer of the present monograph Prof. Dr. K. Mahadeva Sastri is an old pupil of mine, and he studied in Calcutta after taking his degrees in Madras University. I was privileged to know him during his student days with us. His father the late Professor K. Ramakrishnayya was also an erudite scholar of Dravidian Philology, and his very useful book on "Dravidian Cognates" is well-known. Dr. Mahadeva Sastri knows also Hindi and other South Indian languages, and of course Sanskrit, and Telugu is his mother-tongue in which he has done quite a good deal of serious linguistic work. There are two very fine studies of Kannada inscriptions, discussed with regard to their linguistic developments—one on Old Kannada and the other on Middle Kannada. Prof. Mahadeva Sastri has given us a comprehensive study of all Old Telugu and Middle Telugu Inscriptions beginning with the oldest inscription dating from the 6th century A.D. He has given a very good and very useful selection of inscriptions which furnish a valuable corpus of Old and Early Telugu Texts from contemporary documents. The inscriptions from 6th century to the 10th century number near about 100. He has taken up the story of the development of Telugu, as in these old inscriptions right down to modern Telugu times.

This is a careful bit of work, and it is quite well documented; and while the literary language was having its own line of development as a cultivated speech coming tremendously under the influence of Sanskrit and benefiting as well as suffering from the Sanskrit scholarship of the poets and other writers, the inscriptions give, as contemporary documents, more or less a precise picture of the language as it was used for the understanding of the common masses. Naturally there are colloquialisms and un-

FOREWORD

iii

orthodox developments which are always condemned by the orthodox scholars. But these have their very great importance in understanding the development of the actual living language as it is used by the people in their daily avocations.

One can easily judge the value of such a work, and I am sure specialists in Telugu and in Dravidian also will find Prof. Mahadeva Sastri's work exceedingly helpful. I wish him greater and greater success in the line of work in which he is specialising, and I trust he will have his own important place in the history of Dravidian studies.

Calcutta

August 11, 1969.

(Sd.) SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

T. BURROW

Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford

The literary history of the Telugu language begins in the eleventh century A.D. with the work of Nannaya, who not only inaugurated a period of rich productivity in the native medium, but also standardised the literary language in a form that was to last until modern times. It cannot be known for certain whether before this period Telugu was used for literary purposes, but if it was all trace of such productions has disappeared. On the other hand written Telugu had been used for some four centuries before Nannaya for the purpose of engraving inscriptions and during the course of the present century an increasing number of these have come to be known, as a result of which a new chapter in the history of the Telugu language can now be written. This forms the main theme of Mr. Mahadeva Sastri's though he has added to it an outline of the major developments of the language in its later periods.

Of the hundred inscriptions which are here presented the earliest date from the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. Before this only Prakrit or Sanskrit inscriptions are available. Prakrit was the language used by the Andhra dynasty and partly by its successors, though these latter turned increasingly to Sanskrit. These were northern invaders of the Telugu country, even though the Andhras gave their name to the country and its language, and they were able to maintain their own Aryan language for some time. By the end of the sixth century, however, it had been ousted as a spoken language by the native Telugu, and it is at this period that inscriptions in the latter language begin to be engraved. At the same time we are not entirely without information about the Telugu of the preceding period, because in Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions which are available from the preceding half millennium in this area, there occur names of places and names of persons containing Telugu linguistic elements. Though small in quantity this material is valuable, since it shows that back as far as the beginning of the Christian era the Telugu language existed with its own individuality, and distinct from the neighbouring Dravidian languages.

When exactly Telugu became characterised as an independent speech is not easy to say, but it will certainly not be later than the sixth century B.C. which has been tentatively suggested. (p. 4).

The early Telugu inscriptions are of great linguistic interest since certain phonetic changes which characterise literary Telugu had not yet taken place. These are the change of $-ṇ-$ and $-ḷ-$ to $-n-$ and $-l-$, the change of $-nr-$ to $-ṇḍ-$ and the change of $-ḷ-$ to $-ḍ-$. In all these cases the early inscriptions preserve the primitive Dravidian sounds, and the gradual emergence of the standard Telugu forms can be traced in the later pre-Nannaya inscriptions. These differences are of sufficient importance to establish a distinct earlier stage of the language, Old Telugu, represented in the early inscriptions, as opposed to the standard literary dialect, which by contrast has to be known as Middle Telugu. Thus one whole stage of the language is represented only by inscriptions.

Since the phonetic changes referred to above have resulted in the confusion of certain phonemes originally distinct (namely $-ṇ-$ and $-n-$, $-ḷ-$ and $-l-$, $-nr-$ and $-ṇḍ-$) the evidence of the inscriptions, where available, is obviously of great value for etymological purposes, since the inscriptions directly attest the original sound. Thus in DED Supplement 1093 attention was drawn to the fact that the OTe. forms of the verb *kalugu* sometimes show forms with $-ḷ-$. Although this may be a case of reverse spelling the possibility that the form is genuine has to be taken into account. Conversely the etymology given in DED 1517 for Te. *kolucu* assumed that in this word $-l-$ was for earlier $-ḷ-$. This is not borne out by the inscriptions, which show invariably $-ḷ-$, and their evidence should probably be regarded as conclusive on this point. An interesting case is presented by the form *ēḷucunri* in inscription 14, 9. One way of explaining it is to assume that it is a reverse spelling, but this presents difficulty in such an early inscription. Alternatively it can be treated as genuine, and in that case the Te. verb *unḍu* would have to be connected with the items in DED 623, and not, as at present, with those in DED 599.

Inscriptions are valuable inasmuch as they often give a better picture of linguistic development than literary texts which follow a strict norm. As a result of this the main lines of the development of the Telugu language between 600 and 1000 A.D. can be adequately followed in spite of the paucity of the material.

It can be shown that by the end of this period the language had reached the state which was established as the standard by Nannaya. After this period there was a successful attempt to preserve this standard. As a result such developments as were taking place are not normally reflected in the literature, but some idea can be formed about them from the later inscriptions, from statements of the grammarians as to what forms should be avoided as vulgar, and to some extent from certain authors who were less strict in the observance of classical usage. All this material is examined and evaluated by the author, and he has shown how an essentially modern form of Telugu had evolved as the spoken language by the beginning of the seventeenth century, even though it had to wait till modern times before being generally adopted for literary purposes. In the course of his work Dr. Mahadeva Sastri has provided a survey of the entire historical development of the Telugu language from the earliest times to the present day, based on a wide selection of the available material. Students of Comparative Dravidian as well as students of Telugu will be indebted to him.

Oxford

August 8, 1969.

(Sd.) T. BURROW

SUKUMAR SEN

Retired Khaira Professor and Head of the Department of
Comparative Philology, Calcutta University

Dr. K. Mahadeva Sastri's *Historical Grammar of Old Telugu* is one of the most significant of Linguistics works published in recent times in India. It will no doubt be immensely helpful to the workers in the field, but the serious students of Indo-Aryan Linguistics also will receive much benefit. I note here my personal gratification in the fact that Dr. Sastri's grammar is the first systematic contribution to Dravidian Linguistics by a student of the Department of Comparative Philology at the University of Calcutta. The author's equipment as an Indian Linguistician is well balanced: he is equally at home in the two main branches of linguistic study in India—Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. The work bears the stamp of mature scholarship. I congratulate Dr. Sastri for producing such a neat work.

Calcutta

July 30, 1969.

(Sd.) SUKUMAR SEN

P R E F A C E

The first systematic study of pre-literary Telugu was made by the late Korada Ramakrishnaiya in a series of papers published in the Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati (Vol. XII-XV, 1952-'54). The present thesis is in the nature of a carry-forward of the same study taking into account all the source material since available. The scope is also more ambitious in trying to picture the development of the Language in its later phases.

The thesis was approved for the D.Litt. degree of the University of Calcutta in 1961. It is now revised and enlarged with more factual data drawn from both inscriptional and literary records. The publication of concordances for the classics, Nannaya's Mahabharata and Nannechoda's Kumarasambhava by the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi has been of great help in arriving at definitive conclusions (within the limits imposed by variations of readings in critical contexts) in respect of the usage of these early poets. This analysis and spelling out of the classical usage has served as a kind of a standard with which to compare pre-literary Telugu on the one hand, and on the other, to measure the deviations in contemporary colloquial usage discernable in inscriptional writings, and the linguistic change that set in the successive ages.

The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau and *The Telugu Verbal Bases* by Bh. Krishnamurti have been extremely useful for the etymological data and comparative evidence they provide. I have also profited from consulting two important (unpublished) theses written in recent years, *A Comparative Study of the Telugu Verb* by P. S. Subrahmanyam (Annamalainagar, 1963) and *Middle Indo-Aryan Loanwords in Telugu* by T. Donappa (Waltair, 1964). My thanks are due to these scholars for lending me copies of their thesis.

The Historical Grammars of the other literary Dravidian languages in their older stages, so far published, by A. N. Narasimhaiah, G. S. Gai and A. C. Sekhar have served as models for my study of Old Telugu. I have also been able to look into the unpublished thesis of K. Kanapati Pillai, *A Grammar of the Tamil*

Inscriptions of the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D. kindly lent by him. S. K. Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* has been a useful model in giving the total picture of a modern Indian language in a historical setting.

As regards the sources for Old Telugu, it must be pointed out that not all the published sources have the same dependability for linguistic purposes. The readings of epigraphical records published in *Nellore Inscriptions* (Volumes I—III by Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty) are, for instance, admittedly incorrect and misleading. A number of Old Telugu inscriptions are contained in Volume X of *South Indian Inscriptions* (Archaeological Survey of India, 1948) and even this volume has been badly edited and cannot be regarded as reliable for linguistic purposes. All this imposes a limitation on the usable data. The texts from these volumes then, unless otherwise checked, are made out in a separate list and are used as corroborative rather than as primary evidence in working out the grammar of Old Telugu.

The late M. Somasekhara Sarma obliged me by giving his readings for some of the epigraphs published in the *Nellore Inscriptions*. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya gave me a fuller version of the Koravi Inscription recently discovered by him in one of his field tours and I am thankful to him for this important text of the tenth century. The Government Epigraphist for India, Dr. G. S. Gai accorded me facilities to consult the estampages and transcripts of unpublished Old Telugu Inscriptions in his office, as also the press-copy of Vol. XVI of *South Indian Inscriptions* containing the Vijayanagara Inscriptions, now under print. I have made note of forms of special interest in these and referred to them in their proper place in the thesis. I express my sincere thanks to Dr. Gai for this courtesy which has given a fulness to my study of Old Telugu.

Lastly, I express my profound gratitude to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji who guided my research work and gave me valuable suggestions from time to time. It was my privilege to study comparative Philology at the feet of the great masters of the subject, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Sukumar Sen and the late Dr. Ksitish Chandra Chatterji in Calcutta University. I am very much indebted to Dr. Sukumar Sen for his constant encouragement and advice and his affection towards me. The late Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai who was local Director of my research

work at the University of Madras was helpful with many a fruitful and invigorating discussion. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, now Vice-chancellor, Madurai University, took a kindly interest in my work while I was working at Annamalai University and to him my grateful thanks are due.

The study was undertaken with a Government of India Humanities Research Scholarship in 1954. Calcutta, Madras and Annamalai Universities gave the requisite facilities for my research. The University Grants Commission sanctioned funds for the publication of the thesis through Sri Venkateswara University. I take this opportunity of expressing my thankfulness to all these authorities for the help I received at different stages of the work.

I am extremely grateful to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Sukumar Sen and T. Burrow who wrote a foreword to the work.

Thanks are due to G. S. Press for the able and neat printing of this difficult material.

There has been in the modern age an awareness of the proper role of grammar. "Grammar is not a fixed unchanging scheme but a body of rules deduced from usage; as usage changes so must grammar change". It is hoped that the present work will contribute to a rational understanding of the changing course of the linguistic usage and serve as a road-chart for future workers on *Samagr-Āndhra-Vyākaraṇam*.

Anantapur

August 14, 1969.

K.M.S.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD BY

Suniti Kumar Chatterji	..	i
T. Burrow	..	iv
Sukumār Sen	..	vii

PREFACE

.. ix

Part I—GRAMMAR

CHAPTERS :

I Introduction	..	1
II Orthography	..	20
III Telugu Language during the Age of the Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, 2 c. B.C. to 6th c. A.D.	..	23
IV Phonology	..	37
V Sandhi	..	76
VI Morphology	..	96
VII Syntax	..	264
VIII Summary of conclusions	..	272

Part II—TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AND WORD INDEX

Orthographical errors	..	277
Text of Inscriptions	..	282
Word-Index	..	347
Appendix 1—Proper names	..	399
Telugu vocables in the Sanskrit Inscriptions during 6th—10th c. A.D.	..	402
Addenda and corrigenda	..	413
Select Bibliography	..	417
Abbreviations	..	422
Appendix 2—A rapid Survey of Telugu and other South Indian literature	..	423

PART I

GRAMMAR

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This work is an attempt at writing a Historical Grammar of Old Telugu (200 B.C. — 1000 A.D.) and of presenting, in broad outline, the development of grammatical forms in the language from 1000 A.D. upto the modern period.

The history of the Telugu language begins with the opening of the Christian era when we find certain Telugu words in the Prakrit inscriptions of the Andhra ruling dynasties — the Śāta-vāhana rulers and their successors in the Telugu country. They consist mostly of names of villages gifted or their boundaries. Telugu forms occur in greater number in the Sanskrit inscriptions from about the middle of the 4th c. A.D. and give us a glimpse of the language in the first half of the first millennium A.D.

The form *vijayarājya samvassarambuḷ* (for — *samvatsarambuḷ*) in the Cikkulla plates in the first quarter of the 6th c., with the neuter and plural inflections is a precious one, and heralds as it were, the Telugu language in connected sentences later in the century. Some of the Rēnāṭi Cōla inscriptions and the Bhairavakonda inscriptions are ascribed to the 6th c. A.D. on paleographic grounds. Thence for four centuries, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th, all our evidence of the language is contained in epigraphical records. Nannaya's Mahabharata, the earliest extant literary work belongs to the 11th c. A.D. It marks a definite stage in the history of the development of the Telugu language as in Telugu literature. So we may designate the period from 200 B.C. to 1000 A.D. as that of Old Telugu, and mark out the first 700 years (200 B.C. — 500 A.D.) as the age of the Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions, and the next 500 years (500-1000 A.D.) as the age of the Telugu inscriptions. In this work I have attempted to write a Historical Grammar of Old Telugu based on all the available material for the age of the Prakrit-Sanskrit inscriptions and fifty selected records for the age of the Telugu inscriptions.

For tracing the gradual changes in the language from the time of Nannaya we have materials of various kinds: classical

literature, grammars describing the literary dialect, popular literature and inscriptions. Authors of popular literature exercised enough freedom to express their thoughts in the living language of their times while 'the older the better' had been the ideal of the poets of classical literature. It appears that until about the 14th c. there was not much difference between the literary and the spoken language. Poets like Nannicōḍa, Pāḷkuriki Sōmanādhā, Tikkana and Kētana used forms that were actually current in their times, though the forms did not conform to the usage of Nannaya. The cleavage between the literary and the spoken dialects began to set in some time after the completion of the Bharata by the Kavitraya (Nannaya 11th c., Tikkana 13th c. and Errāpregaḍa 14th c.) when the followers of the Nannaya tradition established the language of the Bharata as the standard literary expression. Compare Kavirākṣasa's injunction quoted by Appakavi that no poet should swerve from the standard laid down by Nannaya in the three cantos of his Mahabharata. (Appakavīyamu, introduction, Verses 46-47).

The classical model of the Kavitraya in Telugu is called the *mārga*. And the model of the poets like Nannicōḍa and Pāḷkuriki Sōmanādhā of the Śaiva school who tried to keep up in a way the indigenous tradition in language and style is called the *dēśi*. The *mārga* is the orthodox, the *dēśi* is the popular. The *Dēśi* poets did not have the royal patronage except during the Age of the Southern Literature, (17-18th c.); they were completely ignored by the later *lākṣhaṇikas* and poets of the orthodox school who refrained from making any reference to them though some of them did not hesitate to borrow ideas from their works.

The spoken language, however, went on changing its own way. From the point of view of linguistic development the period 1000-1600 A.D. may be called that of Middle Telugu. The early features of the language of this period are best represented during 1000-1200. The turn of the 13th c. witnessed the development of many new tendencies in the language that ultimately gave rise to typically New Telugu forms.

Everywhere the literary language tends to be conservative and moves on slowly while the spoken language changes much more rapidly, for the reason that each poet tries to keep close to

the language of the older poets, to a greater or lesser extent. But at the same time he cannot avoid using the language of his own times to some extent. Thus even in the Prabandhas of the mār̥ga school, for instance, the spoken forms of that age have made their way. The extent and variety of the spoken forms, *alākṣaṇika prayōgas* as they are called, in later classical literature may be seen from *Bālakaviśaranyamu* by G. V. Ramamurthy Pantulu, leader of the Modern Telugu Movement which advocated the use of the Spoken language as the vehicle of literary expression.

The spoken language of the succeeding generations from the time of Nannaya has not been completely recorded for us anywhere. We have to piece together information available from various sources like the inscriptions, popular literature, prose works which are outside the classical tradition etc. A careful study of these sources indicates that the spoken language has been continually changing and that the changes first make their appearance in inscriptions containing announcements to be easily understood by the people in the country and in prose literature, next, though to a small extent in classical poetry and last in the later grammars. The development of the language, then has to be treated along parallel lines — the grammarians' views and usage in classical literature on the one hand and such colloquialisms and dialectal deviations as could be seen from inscriptions and popular literature on the other. The sum total of it all would give the normal line of development of the language.

The first prose work and that written in a purely spoken form of the language is *Rāyavācakamu* in the 16th c. The language of this work comes very close to New Telugu. The examples quoted by Appakavi for *grāmūa*, in the verse, *nastādā Hari sommulu testādā* . . . (*Appakaviyamū* 1-227) are typically New Telugu forms. The works written during the age of Southern Literature—the age of the Naik kings of Tanjore and Madura—contain, particularly in the *yaksagānas*, specimens of contemporary speech which have to be regarded as New Telugu. The New Telugu period may therefore be said to begin from about the 17th c. and this stage is still current. This is in consonance with what we see in the development of many other Indian languages, namely that the current or modern stage of the language has been arrived at about two to three hundred years ago from now.

We do not know when exactly Telugu became characterised as an independent speech. But from available evidence it appears that this may not be more recent than about the 6th c. B.C. (cf. S. K. Chatterjee, *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-12, and Kamil Zvelebil, *R. P. Sethu Pillai Commemoration volume*, Madras, 1961).

The periodisation of Telugu may then be shown as follows: Pre-historic Telugu c. 600-200 B.C., Old Telugu 200 B.C.-1000 A.D., Middle Telugu 1000-1600 A.D., and New Telugu 1600 A.D. onwards.

THE MATERIALS

Old Telugu:

No evidence of the Telugu language prior to the 2nd c. B.C. has so far been available.

From the 2nd c. B.C. stray Telugu words occur in the Prakrit and Sanskrit inscrr. which, while establishing that Telugu language was current among the people reveal something of the characteristic features for their age.

From the 6th c. A.D. we get specimens of Telugu language in connected sentences as there are inscrr. written entirely in Telugu; about a hundred of them have been published so far. Of these fifty inscrr. are selected for the study of old Telugu on the basis of the dates they contain or other historical information, or ascribed to particular centuries on the basis of paleography by epigraphists. The rest of them which are not referable to particular centuries but known to belong to the Pre-Nannaya age on historical or paleographic evidence, or in which the readings are doubtful, are grouped in a separate list and utilised for the most part only to lend supportive evidence for the conclusions drawn from the first fifty inscrr. Linguistically they show the features of OT. The inscriptions are selected on the authority of the epigraphists. In a few places I have given my own interpretation of the texts in which case the translations given will be found to differ from the published sources.

Middle Telugu:

Middle Telugu is primarily represented by (1) the *Mahabharata* of the Kavitraya and other works of that tradition, (2) the

works of the Śaiva poets like Pāḷkurki Sōmanādhā and others of the Dēśi school which made use of the spoken forms in greater number and variety, and (3) the numerous inscrr. of this period which are the major source for understanding the development of the living language. In the present study the description of the literary language given by the traditional grammarians is made use of and the historical developments are gleaned from a comparative study of the grammars in chronological sequence. Inscriptional sources have no doubt been made to yield much useful information. The aim has been to correlate the data from both the literary and the inscriptional sources and present a connected account of the development of grammatical forms. In this, the critical introductions to old texts, and other philological studies such as those published by K. Ramakrishnaiya, C. Narayana Rao and V. Prabhakara Sastri have been of much help. A general survey of the traditional grammars in Telugu is appended.

New Telugu:

For New Telugu there is a plethora of material. While inscrr. dwindle in number after the 17th century there are writings of different kinds which reflect the contemporary speech more or less faithfully: Yakṣagānas, prose works, Kaifiyats, Court documents, etc. The scope of the present study, however, is limited; it does not go beyond a linking up of the forms of NT. from the MT. stage.

It must be borne in mind that due to the influence of the classical tradition the old literary language continued with the scholars throughout. It was only since the forties of the present century that Modern Telugu came to be widely adopted — by the newspapers and magazines and by writers imbued with a new spirit.

The forms given for modern Telugu are from the author's own dialect—that of the Godavary region, and may be taken to represent the forms of Standard Telugu. Substandard and dialectal variations are not dealt with or if at all touched upon in passing. In this work the term Modern Telugu is used with reference to the spoken language of the present day, as against NT. which may at the same time refer to the language of some centuries earlier.

A general account of the Telugu language as seen from the outside is given below. The characteristic features of OT. as revealed by the present study are given in a separate chapter at the end.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS SELECTED FOR THE STUDY OF OLD TELUGU

(The asterisk before the Number indicates that plate is not available)

Ser. No.	Name of the inscription	Source	Date	Place	Dynasty
<i>7th century</i>					
1.	Kalamalla inscr. of Erikal Muturāju Dhanainjaya	El. XXVII, pp. 221-225	Last quarter of 6th c. A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Rēnāti Cōḷa
2.	Erragudipadu inscr. of Erikal Muturāju	El. XXVII, pp. 225-228	"	"	"
*3.	Bhairavakonda cave inscr.	SII. X. No. 47	6th c. A.D.	Nellore Dist.	Misc.
*4.	"	SII. X. No. 54	"	"	"
*5.	"	SII. X. No. 56	"	"	"
6.	Uruturu inscr. of Cōḷa Mahārāja	El. XXVII, pp. 228-229	First quarter of 7th c. A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Rēnāti Cōḷa
7.	Indukuru inscr. of Cōḷa Mahārāja	El. XXVII, pp. 229-230	"	"	"
*8.	Veludurti inscr. of Erikal Muturāju Puṇyakumāra	El. XXVII, pp. 230-231	"	"	"
9.	Potladurti inscr. of Cōḷa Mahārāja	G. V. R. Comm. Vol., pp. 301-310	"	"	"
*10.	Vipparla inscr. of Jayasimhavallabha I	SII. VI. Nos. 584, 585	649 A.D.	Guntur Dist.	E. Cāḷukya
11.	Macherla inscr. of Jayasimhavallabha I	Bharati, Vol. 23, pp. 182-186	"	"	"
12.	Tippaluru inscr. Erikal Muturāju Puṇyakumāra	El. XXVII, pp. 231-233	First half of 7th c. A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Rēnāti Cōḷa
13.	Ramesvaram Pillar inscr. of Puṇyakumāra Cōḷa Mahārāja	El. XXVII, pp. 234-236	"	"	"

14. Malepadu Plates of Satyāditya	El. XI pp. 337-346	Middle of 7th c. A.D.	"	"
15. Annavaram inscr. of Vikramāditya	ARE. 1933-34 p. 29	655-681 A.D.	Nellore Dist.	W. Cālukya
16. Nalajanampadu inscr. of Paramēśvara Pallava	El. XXVII, pp. 203-206	670-680 A.D.	"	Pallava
*17. Telugu portion at the end of a Skt. inscr. of Viṣṇuvardhana II	Andhra Patrika Annudā, 1941-42 p. 15	673-681 A.D.	—	E. Cālukya
18. Turimella inscr. of Vikramāditya I	El. XXIX, pp. 160-164	657 A.D.	Kurnool Dist.	W. Cālukya
*19. Dimmagudi inscr. of Vikramāditya I	SII. X. No. 24	681 A.D.	Anantapur Dist.	"
20. Lakshmipuram inscr. of Magi Dogarāju	Bhāratī, Vol. 5, pp. 935-946	Second half of 7th c.	Kistna Dist.	E. Cālukya
21. Bodanampadu inscr.	ARE. 1933-34, p. 41	7th c. A.D.	Nellore Dist.	Misc.
<i>8th century</i>				
*22. Chilamakuru inscr. of Vikramāditya Cōla Mahārāja II	El. XXVII, pp. 236-238	Beginning of 8th c. A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Rēnāṭi Cōla
*23. Nallacheruvupalle inscr. of Vikramāditya Cōla Mahārāja II	El. XXVII, pp. 238-240	"	"	"
24. Veludurti inscr. of Uttamāditya Cōla Mahārāja	El. XXVII, pp. 240-242	Second quarter of 8th c. A.D.	"	"
25. Ahadanakara copper plate inscr. of Viṣṇuvardhana III	Bhāratī, Vol. V, Pt. 2, pp. 96-110.	719-755 A.D.	—	E. Cālukya
26. Tippaluru inscr. of Vikramāditya II	El. XXX, pp. 12-17	734 A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	W. Cālukya
27. Kapilesvarapuram inscr. of Vijayāditya	JSVOL, Vol. V. No. 2, pp. 41-52	740 A.D.	Kistna Dist.	E. Cālukya

<i>Ser. No.</i>	<i>Name of the inscription</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>
28.	Chamaluru inscr. of Prithivīvallabha Vijayāditya Cōla	EL. XXVII, pp. 242-244	750 A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Rēnāṭi Cōla
29.	Budidigaddepalle inscr. of Mahēndra II	EL. XXVII, pp. 244-246	Second half of 8th c. A.D.	Anantapur Dist.	"
30.	Arakatavemula inscr.	JTA. Vol. 24, pp. 158-162	8th c. A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Misc.
31.	An inscr. in the Vishnu temple at Arakatavemula	"	"	"	Bāṇa
*32.	An inscr. of Baṇḍaya	Reading of M.S. Sarma	8th c. A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Misc.
*33.	"	"	"	"	"
<i>9th century</i>					
34.	An inscr. in the Veerabhadraswami temple at Kandukur	NI. Vol. II, pp. 606-607 (Reading of M. S. Sarma)	First half of 9th c. A.D.	Nellore Dist.	E. Cālukya
35.	Addanki inscr. of Pāṇḍuranga	EL. XIX, pp. 271-275	848 A.D.	Guntur Dist.	"
36.	An inscr. of Pāṇḍuranga at Kandukur	NI. Vol. II, p. 544 (Reading of M. S. Sarma)	848-892 A.D.	Nellore Dist.	"
37.	Dharmavaram inscr. of the time of Vijayāditya III	Bhārati, Vol. V. pp. 613-620	848-892 A.D.	"	"
38.	Bezwada inscr. of Yuddhamalla	EL. XV, pp. 150-159,	890 A.D.	Kistna Dist.	"

39. Dharmavaram inscr. of Cālukya Bhīma I	Bharati Vol. V, pp. 613-620	892-922 A.D.	Nellore Dist.	E. Cālukya
40. Veligallu inscr. of Vaidumba Gaṇḍa Triṇētra	El. XXIV, pp. 183-193	9th c. A.D.	Chittoor Dist.	Vaidumba
41. Peddatippasamudram inscr. of Gaṇḍa Triṇētra	El. XXIV, pp. 183-193	"	"	"
42. An inscr. found near the Śiva temple at Peddamudiyam	JTA. Vol. 24, pp. 158-162	9th c. A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Misc.
43. "	"	"	"	"
<i>10th century</i>				
*44. Koravi inscr. of Cālukya Bhīma I	TL pp. 163-165 (Reading of C. R. Krishnama-charyulu)	892-922 A.D.	Warangal Dist.	E. Cālukya
45. An inscr. of Viṣṇuvardhana VI on the Indrakila hill at Bezwada	JTA. Vol. 7, pp. 227-231	909 A.D.	Kistna Dist.	"
46. Telugu portion at the end of a Skt. inscr. of Amma II	El. VII, p. 189	945-970 A.D.	W. Godavary Dist.	"
47. Dongalasanī inscr. of Venkayācōla Mahārāja	Trilinga Silver Jubilee Number	950 A.D.	Cuddapah Dist.	Rēnāṭi Cōla
48. An inscr. of Vaidumba Bhuvana Triṇētra	El. XXVIII, pp. 67-70	971 A.D.	"	Vaidumba
*49. Upparapalli inscr. of Vaidumba Bhuvana Triṇētra	SI. X, No. 636	972 A.D.	"	"
50. Kalakada inscr. of Bhuvana-Triṇētra Irugēya Mahārāja	El. XXX, pp. 280-284	"	Chittoor Dist.	"

INSCRIPTIONS IN OLD TELUGU — UNDATED
(Plate not available for the following inserr.)

Ser. No.	Name of the inscription	Source	Place	Dynasty
51.	Kondupalli inser. of Vijayāditya	SII. X. 23	Anantapur Dist.	W. Cāḷukya
52.	Malepadu inser. of Nityavaruṣa	SII. X. 29	Cuddapah Dist.	Misc.
53.	Mailavaram inser.	SII. X. 34	Nellore Dist.	"
54.	Ilapakurru inser.	SII. X. 35	Kistna Dist.	"
55.	Bhairavakonda inser.	SII. X. 40	Nellore Dist.	"
56.	"	SII. X. 41	"	"
57.	"	SII. X. 45	"	"
58.	"	SII. X. 46	"	"
59.	"	SII. X. 48	"	"
60.	Muddanuru inser.	SII. X. 593	Cuddapah Dist.	Rēnāti Cōḷa
61.	Mutukuru inser. of Cōḍamahārājulu	SII. X. 594	"	"
62.	Prodduturu inser.	SII. X. 595	"	"
63.	Peddamudiyam inser.	SII. X. 596	"	"
64.	Muddanuru inser. of a Cōḷa Mahārāja	SII. X. 597	"	"
65.	Kosinepalle inser. of Cōḷamahārāja	SII. X. 598	"	"
66.	Ramesvaram inser.	SII. X. 599	"	"
67.	Budidigaddapalli inser.	SII. X. 602	"	"
68.	Chilamakuru inser.	SII. X. 603	"	"
69.	Malepadu inser. Erikal Muturāju	SII. X. 606	"	"
70.	Kamanuru inser.	SII. X. 610	"	"
71.	Muttukuru inser.	SII. X. 614	"	"
72.	Mopuru inser. of Millirāju	SII. X. 615	"	"
73.	Sompalli inser.	SII. X. 616	Chittoor Dist.	"
74.	Chilamakuru inser.	SII. X. 617	Cuddapah Dist.	"
75.	Chinna tippasamudram of Gaṇḍamaykaliyya	SII. X. 621	Chittoor Dist.	Vaidumba

76. Madanapalli inscr.	SII. X. 622	"	"
77. Bisinikonda inscr.	SII. X. 623	"	"
78. Chippili inscr.	SII. X. 624	"	"
79. Kurubalakota inscr.	SII. X. 625	"	"
80. Kurubalakota inscr. of Gaṇḍasankaliyya	SII. X. 626	"	"
81. Gollapalli inscr. of Pōriraju	SII. X. 627	"	"
82. Mudivedu inscr. of Candragāṇḍa Triṇētra	SII. X. 628	"	"
83. Mudivedu inscr. of Vīramahārāja	SII. X. 629	"	"
84. Kalivadejamunru	SII. X. 630	"	"
85. Mudivedu inscr.	SII. X. 631	"	"
86. Gangiredipalli inscr. of Vīramahārāju	SII. X. 633	Anantapur Dist.	"
87. Budidigaddapalli inscr. of Apimanagaṅgu Kessarāju	SII. X. 635	Chittoor Dist.	"
88. Gudupalle inscr. of Gaṇḍa Triṇētra	SII. X. 637	"	"
89. Peddatippasamudram inscr.	SII. X. 638	"	"
90. Rangasamudram inscr. of Vaidumba Mutturāju	SII. X. 639	"	"
91. Tsadumu inscr. of Manuja Triṇētra	SII. X. 640	"	"
92. Mudivedu inscr. of Kalivadejama —	SII. X. 641	"	"
93. Peddatippasamudram inscr.	SII. X. 642	"	"
94. Ramanayanikota inscr. of Manjuatrinētra	JAHRS., Vol. I, pp. 81-85	Kistna Dist.	Misc.
95. Gurindagunta Stone inscr.	SII. X. 608	Cuddapah Dist.	Rēnāti Cōla
96. Kalamalla ins. of Rēva Śarma	SII. VI. 593	Guntur Dist.	E. Cālukya
97. 'Chēzarla ins.	SII. V. 58	E. Godavary Dt.	Misc.
98. Bhimavaram inscr.	SII. V. 1128	Ganjam Dist.	"
98. Mukhalingam inscr.			"

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DATED INSCRIPTIONS ACCORDING
TO THE RULING DYNASTY AND
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

	Warangal	Cuddapah	Kurnool	Anantapur	Chittoor	Nellore	Guntur	Kistna	Godavary	?	Total
1. Pallava						1					1
2. Rēnāṭi Cōḷa		14		1							15
3. Western Cāḷukya		1	1	1		1					4
4. Bāṇa		1									1
5. Eastern Cāḷukya	1					4	3	4	1	2	15
6. Vaidumba		2			3						5
7. Miscel- laneous		5				4					9
Total	1	23	1	2	3	10	3	4	1	2	50

TRADITIONAL GRAMMARS IN TELUGU

There are primarily two schools of Grammars in Telugu—what may be called the Telugu School and the Sanskrit School. Works belonging to the former category are written in Telugu verse and contain a cursory treatment of grammar, often along with prosody and poetics or prosody alone. The first work in the line is Āndhra Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇamu by Kētana in the 13th Century. Grammars of the Sanskrit school are written in the tradition of Āndhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi. The influence of Sanskrit grammar is very great in these—both in grammatical terminology and the technique of description. They adopt the sūtra style as in Sanskrit and involve elaborate *prakriya*.

Grammars of the Telugu School:

1. Āndhra Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇamu—by Mūlaghaṭika Kētana, 13th c., deals exclusively with grammar in 192 verses. Ketana states that his is the first work on Telugu grammar—a statement which contradicts the tradition that ĀŚC. is the earliest Telugu grammar. ĀBB. is named after and follows the model of the Kannada grammar, Karṇāṭa Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa by Nāgavarma of the 12th c.
2. Kavyālaṅkāra Cūḍāmaṇi—by Vinnakōṭa Peddana, Early 15th c., deals with poetics, prosody and grammar—grammar in one chapter in 170 verses.
3. Sarvalakṣana Śirōmaṇi—by Gaṇapavarupu Venkāṭa Kavi—17th c.—deals with poetics, prosody and grammar—grammar in a thousand lines of sīsa metre in Chapter III which is named Āndhra Kaumudi. There is much greater use of Sanskrit grammatical terminology in this work unlike in the other works mentioned above.

The following are some of the works on prosody which incidentally treat of grammar.

4. Chandōdarpaṇamu by Anantāmātya, 15th c.
5. Kavijana Sanjivani by Muddarāju Rāmanā, 16th c.
6. Sulakṣaṇa Sāramu by Lingamagaṇṭha Timmana, 16th c.

7. Sarvalakṣana Sāra Sangrahamu by Kūcimanci Timmakavi, 18th c.
8. Kavisaṁśaya Vicchēdamu by Aḍidamu Sūrakavi, 18th c.
9. Kavijanānjanamu by Kūcimanci Narasarāju, 18th c.
10. Ānanda Rangarāṭ Chandamu by Ānanda Ranga Kavi, 19th c.

Grammars of the Sanskrit School:

1. Āndhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi. There is no indication about authorship in the text itself; it is traditionally ascribed to Nannaya of the 11th c. The earliest record of the tradition is as late as the 17th c. and is contained in the commentaries of Bālasaraswati and Appakavi. The absence of any reference to this work till 17th c. and internal evidence in the text itself is adduced by many scholars as proof that it is a late work. It is in Sanskrit, in 88 Aryā Vṛttas.
2. Kārikāvaḷi or Vikṛti Vivēkamu. A grammar which is complementary to ĀŚC and written in Sanskrit Sutras. The date and authorship of this work, again, are not certain. It is first referred to by Ahōbala Paṇḍita in the late 17th c. as the work of Atharvaṇa. But the way in which he introduces Kārikāvaḷi raises the suspicion whether he might not have written it himself and passed it on under the name of Atharvaṇa, a Scholar and poet who is known to have flourished about the 13th c. The Kārikāvaḷi and ĀŚC are commented upon by Ahōbala in his commentarial work Kaviśirōbhūṣaṇamu.
3. Āndhra Kaumudi — by Maṇḍa Lakshmī Narasiṁha Kavi, 17th c., a commentary on ĀŚC.
4. Bālasaraswatīyamu—by Bālasaraswati, First half of 17th c., a commentary on ĀŚC in Telugu prose.
5. Appakaviyamu by Appakavi, Second half of 17th c., a commentary on ĀŚC in Telugu verse—incomplete.
6. Kaviśirōbhūṣaṇamu also called Ahōbala Paṇḍitīyamu — by Ahōbala alias Gāli Narasayya, second half of 17th c. It is an elaborate commentary on ĀŚC and Kārikāvaḷi and like them, again, written in Sanskrit. Nannaya, Atharvaṇa and

Ahōbala are considered to be the three great Ācāryas of Telugu Grammar, the *Sūtrakāra*, the *Vārtikakāra* and the *Bhāṣyakāra* respectively like Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali for Sanskrit grammar. They soon acquired such authority in the field that almost all later works on grammar proper were based on theirs. Two works deserve special mention in this connection:

7. Bālavākaraṇamu by Paravatsu Cinnaya Sūri (1858).
8. Trilinga Lakṣaṇa Śēṣamu or Praudha Vyākaraṇamu by Bahujanapalli Sītārāma Śāstri (1885).

PV. Supplements, Complements, and where necessary amends the sutras of BV. These two taken together form the standard introductory grammar for the literary dialect of the Kavitraya tradition and are widely read in schools and Colleges today. Both of them are in Telugu Sutras. BV. has 465 and PV. 313 sutras.

During the 19th c. a number of other grammar books came into existence—short and simple texts intended as introduction to Telugu Grammar. Such are:

9. Paṭṭābhirāma Paṇḍitīyamu by Vēdam Paṭṭābhirāma Śāstri.
10. Tenugu Vyākaraṇamu by Rāvīpāṭi Gurumūrti Śāstri.
11. Praśnōttarāndhra Vyākaraṇamu by Pudūri Sītārāma Śāstri.

More recent grammars in the present century include:

12. Āndhra Bhāṣanuśāsanamu by Mallādi Sūryanāyāyana Śāstri (1926), written in easy style with a historical perspective and
13. Vyāvahārika Bhāṣā Vyākaraṇamu by Vaḍlamūḍi Gōpālākriṣṇayya (1958), practically an enlarged version of BV. to include descriptive statements on Modern Telugu.

TRANSLITERATION

The system of the Royal Asiatic Society is adopted for transliteration, with the following additions.

- ṛ — voiced alveolar trill, called śakaṭa rēpha written as [ṛ] in Telugu.
- ḷ — voiced retroflex continuant—Written as [ḷ] in the old Telugu inscrr.
- ṁ — *anusvāra* — has the value of the homorganic nasal before a varga consonant — written as [ṁ].
- ~ — *ardhānusvara*—represents the pre-consonantal nasal which is lost in pronunciation in the native element; its phonemic value is zero. As it is, it has only a historical suggestivity [C].
- N — *druta* of the Telugu grammarians.

It represents a nasal sound which has the following values:

n before a vowel,

n, nu, or Ø before any consonant and in final position.

THE TELUGU PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Telugu is one of the major languages belonging to the Dravidian speech family spoken in Andhra Pradesh in South India. The Province is bounded on the north by Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, on the South by Tamilnad, on the West by Karnataka and Maharashtra Provinces and on the East by the Bay of Bengal. It is a language spoken by over three and a half crores of people and takes the third rank among the languages of the Indian sub-continent, next to Hindi and Bengali.

Various derivations of the word Telūgu or Teluṅgu, as it is called, have been suggested, most of them connecting it with some Skt. word like *Trilinga*, the country of the three Lingas, *Trikalīṅga*, the country comprising the three Kalingas, or *Trinaga*, the land of the three mountains. But the most probable one seems to be the one connecting it with the name of the tribe of people called "Telingas" who must have inhabited this part of the Telugu country at a remote time, and whose counterparts may still be traced in the names of certain communities of people now living in the country as the 'telegas' a non-brahmin community, and *telagāṇya* a subsect among the brahmins. *Telingānā*, the name of a part

of the Telugu country may also be traced to the same source. Thus Telugu seems to be an old ethnic name.

Another name for this language viz., Tenūgu is a variant form of Telūgu due to the phonetic change of l to n, which is attested elsewhere in the language. Telūgu and Tenūgu, both forms occur from 11th c. onwards. Earlier we find the use of the term Andhra for Telugu. Andhra and Telūgu, the two terms became identified with one another from very early times and both these now signify one and the same people, country and language.

The word Andhra is no doubt known as the name of a race as old as the Vedic age, and the story of Sunaśśēpa, narrated in the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa goes to show that about the 7th c. B.C., they were a race of Aryan outcastes living south of the Vindhyas along with some aboriginal tribes of India. They seem to have later migrated down the plateau of Deccan, and got mixed up with the indigenous people and later managed to establish a kingdom of their own. The Andhras are mentioned in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Puranas and the Buddhist literature. The original capital of the Andhras was Pratiṣṭhāna. From there they seem to have gradually extended their territory towards east, west and north, and by about the 4th c. B.C., they have become so powerful that they were considered, according to the testimony of Megasthenes, as second only to the then ruling power of Chandragupta of the Mauryan dynasty. Later on they became the rulers of Magadha itself. Though this empire of the Andhras was subsequently overthrown, their rule in the Deccan and the Telugu country continued till about the middle of the third c. A.D.. It is this migration from the north of the powerful tribe of the Andhras into the Telugu country and their establishment of a kingdom here which grew into a powerful empire, that gave their name to this country as well as to the people living in it. This is how the original inhabitants of the Telugu country came to be known as Andhras. Naturally their language also absorbed a lot of prakritic material. Due to this influence of Prakrit and later of Sanskrit when it became the predominant language, on Telugu, it came to be considered as an off-shoot of Sanskrit by scholars and grammarians who honoured and thought of Sanskrit as *dēva bhāṣa*. But a close comparison of grammar as well as of the root material of Telugu with those of other languages spoken in South

India like Tamil, Malayalam, and Kannada, reveals the fact that it is so closely related to these languages than to Sanskrit that it forms a regular family group with them. Accordingly these major languages of the South — Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, and Kannada along with some uncultivated languages of southern, central and northern India are grouped together into a language family which is known by the name of 'the Dravidian family of languages'. Bishop R. Caldwell who first established a family relationship between these languages more than a century ago enumerated thirteen languages as belonging to this family (CDG. p. 6). Later researches and field studies of Dravidianists have added some more to this number. At present there are over twenty speeches counted in the Dravidian speech family.

Tamil, Malayālam, Kota, Toda, Kannada, Badaga, Kodagu, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Ollari, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuwi, Kurukh, Malto and Brahui (DED).

The languages are given in the order of their closer relationship. The Dravidian languages are generally grouped into three branches on geographical cum linguistic basis as South Dravidian, Central Dravidian and North Dravidian. Telugu occupies a position midway between the S. Dr. and C. Dr. (Bh. Krishnamurti *Telugu Verbal Bases*, Chap. III). Kurukh, Malto and Brahui comprise the N. Dr., of which the first two are more closely related. As to the degree of relationship between one another the Dr. languages may be compared with the Romance languages of Europe rather than with the Indo-European.

The idea that there is a common literary and prosodial tradition in the major South Dravidian languages has also been demonstrated in recent years. The adoption of *Yati* and *Prāsa* with a connotation different from that in Sanskrit but exactly corresponding to the *mōnai* and *yadugai* of Tamil, the prevalence of *mātrā gaṇas* and metres peculiar to these languages — *nēr*, *nirai* in Tamil, Brahma, Indra and Rudra *gaṇas* in Kannada, and *Sūrya*, Indra and Candra *gaṇas* in Telugu, types of literary composition like *cattāṇa* and *bedende* of old Kannada, the *Udāharaṇa*, *Yakṣagāna*, *Ṣaṭpadi* and even *Campu* which cannot be traced to old Sanskrit models — all this points to a common inheritance shared by these languages and developed later each in its own way. (See K. Ramakrishniya,

Desi in South Indian languages and literature, and Centenary Number of the Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University 1957).

The Telugu language very early in its career came under the sway of Prakrit. Since during the period of Andhra rule and for a century or two later Prakrit happened to be the state language in the country, the same was adopted as the language of inscriptions during that period. Later Sanskrit usurped the place of Prakrit as the language of inscriptions as well as that of culture. Hence during this period Telugu remained in the background, as the language of common medium among the masses. It was only after the Chola and the Chalukya dynasties came into power in the Telugu country about the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th c. A.D. that Telugu began to receive the patronage of the rulers and came to be employed in inscriptions.

It would appear that Prakrit ceased to be a spoken vernacular even of the ruling dynasties after the Ikṣvākus. The Andhra conquerors were not numerous enough to impose their language on the people. The speech of the natives *viz.* Telugu ultimately prevailed.

CHAPTER II

ORTHOGRAPHY

The oldest Inscrr. in Andhra are written in the Southern variety of Brahmi which later developed into what is called the Telugu-Kannada script, parent of the modern Telugu and Kannada scripts. The script tended to become circular in course of time, particularly from the 11th c., on account of the nature of the writing materials among others, writing on the palmira leaf with an iron style.

1. In the Pkt. Inscrr. in Andhra we do not come across the ligatures for the characteristic Dr. sounds \lrcorner and \rceil . They figure from the age of the Skt. Inscrr.

The \lrcorner sound dropped out of the language by the end of 10th c. and along with it the symbol representing it. There are less than half-a-dozen instances of words spelt with \lrcorner in the 11th-12th c. inscrr.; these are cases of relic forms Ex. *Vinnagar-āḷuvāriki* (SII. V—81, cf. Tam. *āḷvār*, 'saint', or inverse spellings Ex. *naḷpaṅgalavāṅḍu* (SII. V—1083) for *naḍapaṅgalavāṅḍu*.

\rceil occurred in cluster with other consonants in old and Middle Telugu in inscriptional writings. Gradually when the two 'r's fell together the practice of writing \rceil for \rceil in a conjunct became common; it was made a rule in NT. cf. PV Muktalakṣaṇa 2. Elsewhere where it occurred single or double the literary dialect has retained \rceil although the sound merged with \rceil long ago.

2. The practice of writing the anusvāra for the class nasal was less common in OT. than in the later language. In OT. again, the anusvāra was written in place of \lrcorner , \tilde{n} and m . Gradually it came to be employed as a cover symbol for all the five nasals. Instances of the use of anusvāra for \lrcorner and n belong to the 10th c.: *pakanāṁṭi* (48-3) *ṅaravādyadi ēnum drammalu* (44-60), *ciṭṭadi pempunaṁdu* (47-11). The use of anusvāra for the class nasal is due to Sanskrit influence.

In Sanskrit the dot (the symbol representing the anusvāra) is placed over the head of the letter which it happens to follow. In the Telugu Inscrr. on the other hand, generally the dot is put on the top of the following letter, in consonance with the writing system whereby the first letter in combination is written above, the second letter being placed below it. Thus for instance, in the combination mb as in *paṭṭambu* the dot representing the nasal would be placed above the letter bu. This has confused some of the early epigraphists into reading forms like *puloṃbūru Koḍimki*, *pasu-puṃbarru* as *pulobūmru*, *Koḍikim* and *Pasupubamru*.

Along with these there are also indeed instances where the dot was used as is the practice in Skt. There was thus an unsettled state in the use of the anusvāra symbol for some time in the OT. period. In course of time the dot which was placed on the top of the following consonant began to be shifted to the left of it. Later, after about the 12th c., the mere dot assumed the form of a circle, *pūrṇānusvāra*, and began to occupy a middle place between the previous and the following consonants.

The practice of eliding the nasal in pronunciation even though it was shown in writing existed already in OT. This is clear from the evidence of metre in the verse inscriptions (See Ex. Addanki and Bezwada inscriptions, EI. XIX and XV). So then the writing system retained the anusvāra even where it had no phonemic value. An indication of its value was sought to be conveyed by doubling the following consonant when it was pronounced and leaving it single when it was not pronounced. This practice is not consistently followed in the inscriptional writings but said to be followed fairly well in palm leaf manuscripts.

The use of the ardhānusvāra '(left) half circle' to represent an anusvāra which is elided in pronunciation came into vogue in NT, with the printed texts (cf. also AK 2-33). The ardhānusvāra remains in the alphabet till today.

3. A double nasal is sometimes written as an *anusvāra* + a nasal, Ex. *Paṃnu* (11-15), more commonly in MT.: *pītāmbaramuṃnu mutyāluṃnu māṇikyāluṃnu paccaluṃnu nīlaluṃnu adinni*—(in the same line with double nn) TDI. Vol. 3, No. 80, *tammumḍu* TDI. Vol. 3, No. 186.

Use of anusvāra before a conjunct beginning with a nasal: Ex. *Dēśinṅambu* (= *Dēsiṅambu*) 40-5, M.T. *Sānṁrājyam* TDI, 3, No. 80.

4. Barring a few exceptions, a double consonant is written after r in the OT. Inscr. Ex. *Rēvasammārikin* (7-4) *tūrppuna* (10-8), *perddaḷ* (25-11) *Kaṇḍukur-b-Bejavāda*—(35-8), *Viṣṇuvarddhanutōn* (44-14).

The double consonant is not written in the following forms: *Tirpalūra* (12-17), *Pōrmukharāma* (13-1), *Mārpiḍugu* (13-13), *tūrpu* (20-11), *Pōrmukharāmuḷ* (26-9), *Aggisarmāriki* (28-19), *Pārthīśvaraḥ* (45-6).

This system of writing with the secondary form of r in a conjunct in which it is an initial letter, called *Valapalagilaka*, continued till recently, but is now out of fashion.

5. The difference between the long and short form of the secondary vowels is not strictly maintained in OT. (see Ex. *Ahadanakaramu* and *Kapileswarapuram* inscriptions).

A list of orthographical errors in the inscr. studied is given in Part II. "A distinguishing criterion helpful towards the determination of (what might be called) an orthographical error would be what might not be called a phonological feature" (EM. P. 15). A phonological feature is defined as follows: "The consistent recurrence of one or a group of substituted phonemes in more than one speech form, the substitution becoming a permanent feature of the language."

6. So far as modern Telugu is concerned the writing system is phonetic except that (1) the *ardhānusvāra* and the *śakaṭarēpha* are used in conventional writing; these are redundant, and (2) there are no symbols for the following sounds which have either developed in the language internally or entered through loan-words:

ā—as in *āḍḍĒvu*, 'you played' (< *āḍināvu*), *tāṭḍĒku*, 'palmyra leaf' (< *tāṭi + āku*);

f—in Hindustani and English loans as in *safēdu* 'white' and *ḥĒṣaṇ(u)* 'fashion'.

CHAPTER III

TELUGU LANGUAGE DURING THE AGE OF THE PRAKRIT SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS, 2ND c. B.C. TO 5TH c. A.D.

We can form certain definite ideas about the state of the Telugu language from the 6th c. onwards as there are inscriptions actually written in Telugu. As for its condition in the earlier period we have only to make inferences from the stray Telugu words in the Pkt. and Skt. inscrr. of that age. The words are mostly names of villages and persons connected with the Telugu country woven into the Pkt./Skt. text of the inscr.

A list of Telugu vocables in the inscrr. is given below with the identification of place-names by the editors of the inscrr. as it may be of phonologic interest. The linguistic features revealed by these vocables are, generally speaking, much the same as those of the succeeding centuries 6th to 8th.

TELUGU VOCABLES IN THE PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS— FROM 2ND c. B.C. TO c. 6TH c. A.D.

Prakrit Inscriptions

c. 200 B.C.

Aruvāhi-(kūlaśa): Mālakōndā inscr. Nellore dist, ARE. 531/1938.

The inscr. registers a gift (of a cavern) by a certain Viri Sethi, son of Nanda Sethi of the Aruvāhikula. "The tract of country round about Kānchi and to the north of it up to Nellore was in ancient times included in the division called Aruvāvaḍatalai and it corresponded to the country inhabited, according to Ptolemy (History of the Tamils, P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, p. 318) by the tribe called 'Aruvarnoi' in the 2nd c. A.D. Herein probably lies the origin of the term 'Aravas' applied to the Tamils by the Tēlugu people" (ARE. Pt. II, p. 77).

24 TELUGU LANGUAGE—2ND C. B.C. TO 5TH C. A.D.

Kevurūrē: Inscr. on a Buddhist Stupa at Amaravati, Guntur dist. ASSI I. p. 78.

Kudūra-(nivāsaka): -Do- ASSI. I. p. 93.

SECOND CENTURY A.D.

(*gāme*) *Vēpūrakē*: Myakadoni Inscr. of Siri Pulumavi, Bellary dist., Śātavāhana. c. 145 A.D. EI. XIV, pp. 153-155.

Context: 11. 2-3. *janapadē Śātavahanihārē (gu)-mikasa Kumāradatasa gāmē vēpūrakē vathavēna—* 'resident of the village (of) Vēpūraka belonging to the captain (*gumika*) Kumāradata (-datta) in the country (*janapada*) of Śātavāhanahāra (i.e. kingdom or district). -ka in the village name is an expletive of common use in Prakrit.

THIRD CENTURY A.D.

nāgabū: Amaravati inscr. Guntur dist. Ikṣvāku. c. 200 A.D. EI. XX, No. 30, p. 268.

The three letters inscribed on a broken stone seem to be a tatsama word with the neuter ending -*bu* meaning serpent. There are many sculptures in the Amaravati Stupa depicting the serpent.

mahātalavara: Nagarjunakonda Inscr. Guntur dist., c. 200 A.D. EI. XX, Pp. 1-36.

A title of nobility which signifies provincial governor or a subordinate ruler in the Ikṣvāku inscr., and also in the Kondamudi plates of Brhatpalāyana Jayavarman. The title occurs along with other titles *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *mahāsēnāpati* etc. The feminine form of it is *mahātalavari* which indicates the wife of a great chief or commander. *talavara* was explained in the Skt. commentary of the Jaina Kalpasutra as follows: *tusta bhūpāla pradatta vibhūṣita rājasthānīyāḥ* 'a rich householder or officer of the king, wearing on his forehead a gold medal studded with jewels which is presented by the king'. This is only

an explanation, not the literal meaning of the term. The form *talārī* occurs in Telugu in the sense of watchman, headman of the village, Tam. *talaivar* 'headman, president (*tala*, head, *ar* is honorific, found in OT. in some other examples also). *talavara* as the title of an official of the king occurs in a 7th c. inscr., the Koneki gt. of Vishnuvardhana II (EI. XXXI. Pp. 74-80): Context: 11 21-24. *Viṣṇuvarddhana mahārājasya (rājah) Paḷli-rāṣṭrē Koṇekināma-grāma(m) sampradattaḥ (dāya) grāmēyakān rājapurusa — talavara - daṇḍanāyaka - rāṣṭrika - dūta - bhata - naṭa-cēṭaka - paricāraka - niyukt - ādhyakṣa - praśūstri - samāhartri nāyakās-c (kāmś—c) = ājñāpayati.*

(*gāmē*) *Mahākāṁḍurūrē*: Jaggayyapeta Pillar inscr. of Purisadata, Guntur dist., Ikṣvāku. ASSI. I. p. 110.

Kammāka-rathē: Kamma-rāṣṭra, Kammā-nāḍu. Kammāka, also Kammaṁ in some of the later inscrr., is due to Prakritic rendering of the names.

(*gāme*) *Ṇaḍatūrē*: Initial retroflex ṇ is Prakritic.

Viriparaṁ: Mayidavolu CP. gt. of Sivaskandavarman, Kistna dist. Pallava. EI. VI. Pp. 84-89.

Context: 11. 9-10. *Aṁdhāpatī (thī) -ya-gāmō Viriparaṁ aṁhēhi udakādim sampadatō*; 1.12 *Viriparasa*. A Prakrit rendering of the village name ending in *parṛu*. Viripara must have been situated near Amaravati in the Kistna dist. for Sivaskanda addressed his order regarding the grant to his representative at Dhañña-kaḍa, the modern Amaravati. Identified with modern Vipparla in the Narasaraopet taluk. Here are also found an inscr. of the E. Calukyan king Jayasimhavallabha of 7th C. which mentions Vitparti (gen. form of Vitparṛu) and another of Visnuvardhana Vijayaditya of 11th c. (where it is called Vipparu).

Cillarekakodumka (bhōjaka bamhaṇāṇam): Hirahadagalli plates of Sivaskandavarman, Bellary dist., Pallava. EI. I. Pp. 2-10.

Apitti (Vatthavāṇa) :

Kolivāla (bhōjakasa)

Dālūrē: British Museum Plates Cārudēvi, Guntur dist., Pallava. EI. VIII. Pp. 143-146.

Kūdūrahārē: Kodamudi plates of Jayavarman, Kistna dist., Bṛihat-palāyana. EI. VI. Pp. 315-319.

Identified with Koḍḍūra, a seaport town mentioned by Ptolemy.

Pāntūram:

FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

Vēngīpura: Ellore Grant of Vijaya Devavarman, Godavary dist., Śālankāyana. EI. IX. Pp. 55-69.

Vēngīpura is identified with Pedavēgi seven miles from modern Ēlūru in West Godavari dist.

Ēlūrē: Modern Ēlūru in West Godavari dist.

muḷuḍa (pamukhō gāmō bhaṇitavvō):

From the context it seems to denote the headman or the royal officer in charge of the revenue division and corresponds to the *rāṣṭrika* of the Pallava grants and *rāṣṭrakūṭa* or *raṭṭaḍi* of the E. calukyan records. Variants of the same form are *munuḍa* (EI. I-4), *mutuda* (Kanukollu gt). The etymology of the word is not clear; it is connected with *mudlu* of the Telugu inscrr. by some scholars, and with *mutu* as in *mutu-rāju* by others (EI. 27-223) but the phonological equation is difficult in both.

Sanskrit Inscriptions

FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

Kangūra (grāmēyakāḥ): Mattepad plates of Damodaravarman, Guntur dist., Ānandagōtra. EI. XVII. Pp. 327-330.

The language of the inscrr. is Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit. The names of the donees and namēs of gotras in some places are given in Pkt., Koṇḍinna

Rudrajja, Koṇḍinna Nandijja etc. (11.8-13) and Pkt. forms like *saṁvaccharam*, *ajjassa* occur. The record represents a transitional stage in inscriptional writings from Prakrit to Sanskrit.

Karma rāṣṭrē: Same as Kamma-nāḍu of later inscrr., comprised the northern portion of the Nellore dist., and a part of the present Guntur dist.

Oṁgōḍu (grāmasca): Omgodu gt. of Vijayaskandavarman II, Guntur dist., Pallava. EI. XV. Pp. 249-252.

Probably modern Ongole in Guntur dist.

Muṇḍa rāṣṭrē: Comprised parts of Nellore, Chingleput and Chittoor districts.

Uruvupalliyē: Uruvupalli gt. of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopavarman, Pallava. IA. V. Pp. 50-53.

Lay on the bank of the river Suprayōga, ancient name of the river Penna or Pinakini.

Ki (ka?) ṇḍukūra (grāmasya):

Ka (ku?) rupūra (grāmē):

Koṇḍamuruḍu (ḍu?) grāmasya:

Kudrāhārē Viṣayē: Kanteru gt. of Nandivarman, Kistna dist., Śālanakāyana. JAHRS. V. Pp. 21-32.

Seems to be a more ancient form of Gudrahāra, Gudrāvāra, Gudravāra or Gudrāra occurring in later inscrr. Probably included in it the present taluks of Avani-gaḍḍa, Bandar, Kaikalūr and Guḍivāḍa in the Kistna dist. The city of Kudrāhāra is identified with Guḍivāḍa.

Kuruvāḍa (grāmē):

munuda (sahita grāmēyakānām):

Karma rāṣṭrē:

Oṁgōḍu (grāmaḥ): Omgodu gt. of Simhavarman II, Guntur dist., Pallava. EI. XV. Pp. 252-255.

Copy of an earlier grant in the writing of the 7th C.

Koḍikiṁ: Should be read as *Koḍimki*. Corresponds to *Koṇiki* near Ongole.

Narācaḍu:

Kaḍākuduru:

Peṇukaparru:

Kuṇḍūru:

Mēnmātur- (*āvāsakāt*): *Pikira* gt. of *Simhavarman II*, Ongole taluk, Godavari dist., Pallava. EI. VIII. pp. 159-163.

Muṇḍa rāṣṭrē:

Pikire (*grāmē*):

Māṅgaḍūr (*grāmē*): *Mangadur* gt. of *Simhavarman II*. Pallava. IA. V. Pp. 154-157.

Vēṅgō-rāṣṭrē: Identified with the hinterland of the Nellore dist. and the adjoining territory of the Cuddapah and Chittoor districts.

“The territory which thus lay on either side of the Eastern ghats would seem to have acquired that appellation on account of the celebrated hill *Vēṅgaḍam*. If this identification is correct it would mean that *Vēṅgō-rāṣṭra* cannot be identified with *Vēṅgi* as Dr. Fleet and others have attempted to do in the past (IA. XX-93). At no period in the history of the Pallavas did their dominions extend north of the Krishna. *Vēṅgō rāṣṭra* even as a corrupt form of *Vēṅgi viṣaya* never appears in any record lithic or copper-plate (EHA. P. 236).

Muṇḍa rāṣṭrē: *Vilavatti* gt. of *Simhavarman II*, Nellore dist. Pallava. EI. XXIV, pp. 296-303.

Vilavatti (*grāmē*): *Viḍavalūru* in *Kōvūr* taluk, Nellore dist.

Karmma rāṣṭrē: *Chura* gt. of *Visnugopavarman*, Guntur dist., Pallava. EI. XXIV. pp. 137-143.

Ḷagubamru: Correct reading is *Ḷagumbaru*, identified with *Daggupāḍu* in *Bapatla* taluk, Guntur dist.

Irāḍi-mahāpatha (saṁyuktaḥ):

Pāguhūru (grāma sīmaḥ): Pāgulūru, Bapatla taluk.

muyuru (r)-*kūtuva*: 'meeting place of three villages'.

mēlitāpaḥ: 'a stepped platform to stack ploughs (mēli=modern mēdi) (Ed.)

Nāgōlāmi (grāma sīmaḥ): Nāgaḷḷa in Bapatla taluk.

muditi-tatākaḥ: 'ancient tank.'

Kuṇḍūr-(*vvāstavvyāya*)

FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

Kohetūrē: Komarti Plates of Candavarman, Ganjam dist., Śālan-
kayana. EI. IV. pp. 142-145.

Kuḍuhāra (viṣayē):

Videnūrapallikā (grāmē): Kolleru gt. of Vijaya Nandivarman
Śālan-kāyana. IA V. pp. 175-177.

Prālūra (grāmē): Pedavēgi plates of Nandivarman, Godavary
dist., Śālan-kāyana, Bharati, August 1924.

Ptolemy refers to a seaport town Pālūru which may be
identified with this name.

Arutore (vraja) *pālakānām*):

Muṇḍūra (grāmē): Muṇḍūru in Eluru taluk.

Ceñceruvu (grāmē): Cincinada in Narasapuram taluk (?)

Kamburāñ-ceruvē: May be identified with Kommara in Eluru
taluk. There are two villages here bearing the names utara
Kommara and dakṣina Kommara near Eluru.

Mūlakura (bhōjakah):

Kriṣṇabeṇṇā dakṣiṇa kūrē Tānr̥ikonrā (grāmē): Gorantla plates
of Attivarman, Guntur dist., Ānandagōtra. IA. IX, pp. 102-103.
Tādikoṇḍa, ten miles from Guntur.

Āntukkūra (grāmaśca): Ātukūru, a village to the west of
Bezwada.

Kottūra (grāmē): Dhavalapeta gt. of Umavarman, JAHRs. X., pp. 143-144.

Vijaya Vēṅgyā: Kanukollu plates. Bharati. Vol. 27, Pt. 2. pp. 69-84.

Kudrāhāra komparē (grāmēyakā vaktavyā):

Lēkumāri (grāma vāstavyāya): Kanteru plates of Vijayaskandavarman, Guntur dist., Śālankāyana. JAHRs. V. pp. 21-32.

Identified with Lōkamūḍi, Kaikalur taluk, Kistna dist.

Cinnapurē: Cinnapuram in Bandar taluk.

Kudrāhāra-viṣaya:

Tōṅṭāparē: Siripuram plates of Anantavarman, Vizag dist., Kalinga king. EI. XXIV. pp. 47-52.

Tōṭāḍa in Chicacole taluk.

SIXTH CENTURY A.D.

Karmma (ṅ)ka rāṣṭrē: Cendalur plates of Kumaravishnu II. Ongole taluk, Guntur dist., Pallava. EI. VIII, pp. 223-236.

Kavacakāra-bhōgē:

Cendalūra (grāmē): Cendalur in Ongole taluk.

Pullalūru:

Paḷaki-rāṣṭrē: Ramatirtham plates of Indrabhattarakavarman, Vizag dist., Viṣṇukunḍin. EI. XII. p. 133.

Paḷaki rāṣṭra or the district of Paḷaki seems to be identical with the modern taluks of Bobbili and cipurupalli situated on the right bank of the Vamśadhāra in the north of the Vizag dist. There is a village Pakki in Bobbili taluk which can be identified as Paḷaki.

Peruvātaka (grāmah)

(Vijaya) Lendulūra (vāsakāt): Chikkulla plates of Vikramendrarvarman II, Godavary dist., Viṣṇukunḍin. EI. IV. pp. 193-198.

Dendulūru, earlier Dendulūru, a few miles north of Eluru.

Nat (ri?) paṭyām: May be Nētrapāṭi Viṣaya, the region of Nandigama taluk, Kistna dist.

Rāvirēva (grāmasya): Identified with Rāvirēla in Nandigama taluk.

(*Kriṣṇabenṇā tatē*) *Rēgonram (-nāma-grāmaḥ)*:

viṣayanājya samvassarambuḥ:

A list of Telugu forms occurring in the Skt. inscrr. during 6th to 10th c. is given in Part II as further source material for the study of Old Telugu.

Vocabulary

The following place-name -endings occur in the data; *ūru* village, town (Tam. Kan. *ūr*); *kuduru* settlement (Tam. *kutir*, Kan. *kuduru* to be settled); *konra* hill (Tam. *kunru*, *kunram*); *kōḍu* rivulet, peak of a hill (Tam. *kōṭu*, Kan. *kōḍu*); *ceruvu* tank (Tam. *cirai*, Kan. *kere*); *torē* cf. *tūra* a connecting channel (Tam. *turai* bathing ghat, *turavu* large well for irrigation purposes); *parru* holding, hamlet, as in *Peṇukaparru*, written with single *r* in *viripara*, *Ḥagumbaru*, *Tōṇṭāpara* (Tam. *parru*), *paṭṭi/vaṭṭi* as in *vilavaṭṭi* (Tam. Kan. *paṭṭi*); *rēvu* a landing place, a ford, (cf. *eragu*, Tam. *iraṅku* to descend, get down). *palli*, *pallikā* and *vāḍa*, *vāḍaka*, *vāṭaka* are from Skt.

Place-names ending with *ūru* are numerous in the Telugu country and we meet with a good number of them in the inscrr. These words were treated by the writers of the inscrr. as ending in *a* and inflected accordingly. Ex. *Pāṇṭūram*, *Āntukkūra-grāmaśca*, *Ḥendulūra-vāsakāt*, *Ēlūrē*; similarly also with other place-names, *Ceñceruva-grāmē*, *Viriparam* etc. The village names are often descriptive terms.

Some personal names in the inscrr. look like native words though the demonstration is not easy. Ex. *Koṭṭi śarma* (Gorantla plates IA. IX), *Ātuka* (name of a farmer, British Museum plates EI. VIII), *Kāṭikuri* (name of *ājñapati* in *Pedavegi* grant, *Bharati* Aug. 1924).

Some names with the endings *ṇa-ka*, *mṇa-ka*, *mna* occur in the *Nagarjunakonda* inscrr. (EI. XX—glossary): *ṇa-ka*: *Khamda-*

caliki remmanaka; mṇa-ka: Khaṁdasāgaramṇaka (=Skt. Skanda-sāgara); mna: Viraṁna, Hagaṁna (=Skt. Sangha) mṇa stands for ṇṇa and mna for nna in inscriptional writings. These may be Prakrit rendering of the suffixes connected with the Telugu word *anna* elder brother (Tam. *aṇṇan*). The original retroflex sound is preserved in OT. though the tendency for ṇ > n already existed. ṇṇa occurs in the name Mañcyāṇṇa bhaṭṭārakaḥ, prince of the Viṣṇukunḍin family, 6th c. (EI. XVII).

Sounds

ḷ occurs in the Skt. inscr. in the following forms: *Viḷavaṭṭi*, *ḷagumbaru*, *Mēḷitāpa*, *Paḷaki rāṣṭra*, *ḷendulūra*.

r occurs in the following: *Narācaḍu*, *Peṇukaparṛu*, *Arutore*, *Tānrīkonṛa*, *Rēgonṛam*.

The following words are spelt with r for ṛ in the Skt. inscr.: *ḷagumbaru*, *Tōṇṭāpara* (= -parṛu); *Ceñceruva*, *Kamburāñceruva* (= *ceruvu*).

The cluster *nṛ* in *Tānrīkonṛa* and *Rēgonṛam* and its development to *ṇḍ* in the contemporary period as in the form *Koṇḍa-muruvuḍu* is noteworthy. *nṛ* combination continues in OT. up to the 9th c. when its change to *ṇḍ* was complete, cf. history of *nṛ* suffix of masc. nouns.

(2) The retention of the retroflex in the endings of masculine personal names (in *mṇa*) has been noted above as also the alternation of ṇ and n. This is attested in the later centuries up to the 9th c. when the change may be said to have been completed. The occurrence of the suffix variants with and without gemination *mṇa*/*mna* and *na* is a phenomenon which we see in the language throughout, Ex. *Mallanna*, *Mallana*; similarly with other suffixes of this kind Ex. *Rāmayya*, *Rāmaya*.

(3) The retroflex and the alveolar sounds do not stand initially in a word in Dr. Initial ḷ in *ḷagumbaru*, *ḷendulūru*, and ṛ in *Rāvireva*, *Rēgonṛam* must be due to secondary development involving metathesis. *rāvi* 'pipal tree' < **aravi*, cf. Kan. *arase*, *araḷi*, Tam. *aracu*; *rēvu* < **iravu*, Tam. *iraṅku* to descend, Kan. *eṛagu*, Tel. *eṛagu*, *ērāgu*, to descend, bow. The expected ṛ in *rēvu* is

attested in the 10th c. inscr. *Reṇḍurēvulu* (47-13), and *Artirēvula* (48-3).

Metathesis again is responsible for the development of initial r conjuncts in Telugu while there are no conjuncts of any kind initially in the original Dr. Ex. *Prālūra* < *paral-* 'rice', cf. *talambrālu* 'sacred rice used in marriage ceremonies', Kan. *paralu*, *haralu* grain, parched grain, Tam. *paral.* gravel, pebble. (JSVORI, XV-1, p. 37).

The co-existence of forms like *Palaki—Plaki* (for *plakki*) and *alisina—lassi* in the E. Calukyan grants shows that this tendency was active during OT.

(4) Palatalisation of k before front vowels is seen in the forms *Ceñceruvu*, *Kamburāñceruvu* and *Cinnapura. ceruvu—Kan, kere; cinna, kuru-*, Kan. *kiru, kuru*. This phenomenon ceased to be active by the historical period. The forms *kēsiri, kēsina* without palatalisation of k (P. Dr. *key) appearing in OT. are to be regarded as survivals from the pre-palatalisation stage in the conservative border area.

Grammar

(5) *bu* and *mbu* are neuter endings in the tatsama nouns *nāgabū, Vijayarājya samvassarambū*. Of the two variants *bu* is infrequent and drops out by the 10th c.

(6) The form *muyururkūṭuva*, literally 'meeting place of the three villages', shows in the final member the derivative suffix—*uva. kūṭuva* 'meeting place' < vb. *kūḍu* to come together. *ḍu* in *Kondamuruvuḍu*, if this reading is correct, may be regarded as another noun formative.

(7) Adjectival compounds are the most prominent type of compound formations in Telugu. Sometimes there is promiscuous mixing up of Sanskrit and Telugu words in a compound which is called *vairisamāsa* by the Telugu grammarians. *mahātalavara* is one such hybrid compound.

(8) The form *vēpūru* with the adjectival inflection *p* (Myakadoni inscr. c. 145 A.D.) is the earliest clear example of a Telugu grammatical form. The substantive corresponding to it would

show the neuter ending (m)b during this period. *ṭi* is the adjectival marker in the expression *mudṭi-taṭākah*.

(9) The form *vijayarājya samvassarambuḷ* with the plural suffix *ḷ* recognisable in other S. Dr. languages, in the Cikkulla plates (6th c.) is interesting. The text of the inscr. is in Sanskrit only but at the end while indicating the date of the reigning king, the inscriber who was obviously a Telugu man inadvertently introduced the Telugu inflectional form *vijayarājya samvassarambuḷ* instead of the Skt. word—*samvatsarāḥ*. The form is one of very common occurrence in the OT. inscr. while describing the regnal years of kings.

The relevant text (on the second side of the Fourth Plate) is this:

- 1.25. *kōṭi-sa (śa) ta-sahasrēṇa svarggiṇa sukham mōdati * [II] vija*
 1.26. *yarājya-samvassarambuḷ 10 māsa-pakkaṇ 8 ghimā 5 [II]*
 1.27. *bahubhir-vvasudhā datt[ā] bahubhiśc-ānupālītā [I] yasya*
 1.28. *yasya yadā bhumiṃ (mis-) tasya tasya tadā-phalam [II]*

*The sense intended is that of *svarggiṇām sukham = anubhavati* (Ed.) Translation:

- 11.24–25: Whoever obeys it enjoys the happiness of the inhabitants of heaven with the hundred thousand billions of divine hosts in Rudra's world.
 11.25–26: In the year 10 of the reign of Victory, on the 5th (day) of the 8th fortnight of summer.
 11.27–28: Usual imprecation.

Actually the evidence of this single form should be enough to confirm the existence of the Telugu language in the country during this period and establish its relationship with the other Dr. languages.

It will be clear from the above that through the age of the Pkt.-Skt. inscrr. Telugu existed as an independent language, had developed its own characteristic features and was current among the people overshadowed though, for the time being, by Indo-Aryan. The language came into its own under the patronage of

CHIKKULLA PLATES OF VIKRAMENDRAVARMAN II (EI. VI-193), lines 24 to 28.

10b.

ಸಹಸ್ರಾಭಯಾಭಯದೈವ್ಯಾಧಿಪತೀಶ್ವರಃ
 ವ್ಯಾಧಿಪತೀಶ್ವರಃ ವ್ಯಾಧಿಪತೀಶ್ವರಃ
 ವ್ಯಾಧಿಪತೀಶ್ವರಃ ವ್ಯಾಧಿಪತೀಶ್ವರಃ
 ವ್ಯಾಧಿಪತೀಶ್ವರಃ ವ್ಯಾಧಿಪತೀಶ್ವರಃ

26


28

26

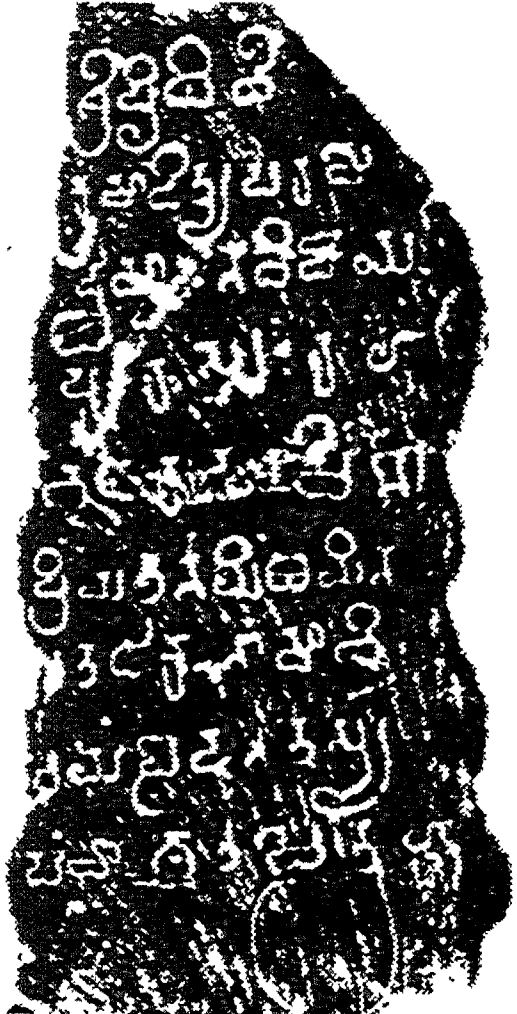
28

TURIMELLA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA I (EI. XXIX—160)

12
4
6
8
10
12



This fragment contains the main body of the inscription. The text is written in an ancient script, likely Kannada, and is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The characters are densely packed and somewhat difficult to decipher due to the high contrast and graininess of the image. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular edges.



This is a smaller, more irregular fragment of the inscription, located to the right of the larger fragment. It contains about 8 lines of text in the same script. The fragment is narrower and has a more jagged top edge.

the Colas and Calukyas and subsequently the earliest and best of classical literature namely the Āndhra Mahābhārata was also written under the patronage of these dynastic rulers.

The change in the psychological climate regarding the use of Telugu in epigraphical records could be observed also in the Skt. inscrr. of the late centuries of OT. We find in some of them a free use of Telugu inflectional forms in the descriptions of boundaries after the manner of 'manipravāḷa' style (see Ex. Masulipatam plates of Amm II, EI. V-139, XXIV-277, Sripundi plates of Tala II, XIX-149).

For a long time it has been a matter of common belief that Nannaya, author of the Telugu Bharata was the originator of the Telugu language and literature. This belief was no doubt fostered for a long time by the absence of any traces of literature before Nannaya. The discovery and publication of the Bezwada inscrr. of Yuddhamalla in the journal of the Telugu Academy (Vol. VI, 1917) was the first event which opened up the darkness of the Pre-Nannaya Age. As more and more of the pre-Nannaya inscrr. were published, the closeness of Telugu with the other Dr. languages became clearer, and the verse inscrr. had shown that a literary tradition existed in the language from at least the 9th c. A.D. The Turimella inscrr. of the 7th c. (EI. XXIX-1954) now dates the beginnings of literary tradition back to the period of the oldest Telugu inscrr. The text of the inscrr. is reproduced below.

Ōm [1*] Svasti [1*] Śrīmat Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivī-
 vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Vikramāditya-Paramē-
 śvara-Bhaṭṭārulākun Śrīmad=unnata pravarddhamāna-vijaya
 rājya-samvatsarambul ā-candra-tāra purassaram
 dvitīya-varṣam pravartamānam kānu [1] Goggi Bhaṭṭārāla
 dakṣiṇa
 bhujāyamānumr=ayina Ālakuma [ra] priya tanayimr=ayina
 Ujēnīpiśāca nāmadhēyimru [Turu] tatāka-nām-ābhi
 dhāna-nagar-adhiṣṭhānumr=ayi Ēruva-[viṣa] yamb=eḷan tasua
 mātā dattam Gōvriṣāṇa Bhaṭṭāraho śata-pamcāśat kṣētram [1*]

One can see that the inscr. is written in *kāvya* style which is different from the *vyāvaharika* style. There is in this prose text an abundance of the tatsama element in vocabulary, a regular observance of sandhi rules as in the verse inscr. and a refined type of sentence construction which we call *anvaya-sauṣṭhava*. The inference is clear that literary activity must have existed in the language for centuries before Nannaya. But whatever literature there was has been lost to us now. Inscriptional writings are all that remain and form the source material for our study of OT. in the following pages.

The Turimella inscr. is the only one of its kind up to the 9th c.- a prose inscr. written in the literary dialect. The rest of them are in simple prose obviously written in the spoken language, by officers rather than scholars, with a preponderating desi element abounding in forms peculiar and at times quite unintelligible. Gradually the antiquated look of the language wears off; certain phonological changes active during the 9th-10th c. make the forms more familiar; the Sanskritic element increases—and the total picture of the language approximates that of the age of Nannaya by the eleventh century.

CHAPTER IV
PHONOLOGY

OT. has the following phonemes in the native element:

Vowels

Front	Non-Front
i ī	u ū
e ē	o ō
	a ā

Consonants

	Vel.	Pal.	Retro.	Alv.	Dent.	Lab.
Vel. Stop.	k	c	ṭ		t	p
Vd. Stop.	g	j	ḍ		d	b
Nasal			ṇ		n	m
Semi-vel.		y			ʎ	v
Flap				r		
Trill				ṛ		
Lateral			ḷ	l		
Spirant			ḷ		s	

The sounds ṇ and ṅ occur, always before their varga consonants; they are not phonemic. The sound values of the phonemes are presumably the same as in the later language.

The aspirated stops kh, ch, ṭh, th, ph, gh, dh, bh and the spirants, ś, ṣ, s and h are introduced into Telugu through Indo-Aryan loan words. jh and ḍh do not occur in the data. Skt. ṛ > ri in OT., Ex. *prithivīdēśa-* (11-7), *prithvi* (24-5), *guṇaganālamkṛita-* (39-3). And even where the ṛ vowel is written the pronunciation seems to have been ri.

Some phonological changes were over in OT., some were active during this period and a few changes just begin to appear.

I. The oldest Telugu inscrr. 6th — 8th c. show the preservation of older sounds alongside their regular later developments or dialectal variants:

(1) k- in *kēsina* 'that did' (4-1), *kēsiri* 'they did' (3-1) 7th c. Bhairavakonda, Nellore dist., 8th *udakapūrvvaka*[*ṅkēsi*] 'having done (the ceremony of) pouring water' EI. XXX-69, 700-A.D. Koturu, Anantapur dist., from the root **key* (Kan. *key*). Elsewhere k in this position is palatalised to c, *cēsina* (10-5) Gtr. dist., *cēsina-vāni* (14-28), Cuddapah dist., etc. The k-forms are survivals from a non-palatalising dialect area (cf. *Māṇḍalika vṛttipada kōśamu* p. 38). -k- in *akun* III Sg. masc. aorist verb of the root *aku* (9-4), 7th c. Cuddapah dist., elsewhere -k- > -g-: *agun* in OT.; in the cardinal numeral *nālku* 'four' (2-13) 7th c. Cuddapah dist. cf. Kan. *nālku*, elsewhere voiced to -g-: *nālugu* (62-14). (2) m of the conjunctive suffix -um, *evvaraiyumu* 'whoever' (11-14) 7th c. Gtr. dist., *vēḍlumu* (mistake for *vēguḍlumu*) (20-14) 'and thousand temples' 7th c. Kistna dist., *pañcamiyum-ādityavāraṃbu nāṇḍu* 'fifth lunar day (of either fortnight) and Sunday' (l. 10 ARE. 30/1929-30, unpublished inscrr., in archaic characters); elsewhere -m- > -n-: *mariyumu* 'furthermore' (50-10). (3) a in *āṇḍu* 'year' (13-7) 7th c. Cuddapah dist., Tam. *āṇṭu*, *yāṇṭu*. Elsewhere e occurs *ēṇṭi* (10-3) *ēṇḍu* (35-3), cf. alternation of *yā*, *ā* and *ē* in Tam. and Tel.: *yātu*, *ātu* — *ēḍika* 'goat', *yānai*, *ānai* — *ēnūgu* 'elephant', *yāru*, *āru* — *ēru* 'river' *yān* — *ēnu* 'I' I pers. sg. pron. (4) e in *envānru* aor. participial noun from root *ēn* 'to say' (16-9) 7th c. Nellore dist., Tam. *en* Mal. *ennuka* Kan. *ennu*, elsewhere a occurs *anvānru* (29-3). (5) The representation of t in *tēni* (for *dēni* acc. of neut. demons. pron. *adi*. in the *Rēnāti Cōḷa* inscrr. (7-5, 9-3, 22-21, 23-16, 21, 30-5) 7th — 8th c. Cuddapah dist., may be a case of preservation of the original surd in this form (Tam. *atu*), or more probably due to a prevailing tendency of devoicing of voiced consonants. (6) -rd- remains in the form *perddaḷ* 'elders' in the *Ahadanakara* inscrr. (25-11) 8th c. while in all other occurrences of this form it is assimilated to -dd- in OT.: *pedda* (44-16, 53-4) *peddha* (46-1), *peddana* (44-30) *peda* (*Paṇḍaramgulu*) (37-4) with simplification of double consonant as it also occurs in later Telugu. Other instances, in place names, where r + stop consonant is not assimilated: 7th c. *Cirvali-ya* (12-5) (> Mdn. *Cippili*), *Tarkkapulōlu* (12-6) (> Mdn. *Takkavōlu*), *Mardavalli* (IA. XXIII-137) (> MT.

Maddāli); *Irabbali* (EI. XVIII-1), *Irbuli* (EI. XVIII-257); 9th c. *Virparu* (EI. XVIII-257) (> Mdn. *Vipparla*) (*Urpuṭūru* (EI. XXXII-91, EI. V-122) (> Mdn. *Uppuṭūru* in Bapatla taluk); preservation of stop + r: *Gudravāra* (*viṣayē*) (EI. V-122, earlier form *Gudrahāra* IA. XIII-138) (> *Guddavādi* IA. 431. 1. 79).

II. Phonological changes active in OT.:

(1) Pre-Telugu retroflexes ṅ and ɭ in the instances quoted were undergoing change to dental n and l respectively, the change becoming complete by the close of the OT. period.

Occurrence of ṅ in the roots *eṅ* 'eight', *kāṅ* 'see', *koṅu* 'take' *paṅ* 'do' and *miṅṅu* 'to be silent':

ṅ	n
7th <i>eṅumbodi</i> (10-3, 7) <i>eṅbodi</i> (11-5) <i>koṅiri</i> (17-2, 5) <i>paṅi</i> (3-2, 4-2, 10-5)	
8th <i>koṅina</i> (33-6)	<i>kāṅcum</i> (30-5) <i>paṅi</i> (25-8, 9) <i>paṅcina</i> (25-9)
9th <i>kāṅci</i> (36-9) <i>koṅi</i> (35-6) <i>koṅṅavānru</i> (42-2, 4, 43-5) <i>paṅi</i> (40-4) <i>paṅcina</i> (35-5)	<i>eṅubodi</i> (35-10) <i>koni</i> (38-11) <i>paṅcina</i> (37-7) <i>paṅcinan</i> (39-10)
10th <i>miṅṅaka</i> (50-14) <i>koṅuvāru</i> (50-15)	<i>konna</i> (44-71)

In the expression *dīni gāṅcuvāriki* 'to those who protect this' (ARE. 407/1940-41 unpublished inscr. cud.) ṅ is a mistake for ñ (may be by contamination with the root *kāṅ* 'to see').

Occurrence of ɭ in the plural suffix, and in the words *āḷu* 'woman', also fem. gender suffix, *vēḷpu* 'God', *ēḷu* 'to rule' *paḷli*, place of worship, Buddhist or Jain,' and its development to l: Frequency of ɭ and l in the plural inflexion: ɭ:l = 7th 31:30, 8th 40*:17; 9th 1:22; 10th 4:18. (*Ahadanakara inscr., alone accounts for 22 references of ɭ). ɭ occurs but once in an 11th c. inscr. in the compound *viṅṅarājya samvatsarambuḷ*, often used in formal praśasti in OT.; it is a relic form in MT.

ālu as a free form: *ālini* (50-13); *āli* (50-14) 10th c. Chittoor dist. As a gender suffix occurs in *manmarālu* (5-1) 7th c. Nellore dist. (> MT. *ālu*).

Frequency of *ḷ* and *l* in *ēḷu* and *ēlu*: 7th 7 : nil; 8th 7:2; 9th 2:3; 10th nil : nil.

vēḷpu : *peruvēḷpu guḍlu* (10-22) 'big temples for Gods' 7th c. Gtr. dist., with *l* in *vēlupu* (54-4) in an undated inscr. Kistna dist.

paḷli : *paḷli-rāṣṭra* 7th c. (EI. XXXI-74), the ancient name of Palnāḍu (cf. also *paḷlivāda grāmam* in IA. VII-191).

ḷ of the loc. suffix in *kayyambuḷōna* (77-8) is original, (cf. Tam. and other S.Dr. *uḷ*).

Inverse spellings in both these sounds *ṇ* and *ḷ* is an indication of the strength of this development.

ṇ is written for *n*: 10th. *māṇisi* (44-80), *maṇajanadu* (44-89) *paṇṇu* (50-3, 4) UD. *taṇki* (77-8).

ḷ is written for *l*: 7th *kaḷarēni* (20-13) 8th *lēḍu* (25-4) UD. *kaḷavanru* (70-6).

(2) *ḷ* is preserved in OT. It seems to have had the value of a voiced retroflex spirant. From the beginning *ḷ* was an unstable sound and the change of *-ḷ-* to *-ḍ-* and *-ḷ-* and its shift to initial position or an initial cluster in metathesised forms is represented in the inscrr. Initial *ḷ* further changed to *ḍ*.

ḷ > *ḍ*

UD. <i>cōḍa</i> (60-8, 80-4)	7th-10th <i>cōḷa</i>
<i>tōḍa</i> (80-4)	8th-9th <i>tōḷa</i>
<i>Nodambarāṣṭra</i> (EI. IX-47) 10th c.	9th <i>Noḷambi</i> (40-3, 4-10,
(Either <i>-ḍ-</i> < <i>-ḷ-</i> <i>Nodambarāṣṭra</i>)	18).
or mistake for <i>ḍ</i>	

ḷ > *ḷ*

8th *cōḷa* (28-3): Since the regular development in Telugu is *-ḷ-* > *-ḍ-* and that of Kannada *-ḷ-* > *-ḷ-*, the *ḷ* forms in Telugu are regarded as borrowings from Kannada (See IL. Turner Jubilee Vol. 1958).

Shift of *ḷ* to initial position in the roo* *al*: the verbs *ḷayyu*, *ḷaccu* occur throughout in OT. (> MT. *ḍayyu*, *ḍaccu* with an

intransitive — transitive difference conveyed by the endings -yu and -cu which is absent here). In an unpublished inscr. of 10th c. the form *yenbhanūṭa lebbhādyadi yeṇimbidi* 'eight hundred and seventy eight' occurs (ARE. 241/1937-38, 956 A.D. Kōdūru, Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah dist.) *le-* is the intermediary stage from *e-*.

l̥- > *ḍ-*: *ḍaggumbarti* (*sīmā*) 10th c. (IA. XII-91) (: *Ḷagumbaru* with *l̥* attested in 4th c. EI. XXIV-137); *ḍebbadi* (JAHRs. XI-80) 'seventy'. (cf. OT. *ēlu* 7th c. (14-8), 9th c. (40-3) Tam. *ēlu* 'seven').

Shift of *l̥* to form cluster with an initial consonant:

7th <i>Plakki</i> (<i>viṣaya</i>) (EI. XXXI-129)	6th <i>Palaki</i> (<i>rāṣṭrē</i>) (EI. XII-133)
	7th <i>Falaki</i> (<i>viṣayē</i>) (IA. XX-15; EI. IX-318)
8th <i>Plōḷṇāṇḍu</i> (EI. XVIII-58)	7th <i>puḷōlu</i> (9-1)
9th <i>kḷoce</i> (34-14) for <i>kḷocce</i>	7th-10th <i>koḷ</i> (see below)

l̥ in custer with another consonant changes to *r*:

7th <i>vraccinavāru</i> (10-34, 21-13)	9th <i>vḷaccina-</i> (42-3)
9th <i>cē-brōlu</i> (38-22), <i>prōlagala</i> (38-15)	7th <i>Puḷōlu</i> (9-1)
<i>vraccinavāru</i> (37-12, 38-13)	
UD. <i>kroccinavāṇḍu</i> (61-18)	8th <i>koḷoce</i> (23-27)
<i>vraccinavāru</i> (60-13, 62-18, 66-4)	9th <i>koḷalci</i> (35-6)
10th <i>krocinaṅṅru</i> (43-6)	<i>kḷoce</i> (34-14)
	10th <i>koḷpimcina</i> (44-64)

l̥ > *r* in the same environment:

UD. *kroce* (81-17), *vraccinavāru* (61-16, 64-19)

While the change of *l̥* to *r* is regular, the change to *r̥* is aberrant and the example belong to late centuries in OT. So the *r̥* spellings may be explained by the tendency for the merger of *r̥* with *r* already apparent during this period.

Inverse spellings:

-l̥- is written for *-ḍ-*: 7th *palasi* (16-11) *Kuḷivāṭaka kṣētra* — (EI. XXXI-129) (: *Kuḍivāḍa* — in two other inscr. of the same king, Jayasimhavallabha I (see plates B & C). *khalga* (44-11).

l̥ is written for *r* in a cluster: *Amlutalālu* (26-17).

l̄ is written for l̄ *Koḍukul̄* (27-6), *ēl̄ingā* (65-11). This incidentally points to the popularity of Kannada borrowings in l̄ (<l̄).

l̄ is written for ṣ in Vemalurpadu plates of Amma II, 10th c. *Karmma -rāl̄tra vāsinō rāl̄trakūṭa pramukhān* (EI. XVIII-226).

l̄ occurs in the following forms in OT: 7th *ēlu*, *koḷocu*, *cōla*, *āl̄u*, *puḷōlu*, *l̄accu*; Personal names: *Kilēvuru Kattisarmmakku*; Place names: *Al̄ikaḷā ūr-*, *Kalcivūla* 8th *koḷocu*, *cōla*, *l̄accu layyu*, *tōlan*; Personal names: *Aml̄utal̄ālu*, *Eyarakallu Kulagaṭṭulu*, *Karuvemgaḷa Naḷucāmuḷaku*; Place names: *Pāmbuḷiggi*, *Pākūṭuluna* 9th *aliyu/l̄ayyu*, *ēlu*, *cōla*, *koḷal̄cu/kḷoccu*, *Noḷombi*, *v̄l̄accu*, *tōlan* 10th *aliyu/l̄accu*, *ēlu*, *koḷpimcu*, *cōla*, *tivul̄desambu*, *negaḷpanu*, *pusi-illad-āl̄man*, *mul̄cilu*; Personal names: *Koravi Nālla Mēḷeya*, *Mēḷikurti Candiyaṇṇa*, *Ml̄āmpalli kommana gāmuṇḍu* UD. *aliyu/l̄accu*, *ēlu*, *cōla*, *Lōṅkuḷa*; Personal names: *Cul̄pati*, *Koḷanaḍippi Bireya*.

Skt. inscr.: 7th *Pal̄aki viṣayē* (IA. XX-15, IX-317) *Pl̄akki viṣayam*, *Kul̄ivāṭaka kṣētra-*, *Pl̄akki viṣayē gōḷavanāma tatākam* (for *gōḷa-*?) (EI. XXXI-129), *ḷuttalūr bōyasya*, *ḷuddaśarmma-* (IA. VII-186). 8th *Tāl̄isarmmanah*, *Pl̄ōlnāṇḍu* (EI. XVIII-58) 9th *Boḷama* (EI. V-118), *Tāl̄ugummi*, EI. V-131). 10th *Mēḷāmba* (IA. XIII-213, EI. V-134 EI. XXXI-37), *Bārupunāṇḍu leccādi viṣayē* (JAHS. II-42), *Lēmkoṇḍa* (EI. XVIII-226), *Tāl̄aparāja* (EI. XXXI-37) *Tāl̄abhūpāla* (EI. XIX-148).

(3) The masculine gender suffix *nru* began to change into *ṇḍu* from the middle of the 9th c., the change becoming complete by the end of the 10th c. A.D. The phonetic development could be seen from the following centurywise presentation of the forms of this suffix. 7th *nru*; 8th *nru*, *ṇru*, *ṇḍu*; 9th *nru*, *ṇḍu*; 10th *ṇḍu*. *nru* which occurs in the Tippaluru inscr. *Vakrambu vaccuvāṇru* (26-26), *l̄accinavaṇru-agu* (26-28), *pañcamahāpātaka saṁyuktunru-agu* (26-31), *l̄acinavaṇru-agu* (26-26) marks the stage where *n* was cerebralised in connection with *r*. *ṇḍu* is found used once in the Ahadanakara inscr., *Śrī jeṣṭi pendattarra gaṇḍāṇḍu* (25-18). Earliest occurrence of *ṇḍu* is in the Addanki inscr. 848 A.D.

(4) The neut. termination *mbu* showed a tendency to change into (m)mu towards the end of the 9th c. *mbu*, itself, however, remains alongside (m)mu in the 10th c. and also in MT. 7th-9th

mbu, 9th-10th mbu, (m)mu. Earliest occurrences of (m)mu in Dharmavaram inscr. of Calukya Bhima (892-922 A.D.). *binkamu* (39-7), *Kiranapuramu* (39-8), *karanammuna* (37-5) *dharmma-nirvahanōdyōgammunaku* (37-6).

(5) Devoicing of voiced plosives—initial and medial—both in NWs. and LWs.

g > k

7th *Pallava dukarajulu* (2-8)

dugarājul (7-3)

tugarājurla (6-2)

Marunra piḍuku (12-3)

piḍugu (as title in personal names (13-13, 29-1)

9th *Kaṇḍatrinētra* (41-3)

Kaṇḍatrinētra (40-5)

j > c

7th 8th *rācamānambu* (6-4, 13-12, 28-14)

rājamānambu (21-5)

d > t

7th *Erigal tugarājurla* (6-2)

dugarājul (7-3)

8th *tēvuḷ* (23-10)

dēvuḷa (30-1)

UD. *Intralōkambu* (75-5)

(=Indra-)

b > p

7th *rajyampunan* (15-1)

rājyambu (44-20)

(6) Voicing of initial and medial plosives-both in NWs and LWs.

k > g

7th *Erigal* (6-2)

Erikal (2-1, 6-2, 8-1)

8th *Erigallu* (23-16) (*pulam*) *karusu* (JAHS. V-51)

garusu (14-15, 47-15)

t > d

7th *mudlu* (20-1)

mutḷu (10-4, 11-8, 9)

Kadakarājah (EI. XXXI-37)

Katakārājah (IA. VII-15)

Kaḍeyarājah (EI. V-127)

th > dh

8th *pridhivirājyambu* (26-6)

prithivi (11-7)

pridhivī — (25-6)

p > b

7th *Nidubaru* (EI. XVIII-55)
voicing of p—of *parru* in place
names is very common

Niduparu (same inscr.)

Gaṇḍēruvāṭyām (EI. XVIII-55)

Kaṇḍērrvāḍi viṣaya 10th
c. EI. V-118), *Kaṇḍēru-
vāṭi viṣaya* (IA. XIII-50)

(7) Metathesis was a formative principle which continued from the pre-Telugu stage into OT. It has resulted (i) in the shift of the consonants *ḷ*, *ḍ*, *r*, *ṛ* and *l* to the initial position in forms where they were originally medial and (ii) in the development of initial clusters in *ḷ*, *r* and *ṛ* whereas there were none in the proto language.

Forms with and without metathesis involving *ḷ* appear side by side in OT. Ex. *alīsina*, *lassi* in the Bezwada inscr. (38-20, 24). The form *muḷcilu* (44-58) remains unaffected in the 10th c. (> MT. *mruccilu*).

Doublets of the above type are not in evidence in regard to the other consonants affected by metathesis, but the literary dialect in MT. presents some, Ex. *eraka* — *rekka* 'wing of bird', *ela* — *lē* 'tender' in compounds, etc.

Forms in which metathesis occurred:

ḷ- : 7th *ḷaccu* (16-21), 9th *ḷayyu* (38-14) (: *aḷ*- 38-20)

ḍ- : (< -ṭ-) 10th *ḍomka* (47-7) Tam, *iṭaṅkar*, narrow path;
(< -ḷ-) : 10th *ḍebbadi* (cf. *ēḷu* 14-8).

r- : 7th *Rē-nāṇḍu* (1-4), *reṇḍu* (13-11)
10th *rāvimci* (44-26) caus. of the root **var-*

ṛ- : 9th *ṛēni* (39-7) (: 8th *Era Drōṇaśarmma* (EI. XVIII-313)
Eriya nāṣṭrakūṭaḥ (EI. XXXI-37); *rō* (43-5); *rēvu*: 10th
Reṇḍu-rēvulu (47-13), *Arti-rēvula* (48-3).

l- : 8th *lē* 'not to be' (defective verb); 10th *lōpali* (47-17)

Other instances are: *kāka*, (38-10), neg. part, *kān* (2-3) infin., and *kāviṅce* (35-8) from the root *aku*; *dāni*, *dīni*, *dēni* obl. base forms of the non-masc. demons. pronouns *adi*, *idi*

and interr. *ēdi*; *vānru*, *vāru*, *vīnin* (35-11), *vīru*, masc. sg. and epicene pl. pronouns.

Initial clusters from metathesis:

with *l*, and *r*, *r̥* (< *l*)

kloce (34-14), *kroccinavaṇḍu* (61-15), *krocinaṅvānru* (43-6), *krocce* (64-20), *plakki* (*viṣaya*) (EI. XXXI-129); *plōlnāṇḍu* (EI. XVIII-58), *prōla* (38-15); *Cēbrōlanuṇḍi* (38-32); *vḷaccina* (42-3), *vraccinaṅvāru* (10-34, 62-18, 66-4), *vraccina* (61-16).

with *r*:

vrāse (13-12) *vrāsiri* (24-29), *vrālu* (48-7)

(8) In about ten instances in 7th and 8th c. final vowel *a* of the stem is lengthened before the case suffix *-kun*. The reason for this vowel lengthening is not known.

7th *rakṣaṅnāku* (10-5), *mahārājulākun* (11-2), *bhaṭāraḷāku* (11-10), *vasantīśvarambunāku* (13-15), *dāyanambunāku* (mistake for *dānambunāku*) (16-2). 8th *Īśvarunāku* (26-13), *Mōrayāku* (30-2) UD. *ḷōṅkuḷāku* (91-6).

(9) Before the conjunctive suffix *-nu* final vowel *u* of the stem is lengthened: 7th *tālu tōṅṭalāyu* (10-8), 9th *oṅḍu sōṭi goragalūnu* (38-31), Instances of such vowel lengthening are commonly met with in inscrr. in MT. but not in the literary dialect which shows it to be a feature of the colloquial language.

(10) The on-glide *y-* is attested by the spellings in the Skt. inscrr., not only with the front vowels but also with the back vowels. Ex. (with context): *paścimataḥ yēru* (EI. V-139), *paścimataḥ kalvakuru yuttarataḥ Dharmmavuramu* (EI. IX-47), *Lāmuna yuttarambuna būrugu* (EI. XXIII-161). It is noteworthy that there are no clear instances of the *v* glide in the Telugu inscrr. either.

III. Some changes which are prominent in MT have their beginnings during this period.

(1) The *r̥* phoneme: *r̥* was generally speaking well preserved in OT., but confusion between *r̥* and *r* had set in even in the oldest inscriptions as may be judged from the spellings. There are instances where the same form is spelt with either *r*.

r (for r̥)	r̥
7th <i>eruguvāru</i> (17-3)	<i>ēveruguvāru</i> (10-10)
<i>Cirumbūri</i> (1-6)	cf. <i>Cirumbūri</i> (14-3)
	<i>Cirumbūru</i> (22-7)
<i>tūrpuna</i> (10-8, 14-14)	<i>tūrpu</i> (20-11)
<i>marutunḍu</i> (22-11)	<i>marutru</i> (14-8)
8th <i>cēnēraka</i> (25-9)	(<i>cēnēraka</i> , later Tel.)
9th <i>eruganu</i> (38-32)	<i>erunṅa</i> (39-6, 8)
10th <i>ēnūru</i> (44-65)	<i>ēnuru</i> (52-7)
<i>mariyunu</i> (44-54)	<i>mariyunu</i> (50-11)
<i>Kāṭi-ceruvulu</i> (48-4)	<i>ceruvulu</i> (44-54)

r̥ is a mistake in the following forms:

7th *ēḷuncunri* (for *ēḷucunḍi* 14-8), note that nr̥ > nḍ in 9th c., this spelling seems to indicate that even by the 7th c. nr̥ has possibly developed the nḍ value (cf. *kārlu* in *kārlu gaḍigi* 'having washed the feet' for *kāḍlu*, pl. of *kālu* 'foet', in an unpublished inscr. 1.7 of ARE. 149/1945-46 from Vuḍavaguṇḍla, pulivendala taluk, Cuddapah dist., in characters of 9th c.), *ūrḷu* (for *ūrḷu*) (14-23), but cf. later Tel. *ūḍlu* which suggests that r̥ in this environment has ḍ pronunciation; *irlakā* (for *itlakā*) (17-2, 10-10); r̥ is written for r in tatsama word *Vēḷugunṭha ācārlu* (3-1) 8th *Kaṅgulūnru* (23-8), *Vaṅgunūrla* (31-2) *vrāsiri* (24-29). 9th *konḍru* (38-13) (also 86-4). 10th *potarūaṅgāri ceruvu* (EI. V-127), *Koḷḷipurobōyāya* (EI. VIII-233). UD. *raccinavānru* (S7-10), *vrāsinaḅvāṇḍu* (61-17).

r̥ occurs in the following forms in the inscrr.

7th *ārū*, *ārlapaṭṭu*, *indoru*, *ēveruguvāru*, *kuntur*, *kuriti*, *ceruvu*, *tūrpu*, *munnūru*, *manmarāḷu*, *paḍumāri*, *pāra*, *nagarakudumu*, *marutu*, *mārpidaḅu*, *mūnru*. Personal names: Male: *Iserēnikin*, *Kuruvadi ācarla*, *Puṅyasārḷu*, *Rengari*, *Vanri bōlumu*, *Vitrajula*, *Vēḷugunṭha ācārlu*.

Female: *Goyinda porēri*, *Vasanti pōri*. Place names: *Uruvuṭūri*, *Ēruva viṣayaṅbu*, *Cirumbūri*, *Tārumunri*, *Tḷomrūru*, *Vitparti*, *Viripariti*.

8th *tabunru*, *tere*, *pāra*, *maganru*, *marutu*, *mārirā* (*piduḅu*). Names of persons: Male: *Accakurṛavanīyū*, *Āḷubā pasinḍi mire*, *Erama*, *Kaccarḷu*, *Korukālu*, *Corlakālu*, *Purranūrullu*, *Srī Jaṣṭi*

Pendattarra, gandāṇḍu, Penrukōlu. Female: Kurrimma vallava rattagudi, Kūcapōri, Mamkhiporriyāru. Place Names: Marralūra.

9th ārla paṭṭu, eruṅga, kroccinavānru, ceruncuvāru, tiviri, nūṭayenubonrra, paṇḍreṇḍu, maganru, meresi, rō, velvarimcinan. Names of Males: Kōra Dēsiniṅambu, Raccayirriki, Rerayurājul.

10th aruvadinalugu, ciru-deral, ceruvu, terici, panrentilōni, ramkāḍinan. Personal names: Male: Kariyakanti Vaidumba rattodiyu, Kuruva bhatariki, Koravi Nalla mēleya, Mēlikurṭi Candiyanṇa, Rākunḍa Konḍeya; Place names: Arturēvula, Peddha Kalucuvubariti, Reṇḍurēvula.

UD. indoru, erāsi, koṇḍru, kroce, ceruvu, torru nūru, paṇḍreṇḍu, padunrru, pāra, maganru, marandi, marutu, vraccinavāru. Personal names: Male: Aruturēvullaya, Erracummayu, Kurureḷaremma, Gālpariti Barariyaku, Dānsirla mārāma, Rēyāmayyaru, Rēseralu kumbala, Vilmeṇe. Place names: Kurramāḍuvu, Sirumūra.

Skt. inscr.:

7th. Koṇḍaṣṛupūr, Virparu (EI. XVIII-257), Penkaparu (IA. XIII-137), Gaṇḍēruvāṭyām vannēru nadyāśca, Niḍubaru, Niḍuparu (EI. XVIII-55), Kōmbaru (EI. XIX-258), Nāgula ceruvu (EI. XXXI-129) Cerupūra nāma grāmaḥ, Irralūr bōya (EI. XVIII-1), Marrūra grāma- Iparumkal nāma grāmaḥ (EI. XXXII), Panrunidu, Utpitoru bōyasya, Miri bōyasya (IA. VII-186), Arutaṅkūrāśrayē (IA. VII-191), Kandēru, Kanparu (EI. XXXI-74), Nutalaparū nāma grāme, Penkaparabum, Niḍubamru (=Niḍumbaru) (IA. XX-104), Nandakurra nṛipēśvaraḥ (EI. XXXII-91) 8th. Vaṅgiparu Penkaparu, Era Drōṇa śarmma (EI. XVIII-313), Eliyēru (EI. XVIII-58), Vargiparu, Cittērugunṭa, Sēndarūbāya Kṣētram, utarataḥ Pāṇḍarabu, Varjiparu Cirati cēla (JAHS. V-51) 9th. Vaṅgiparru Rompayā śarmmaṇē Korraparu nāma grāmaḥ pūrvataḥ Atūguparru, dakṣiṇataḥ vānāparru (IA. XX-414), Kaṇḍēruvāḍi viṣayē, Va(ṇḍ)rupiteyu nāma grāmasya, Korraparu sīmaḥ (EI. V-118) Trāṇḍaparū nāma grāmaḥ, cavi(ṭa?) paru (EI. V-122) 10th. uttara Kāṇḍērvāḍi viṣaya-, Kūkiparru, Pōtaryamgāri ceruvu, cāki ceruvu, cintarēni ceruvu (EI. V-127), Kaṇḍēruvāṭi viṣaya paścimataḥ kaluceruvulu, pūrvataḥ pōturāyu, dakṣiṇataḥ kuruvacōṭi nairititaḥ peruvātikuruva, Madapalluparru, cāmirēnigumṭṭa (IA. XIII-50). Digubarru grāmaḥ (IA. XIII-213),

Vaṁgiparru (EI. V-134), *Elavarru nāma grāmaḥ Ḍagguṁbarti sīmā*, *prēmparti sīmā*, *Turimiṇḍi sīmā* (IA. XII-91), *ceruvu*, *Malkaparru*, *Korabōyu taṭākaśca Dūba ceruvu* (EI. IX-47), *Pāmbarru Indanī ceruvu*, *paścimataḥ yēru*, *Tiṅṭhūrṛōtamu paṭu* (EI. V-139), *Kalvatorru*, *pūrvvataḥ Marupaḍuvam*, (IA. VII-15), *Tūṇḍēru*, *Āsuvulaparru* (EI. XXIII-161) *Guṅṭēriya kariti*, *paścimataḥ ēṭiya kariti* (EI. XVIII-226), *Eriya rāṣṭrakūṭaḥ*, *kurrala-bōla pannasa* (EI. XXXI-37), *gōgu-rēvu*, *cirusōdi maddalu*, (EI. XIX-148), *Cerukumballi* (EI. XIX-137), *Pabhubarru*, *Ṛēlamu kōḍu*, *Kākimarri*, *prōlisāni ceruvu naikarāla kōḍu* (JTA. II-399).

(2) Consonant clusters in r:

Consonant clusters, excepting those consisting of a honorganic nasal with the stop consonant, are not in consonance with the native phonetic system. So initial cluster is simplified by the dropping of r, as in *-vōḷu* in *ayyavōḷu vāstavyāya* (Bharati 1939, vaiśakha) < *prōlu*, beginning of 8th c.; *peggaḍa* (77-3) (< *preggaḍa* < *perggaḍa* (37-6). In the Skt. inscrr. the forms *prākuṅḍōraviṣaya* 8th c. (JAHS. V-51) and *Pāgunavara viṣaya* 10th c. (IA. XIII) seem to be thus connected. Also cf. *Nandigāmah.* 10th c. (IA. VII-15) (for—*grāmaḥ*).

Medial clusters are generally assimilated, as noted above.

(3) The pre-consonantal nasal: The practice of slurring over or dropping the preconsonantal nasal in pronunciation is attested in OT. For instance, in the Addanki inscrr. in the second line of the verse *balagarvaṁb-oppaga- bailēci sēna*, the nasal m in the word *garvaṁbu* has to be elided in metre though it was actually written in the text. Similarly in the Bezwada inscrr. *n* in the masc. termination *Malluṇḍ-* (1. 2), and m in the ntr. termination *maṭṭhambu* (11. 10 and 22) and *phalambu* (1.20) have to be elided. The retention of the nasals in these cases in orthography must be conventional (cf. again metre requires the elision of l in *golelci* (35-6), *goragalgāka* (37-10). We find in some of the prose inscrr. in Old Telugu, the nasal which is attested in the forms in other occurrences are not written in some cases:

7th *eruguvāru* (10.10, 17-3), *ēṭi* (19-6) 9th *eruganu* (38-32) 10th *kāpulu* (44-68), UD. *ēge* (75-6, 80-5, 84-3, 85-10): *eruṁgu* (39-6, 8), *ēṅṭi* (10-3, 47-10, 48-2, 63-7, 39-2, 45-4); *kāmpu-* (33-8, 34-7, 44-73, 46-2, 50-3); *eṅge* (78-3, 90-10) 'ēṁge (93-7).

(4) Spontaneous aspiration of stop consonants:

7th *ēbhadi* (8-3), *irubhadi* (19-5). 8th *ēbhadi* (28-5), *Mamghiduvarāja* (EI XVIII-58). 9th *ēnṭhi* (39-2), *Ummarkanṭhibōl*, *Puruvulagunṭha*, *Juvvigunṭha*, *Ariviya gunṭha*. (EI. V-127). 10th *peddha Kalucuvubariti* (46-1), *iṣṭha-viṣaya-kām-ōpabhōgambulu* (44-26). *yenbhanūṭa lebbhādyadi yenimbidi* (II. 2-3, 241-/1937-38, unpublished inscr. A.D. 956, Koduru, Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah dist.), *ponṭhe* (44-40), *Inṭhūri sīma* (IA. XII-91) *Caligunṭha* (EI. XVIII-226), *Puccagunṭha* (JTA. 2-399), *Driṅṭhamapūṅḍiśca* (IA. VII-15). UD. *ēbhadi marutula* (I. 27, ARE. 407/1940-41, unpublished inscr., in characters of 9th c., Velpucherla, Jammalamadugu taluk, Cuddapah dist.).

(5) Loss of final and medial sounds with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:

8th *ēlē* (25-5-6): 9th *ēleḍuvāra* (38-30). 9th *upēkṣincinā* (38-20): (<*upēkṣincinan*), 10th *ellā* (50-10): 10th *ellan* (33-42, 44-12). *ēlē* (44-21, <*ēleḍu/ēleḍi*). UD. *ēliṅgā* (65-11); *iccēvāru* (1.34, ARE 407/1940-41 unpublished inscr., in characters of 9th c. velpucherla, Jammalamadugu taluk, Cuddapah dist.).

Instances of the loss of medial sounds in Skt. inscrr. *Pāgunāra (viṣayē)*: 10th *Pāgunāvāra (viṣaya)* (IA. XIII-213). *Boṅḍāḍanōrti grāmē* (JTA. 2-215): (<*Boṅḍavāḍa-?*).

(6) -g- > -v-: 8th *Mamghiduvarāja* (EI. XVIII-58) (<*dugarāja*); *avun* (63-7) elsewhere *agun*.

-v- > -g-: 9th *Kaḍeyagāri* (37-6), honorific (<*vāru*), *pōtaryamgāri* (EI. V-127). Also compare alternation of v-g in *goravalaku* (61-7) and *goragalaku* (38-10, 31) (<Skt. *guru*).

v > y before the front vowel i: 7th *Goyindapōrēri* (5-1) 7th c. and *Gōyindaśarman* (Sataluru gt. JAHRS. V-101, 9th c.), a feature of colloquial Telugu which is common throughout.

-m- > -v-: 10th *vēvulu* (EI. XVIII-226) (<*vēmulu* 'margosa trees').

-d- > -∅: In one of the unpublished inscrr., in 1.17 of ARE. 342/1934-35, from Pedda Kancherla Vinukonda, Guntur dist.

written in characters of 10th c. we get the form *muppai-* 'thirty' (< *muppadi*) showing the elision of the medial -d-. This is a feature of MT., but then we have to regard it as having had its beginnings in the OT. period itself, if the ascribing of the record to 10th c. is correct.

4. Phonemic variation i.e., 'substitution of one phoneme by another in the same speech form, the substitution being not a permanent feature'.

n/ṅ

10th *Bhuvana triṅētra* (50-2)

UD. *brāhmaṇuḷ* (76-1)

Bhuvana trinētra (49-5)

*dēvā-brāhmaṇa-gurubhakti-
paruṅḍu* (37-9) *dharmma-
nirvvaḥan-ōdyōgammu-naku*
(37-6)

l/ḷ

10th *Viśāla-vakṣasthaḷa* (50-1)

10th *Viśāla vakṣasthala* (48-1)

n/l

8th *Kaundilya gōtra* (28-17)

l/r

Cendalūra- (EI. VIII-234)

7th *Cendarūra* (EI. VIII-236)

a/e

9th *Bejayarāju* (37-7)

10th *gadyalu* (62-20)

9th *Bejayarāju* (39-11)

gadyeḷu (50-15)

a/o

10th *Nolambi* (40-3)

7th *indoru* (17-4)

Nōlombi (41-8, 10)

5. Phonological processes:

(1) Syncope: *martulu* (66-9) elsewhere *marutu*; *Uttara Kaṇḍērruvādi viṣaya* (EI. V-127) (: *Kaṇḍēruvāṭi viṣaya*—IA. 13-50); even in tats. form which is uncommon, *ātmānmatambunan* (37-7) (= *ātmānumatambunan*).

(2) Assimilation: 7th. *iravadiyādi nālku* (2-13) (= *iruvadi* cf. Mdn. Tel. *iravai*) *Kāśyapa gotriniki* (14-11) (for *-gotruniki*) irregular, not attested in the later language. 9th *edarayna* (40-5) (= *edur-ayna*) UD. *magunru* (67-2) (for *maganru*) irregular. The change of the stem vowel a to u does not appear in *bhaṭāra-*:

bhaṭāralu (46-2, 66-6) *dharmavugān* (48-7) cf. Na. *garudāḍu*, M. & NT. *nāyāḍu*, beside *nāyūḍu*, a title.

s with a front vowel is assimilated to ś, Ex. 7th *vēśeruvuḷu* (20-15), 9th *Vāraṇāśi* (42-2). This feature is seen in colloquial M. and NT.

6. Some characteristic Phonetic changes in loan words:

(1) Prakritic: m > n: 8th *saṅvatsarambu* (26-8). mh > mgh: 7th *Jayasimghavallabha* (10-1, 11-1). 9th *siṅghāsanuḍu* (36-6) cf. *tadbhava siṅgamu* with g < mgh < mh. ry > rjy: UD. *sūrjya grahana* (60-7). thy > cc. 10th *racca* (EI. V-139). v > b: 7th *bidiya* (12-9) *Bāraṇāśi* (13-18), 8th *Bejeitta bhaṭaraḷa* (27-1), 9th *Bejaya-rāju* (37-7). Native words with b (< PDr.* v) as in the following are to be regarded as borrowings from Kannada where this change appears by the 7th c. A.D. (GOKI. p. 52) 9th *binkamu* 'pride' (39-7), *beṭṭuvu* 'authority' (38-22), *beḍamgu* 'ornament, grace' (38-38), *beḍu* 'soft', 'powerless' (39-7). *bīralōkambu* (vīra-) 'the world of the heroes' (85-10 Chittoor dist.) would also appear to be due to Kan. influence.

(2) *Phonetic changes common to Telugu with Pkt.: ś, ṣ > s: 7th *Vasantīsvarambunāku* (13-15), 8th *dasaparādhambu* (25-3). 9th *asvamēdambu* (35-11), *Īsvarunaku* (37-3). 10th *dōsambunaku* (44-81); Elimination of consonant clusters by anaptyxis: 7th *Arahanta bhaṭaralāku* (11-10), 10th *aruhuḍu* (44-53). ś > c: *kocciya* (pāra) (7-4) (< *kaśika*).

(3) Changes peculiar to *tadbhavas* in Telugu: Deaspiration of aspirates: kh > k: 7th *likitam* (9-5, 16-25); th > t: 7th *pratama rājyambu* (20-2). 8th *prativipatulla* (30-1). 8th-10th *stīti* (25-2, 38-33, 44-90). au > avu: *pavutra* (EI. XVIII-58) (*pautra*).

MIDDLE TELUGU

The changes introduced in the phonemic system of OT. compared to that of PDr. may be briefly noted before dealing with MT. developments.

(1) PDr. *k- in radical syllables is palatalised to c before the front vowels ī, ē. Forms without palatalisation in this environment

are to be regarded as borrowings from a non-palatalising neighbouring speech like Kannada or as those of a non-palatalising dialect within the Telugu area. "Telugu is the South Dravidian language most affected by palatalisation, and in this respect it is independent of similar developments in Tamil and Malayalam. Inscriptions record this development from the 5th c. onwards. but we do not know how long it existed before. However, the forms *krinda*, *kri-* 'below', *krēva* 'side', *krēṇi* 'redicule' indicate that palatalisation of *ki*, *kī*, *ke*, *kē* commenced after the completion of the metathesis of radical phonemes which affected a large number of forms". (TVB, p. 10). (2) The *s* phoneme is a development from **c* in the native element. Ex. in the verb *salpu* 'to do, maintain'; (3) voiced stops developed secondarily in initial and medial positions whereas there were none in PDr. (4) *r* is a reflex of the PDr. alveolar plosive **t̪*. (5) The morphophonemic alternation of long and short vowels in etymologically connected group of words is explained by the nature of the suffixed element. It is shown that a radical syllable which had originally a long vowel was shortened when suffixes with an initial vowel were added. Ex. *pāru*—*par-acu*, *nūru*—*nur-ucu*, *vīcu*—*vis-aru* (JAOS. 75-237). (6) Metathesis, a special feature of Telugu not found in other S.Dr. languages has substantially altered the phonemic arrangements of the proto-language. Metathesis occurred with the last two phonemes of the radical syllables and then coalescence of the radical vowel with the suffixal vowel giving length if a single consonant followed. $a + a > \bar{a}$. $i/e + a > \bar{i}$. $u/o + a > \bar{o}$, but a short vowel if a consonant group followed Ex. *ēraka* > *rekka* (JAOS. 75-237).

By the end of the 10th c. *l* drops out of the language having fallen together with *ḍ* and *r* in complementary environments; the Sanskritic element permeates the whole language more thoroughly than before so that the overall picture of the phonemic system for MT. may be represented as follows:

Vowels

Front	Non-front
<i>i</i> <i>ī</i>	<i>u</i> <i>ū</i>
<i>e</i> <i>ē</i>	<i>o</i> <i>ō</i>
	<i>a</i> <i>ā</i>

Consonants:

	Vel.	Pal.	Retro.	Alv.	Dent.	Lab.
Stop Vl.	k	c	ṭ		t	p
Stop Vl asp.	kh	ch	ṭh		th	ph
Stop Vd.	g	j	ḍ		d	b
Stop Vd. asp.	gh	jh	ḍh		dh	bh
Nasal	ṅ	ñ	ṇ		n	m
Semi-vowel		y				v
Flap					r	
Trill					ṛ	
Lateral			ḷ		l	
Spirant	h	ś	ṣ		s	

c and j are really affricates. In native words they are pronounced as dental affricates [ts, dz] before back vowels and as palatal affricates [č, j] before front vowels. There is no knowing about the state of this allophonic situation in OT. The phonemic status of the velar and the palatal nasals is marginal for contrast between these and the other nasals is found in but a few forms as *kruṅki* (Kus. 1-96), *boṅku* (12-96) : *unki* (2-36), *kāṅki* (6-162); *kuñce* (7-78) : *aṅcen*. There is no contrast between ṅ, ñ on the one hand and m on the other. The visarga [ː] which is the voiceless aspirate occurs in Telugu in non-final position, within words and compounds borrowed from Skt. Ex. *duḥkhamu antaḥkaraṇamu*, *tapahphalamu* (the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadh-mānīya*); it can be taken as an allophone of the phoneme h. (TVB. p. 2).

The aspirated stops kh, ch, ṭh, th, ph, gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh and the spirants ś, ṣ and h occur in unassimilated loans from Skt. However these sounds have developed also in native words to some extent in different ways: the aspirated stops in onomatopoeic forms like *khaṅillu*, *peṭhillu*, *bhōr-ana*, *bhagabhagalu*; by sporadic aspiration, Ex. *icchina* 'that was given' (SII. VI-217, for *iccina*), *ēṅṭhi* 'of the year' (SII. VI-868, for *ēṅṭi*), *iddharaku* 'for the two persons' (SII. V-1238, for *iddaraku*); h- through loan words from Kannada where p- > h- after 10th c., Ex. *hattu* 'to hold' *heccu* 'to increase', *honnu* 'gold'; by internal development in some words like in *pahi(m)ḍi* 'gold' (SII. V-1189, VI-243) *nāhinimḡāru* (< -y- in both cases) in inscriptional Telugu; ś from s under the assimilative influence of a front vowel, as *cēśi* 'having done'

colloquially for *cēsi*; and *-ṣ-* < *-ṭ-*, again in colloquial (ĀBB. V-26) or dialectal as in *aṣuvale*, 'in that manner' *iṣuvale* 'in this manner' (< *īṭuvale*, *iṭuvale*) etc.

ḷ does not occur in MT. barring a few exceptions in the 11th and 12th c. inscrr. which are the last survivals Ex. *Rājanārāyaṇa viṇṇagarāḷuvāriki* (SII. V-18) (cf. Tam. *ālvār*); *cōḷāṇḍi* (V-1039); *Paḷamanāyakurālu* (V-1281); ḷ is written for ḍ in *naḷapamgalavāṁḍu* (V-1083). In the 12th c. ḷ is seen in inscrr. from Vizag dist. *niḷumjervu* (X-654), *cōḷagaṁgadēvara* (X-664) etc.

ṇ and ḷ do not occur initially in Telugu; *y*, *vũ*, *vō* do not occur initially in native Telugu words in the classics. BV. (Sam. 17) gives a direction that there are no tatsama forms either, beginning with *vũ* and *vō* excepting *vōḍha*.

I. Phonological changes in MT.:

(1) The value of the ṛ and ḷ vowels: The Skt. ṛ and ḷ vowels have separate symbols in orthography to represent them, but it is difficult to state whether they ever had their original vowel value in the vernacular.

In early MT., as in OT., ṛ was generally written as *ri* in inscrr. The *ri* pronunciation is corroborated by rhyme in literature, Ex. Na. *ṛtviṇḍani vicārin̄ci pūjincitē* (Bhr. 2-2-11) *riḷubalambulā jēṇḍāḍe pṛthivi vaṇaka* (AK.).

The *ru* pronunciation which obtains in NT. began about the 12th c. and gradually gained ground at the expense of *ri*. This is evident from spellings in inscrr. and occasional use of *yati* between ṛ and *ru* even in the early poets like Palkuriki Somanatha and Tikkana: Ex. *ruruvarṇa dēhambu ṛgvēdamunaku* (Pan. Ca. p. 523); *saptaṛṣulairi vāru marudgaṇambu, naku* (Bhr. śal, 2-160). One *prayōga* is cited from Nannaya: *kaṇḍarōpānta tatulā, doḍareḍu nadivōle dhṛtaphēna vitatula* (Bhr. 3-3-38) which dates back the beginnings of *ru* pronunciation to the 11th c. The use of the form *Niruruti* (= *Niṛṛti*) (in Kus. 10-191) is noteworthy.

Later writers and grammarians, however following the classical usage recognise the *ri* treatment (not *ru*) in literature.

Spellings in inscrr.

ṛ > ri

Ex. 12th *amritāṁśumṇḍu*, *mrigāṁka* (SII. IV-677), *iṣṭa-bhṛityumṇḍu* (IV-673) *mrigāvati* (V-1022), *kriṣṭa-pakṣamuna* (X-661); 13th *vīravrikōdara* (IV-780), *grihakṣētramū* (V-216), *brindāvanamu* (VI-120); 14th *abhivṛiddhi* (IV-952), *śriṣṭi* (IV-1380), *Śriṅgāra bhōgam* (V-4); 15th *āyurārōgya aiśvaryaḥbhivṛiddhi* (IV-271); 16th *tritīyāṁśamu* (IV-698).

ṛ > ru

12th *pitruṣṭhānamunan* (SII. IV-1248 God. 1112 A.D. *pitruhitārthamu* (VI-649, Gtr. 1160 A.D.); 13th *pituru pitāmahulakun* (X-442, Gtr. 1277 A.D.), *śatruṇāpi krutō dharmmah* (IV-966 Kist. 1242 A.D.), *sugrutālu* (IV-784, Kist. 1278 A.D.); 14th *garbhagruhamu* (X-569, Gtr. 1398 A.D. V-749, God. 1583 A.D.); 15th *akṣaya sukrutam aunaṭlu* (V-48, God. 1450 A.D.); 16th *Śrī vīra Kruṣṇarāya-* (XVI-46 Kurn. 1510 A.D., 48 Chittōr 1510 A.D.). *kōdaṇḍaruṣi gōtram* (XVI-217, 1556 A.D.).

Inverse spellings, (ṛ for original ri or ru) in the inscrr. point to a state of confusion in the minds of the people regarding the use of ṛ.

ṛ is written for ri: 12th *tana tallikin taṇḍṛki* (X-181, Gtr. 1172 A.D.); *tama taṇḍṛ yerramaraddikin* (X-183, Gtr. 1172, also in X-180 Gtr. 1172).

ṛ is written for ru: 13th *bhūsurēndṛlu* (V-1212 Ganj. 1210 A.D.; 15th *tallidaṁḍṛlaku* (V-47 God. 1424 A.D. 48 God. 1450 A.D. IV-1355), *pekkaṁḍṛnu* (IV-1375 God. 1444 A.D. for -ra-); 16th *putṛlu*, *sugṛtālu* (IV-280 Bellary 1556 A.D., 709 Gtr. 1558 A.D.); 17th *yimḍṛmḍu paṁṭaredḍimḍṛmḍu* (SPM-86); 18th *vīrabhadṛḍu* (IV-919) *prasiddha caṁḍṛḍu*, *kīrti caṁḍṛḍu* (VI-79); 19th *dvitīyya putṛlam-ayina* (V-1192).

Such confusion is not only in inscriptional Telugu; it occurred with poets and other writers as well, so that *lākṣaṇikas* like Appakavi and Venkatakavi gave lists of words with ru and ṛ for their guidance and warned them not to mix up the two spellings. Ex. *grucce*, *krumme*, *trulle kruṅke* with ru not ṛ, in NWs (AK. 1-57, 2-65); *krudha*, *krūra druhiṇa*, *druta*, *dhruva* with ru, not ṛ in LWS

(AK. 2-66, ĀKau. p. 35); *ṛṣyamūkādri ṛṣyaśṛṅguṇḍu, bhr̥ṅga, śṛṅga* with *ṛ* not *ru* in LWs (AK. 2-72, ĀKau. p. 35).

ḷ occurs but rarely, in the form *kl̥pta-*, > late Middle and NT. *kl̥upta*. Possibly ḷ was pronounced as *li* in the earlier period (like *ṛ* as *ri*); there is evidence of rhyme: *Kēvalabhōgyaparikl̥pti* (Hari. 8-318) (See DLP. p. 103).

(2) Change in the values of *kṣ* and *jñ*: The pronunciation of the conjuncts *kṣ* and *jñ* in Skt. loan words require mention for a change of their sound values is indicated by the system of rhyme in Nannaya and the later poets. In Na. *kṣ* is always made to rhyme with the first element—the velar *k*, and *jñ* with the palatal *j*. Later *kṣ* was made to rhyme with *ṣ* suggesting that the second element assumed prominence, and *jñ* was made to rhyme with *k* (as in *Tikkana, Bhr. 12-4-255*) suggesting that in actual pronunciation the initial *j* was pronounced more like a velar, and this obtains support in Modern usage and *tadbhava* formations such as *pegge* < Skt. *prajñā-*; also cf. the spelling *āgña* (SII. XVI-60 Gtr. 1517 A.D.).

(3) The on-glides *y* and *v*: Initially the front vowels *i, ī, e, ē* developed an on-glide *y* in the spoken language, and the back vowels *u, ū, o, ō* developed *v* [*w*]. Grammarians considered this usage as *grāmya* i.e. colloquial and prohibited it, often giving long lists of examples indicating that the words begin with a vowel and not a consonant (*y*, or *v*). Vinnakota Peddana gives the example *ēgavalayu* which is pronounced *yēgavalayu* (Kāc. 9-21). Atharvana says *ādya varnāstu haltvēna na gr̥hyantē kadāpica* (Akā. sam. 24); Citrakavi Peddana points out that *eruka, iravu* have initially a vowel (and not *y*), and *ōpika, udadhi, unnatambu, Ūrvaśi, ōmkāramu* do not begin with *v*, (LSS, 3-7, 8). Appakavi likewise warns writers not to use the consonants (*y* and *v*) initially for vowels in words like *irulu, ṛgalu, uḍatalu, ūḷlu, evvaru, ēmiṭi, okkāḍu* (AK. 2-43, 45).

Ex. from verse inscr. are more telling: *y-*: *yī dharmānaku* (SII. IV-280. 1556 A.D.), *yimḍṛmḍu* (ŚPM. 86. 1626 A.D.). *v-*: *vorulu (cēsina dharmmambu) vumḍḍanika* (ŚPM. 75-1417 A.D.), Cf. also *vumḍen (-evvani yimṭa)* (ŚPM. 76, 1428 A.D.). Prose inscr.: (*pālu perugulakuṅgān-ai*) *voka (mōdavunu)*, (V-47, 1424 A.D.), (*tama*) *vubhayamugānu (samarppimcina)*, (IV-295,

1512 A.D.), (*tirunāḷḷanāṁḍu*) *vokkoka* (*pāri*), *grāmam vokaṭinni* (IV-280, 1556 A.D.) (*stānamvāriki*), *vutsava* (*vigrahāla pratiṣṭa kālānanū*) (IV-709, 1558 A.D.). Sometimes the glide *v-* became incorporated in the word, eg. *ogaru* 'astringent' *vagaru*; *valacu* 'to love' cf. neg. *ollami*, 'refusal'.

(4) Affricate pronunciation of certain sounds: The sounds *nr* and *mr* develop the glides *d* and *b* respectively as evidenced in inscriptional writings. This affricate pronunciation is a dialectal feature confined to the spoken language, for we do not meet with these spellings in the *marga* literature.

nr > *ndr* as in *nrpa-Buddhamdripālu kāmṭta* (SII. IV-672 Gtr. 1139 A.D.), *anēkaripumdrīpati maṇimakuṭa-* (IV-967 Kistna, 1155 A.D.), *paramdripajīvāpaharana -karayamadaṁḍaḥ* (V-16).

-mr- > *-mbr-* as in the forms *tāmra* and *sāmrajya ekāmra*: *tāmbra śasanamu* (IV-1048 Kistna), *sāmbrājya* (VI-79 l. 10, Kistna, 117 l. 9 Kistna, 1118 A.D.), *ekāmbranādhunikinni* (XVI-102, 1533 A.D.).

(5) Spontaneous aspiration: Aspiration of non-aspirate stop consonants occurred sporadically in some instances in OT. Such instances are more numerous in inscriptional writings in MT. Some of the spellings are, just likely, orthographical errors, Ex. *bhudavārāna* (SII. VI-1101) *bhr̥haspati vāramu* (VI-715), *nibhandālu* (VI-1032) due to contamination in writing, but elsewhere they have to be regarded as reflecting a phonological feature of the language.

The aspiration became permanently incorporated in a category of words, namely, in numeral compounds, and is in free variation in others. Some of the forms with free variation survive in Modern Telugu usage, but here we find another development, the symbolic use of the aspirated forms to express an intensity of meaning, feeling or emphasis. It is difficult to state the conditioning factor for the appearance of aspiration. We can only say this much — that in many of the examples the stop consonant affected is a geminate or occurs with a homorganic nasal.

In numeral compounds where *padi* occurs as a second member *-p* is sometimes voiced to *-b*, or further weakened to *-v*. Aspiration occurs with *p* and *b*, as *-phadi*, *-bhadi*. Examples are

found in the oldest Telugu inscriptions, in the 7th c. *ē-bhadi* (EI. XXVIII. 230) *irubhadi* (SII. X-No. 24); 8th c: *ē-bhadi* (EI. XXVII. 242). This tendency which became apparent in old Telugu became more and more common in the later period, and with the elision of medial -d-developed into -*phai*, *bhai*, so that in NT. we have regularly *mupphai* '30', *nalabhai* '40', *ēbhai* '50', *ḍebbhai* '70', *enabhai* '80' and *tombhai* '90'. The form *irubhadi* 'twenty', with -bh is attested in 7th c. (SII. X-24). But it is the -v- form that became generalised; so we have *iravai* in standard Telugu, *irabhai*, however, is said to occur dialectally. There is no aspiration with -v- forms, *iravai*, *aravai* (see chap. on Numerals).

The following examples show aspirates in free variation with non-aspirates in inscriptional Telugu. For numeral forms see under 'Numerals'.

kh for k: *sumkhamu* 'tax' (SII. X-58), *sakha varuṣambulu* 'śaka years' (V. 1347).

ch for c (more frequent): *vaṁcchana* 'deceit' (X-666). *icchina* 'that was given' (VI-217). *ettimcchina gudi* 'temple that was raised' (VI-217). *paṁcchami* (VI-1183), *kuṁcchālu* (VI-1213). *udayimcche* (SII. IV-677). *vijayaṁcchēsi* (V-59); *samarppimcchiri icchitimi* (V-1151); *vēṁcchēsi* (V-1305); *tecchuṭaku* (1.19); *paṭhimpimcchēṭi* (1.20), *bhujimcchēṭi* (1.21), *tecchi* (1.23), *kaṭṭimcchi* (1.24 — VI-904); *pucchukoni* (VI-930), *teccheḍivāru* (VI-932); *āragimcchuṭaku* (VI-1140).

ṭh for ṭ: *ēṇṭhi* 'of the year' (VI-868), *adriṣṭhārthamugānu* 'for good fortune' (V-1196), *abhīṣṭhārthasiddigānu* 'for the fulfilment of desires' (VI-950), *iṭh-ṭtala* 'recently' (X-751 Gtr. 1592 A.D.).

th for t: *saṁkrānṭhi* (IV-1071).

dh for d: *pādhika* 'one-fourth' (TI. 14), *iddharaku* 'for two persons' (V-1238), *peddha Ḍākarēmi* (IV-1212), *lagnakāla-maṁddhu* (V-1249).

ph for p: *apphamu* 'a kind of dish (rice-cake)'. *mupphamḍraku* (V-1188).

bh for b: *bhaṁḍi* 'cart' (TI. 33), *bhemllamu* 'jaggery', *śakavarṣambhulu* (VI-939), *bhaḍasi* 'having obtained' (VI-815),

bhaṅgāraṁ 'gold' (IV-1344), *bhōyumuḍu* (IV-781), *bhāvulu* 'wells' (IV-709).

Occasionally the use of such a form is also attested in literature, Ex. *bhāvi* (Ba. pu. 6-241) (< *bavi*), *Makkhā* (Narasa. 5-244) Town in Arabia, pilgrim centre, < *Makka*.

-h- < -y-

pahimḍi (IV-1190 God. 1143 A.D., and in a number of other instances of this form) *pinnarudrināyumuḍū rājenāhini Prōlināhimḍūnu* (X-271 Gtr. 1222 A.D.) y and h forms occur side by side, *ācandrārkhusthāhi* (V-1194) < *-sthāyi*.

(6) Simplification of initial clusters in r: The tendency for the dropping of r in initial clusters which began in OT. gradually gained strength and ultimately affected all native words except dialectally. Forms showing the loss of r were considered colloquialisms by Ketana. His list of *grāmyas* include *bāmmāḍu* (< *brāhmaṇūḍu*), *tavvu* 'to dig' (< *travvu*), *gadda* 'eagle' (< *gradda*), *guddu* 'a blow with the fist' (< *gruddu*) (ĀBB. V-26). But such forms gradually found their way into literature by force of usage and accepted by grammarians (ĀBŚ., pra 10). Pingali Surana uses the expression *musalimānulu* (Vasu, 1-45) in *slēṣa*, 'old trees' in one sense (*mānu* < *mrānu*), Mussalmans, in another sense.

Appakavi (AK. 2-241 to 244), and following him BV (Kri. 97) point out that r drops out in conjuncts in past and aorist forms of the verb *nērcu* 'to be able' — *nētun* < *nērtun*, *nēcina* < *nercina*, etc. Such forms are not in evidence elsewhere; Appakavi was perhaps confused into believing the dropping of r by the ancient practice of writing *valapalagilaka*, the secondary form of r, after the consonant with which it is conjoined (see DLP. p. 319).

(7) The pre-consonantal nasal: The dropping of the pre-consonantal nasal is attested in OT. This is regular in MT. in the dialect represented by Nannaya. The nasal is elided after long vowels, and optionally elided after medial short vowels Ex. Ex. *vādu*, *rādu*, *kābōlu*, *unnāḍu*, *vagalāḍu*; (there are exceptions Ex. *kāncu*, *tīṅḍrincu*); *adākuva-adaṅkuva*, *arāṭi—araṅṭi*, *erūguṭa—*

eruṅḡuṭa; it is not elided after an initial short vowel. Ex. *muṅḡoṅḡu*, *krombasīḍi*, *kandōyi*, excepting in *āṭa*, *īka* (> *īga*), *cūḍu* (BV. sam. 22) which are bound forms.

It is significant that in Na. wherever the pre-consonantal nasal is preceded by a long vowel in *prāsasthāna* there is no mixing up of native words and tatsamas (as we find for instance in Nanni), and no mixing up of forms without the nasal (as for instance in Tikkana). This is a sure indication of the loss of the nasal in that position and a consciousness of the same in the author. With later poets when the elision of the nasal became established there is confusion regarding the existence of an original nasal, so they would combine in prasa forms with an elided nasal and those which had no nasal in them originally. Ex. Tikkana: *tagan-ā Kuruvṛddhunakun-o,sāge* (Bhr. āśr. 2-121); *jātara—brātiga* (Bhr. maus. (For other prayogas, see DLP. Pp. 232-237). The confusion was all the greater because orthography did not consistently differentiate between an elided nasal and the one which was pronounced. So, differences in authoritative usages showed up, and scholars discussed endlessly as it were, whether a nasal existed or not in words like *cīkaṭi*, 'darkness', *tīga* 'creeper', *māṭa* 'word', *mūka* 'crowd' *vīpu* 'back', *perugu* 'to grow' etc. (see Intro. to Kus. Madras University Edition, p. 54).

The preservation of the nasal even after long vowels dialectally is attested by occasional usages in literature from 12th c. Ex. Nanni, *pōṅḍiga*, *mūṅḍu* is made to rhyme with *brahmāṅḍamu*. *bhāṅḍamu* (Kus. 6-157). There is similar usage in a verse inscr. in 11th c. *kūṁtu sariye pōlpāga gāmtal-eṁḍu* (SII. IV-1012). This dialectal feature is recognised in the literary dialect by Ketana though not by later lākṣaṇikas who are zealous followers of Nannaya's usage. Katana says that the full nasal may be used after the long vowels in poetry but not in prose (ĀBB. V. 56)—it is a partial recognition of a dialectal feature in the literary dialect.

The retention of the nasal dialectally continues till today. Ex. Southern Madras *vāṅḍu*, *kōṅṭi*, *tōṅka* for coastal districts *vāḍu*, *kōṭi* *tōka*.

It is possible that in the early period there was a stage when the nasal was weakly articulated before it was completely dropped.

It must be remembered that the nasal in NWs is found only before the varga consonants k, c, ṭ, t, p and g, j, ḍ, d, b (BV. sam. 11).

(8) Pronunciation of -mh-: The conjunct -mh- as in the word *simha* seems to have different pronunciations: inscrr.: -mhv- *simhvāsanārūḍhulai* (SII. IV-709 kistna, 1558 A.D.; *simhvaśukla ekādasi* (V-116 Ganj. 1276 A.D. -mhy- *Prasanna Śrī Narasimhyuniki* (V-116); *Narasimhyarāju* (V-1154 Ganj. 1357 A.D., VI-961 Vizag. 1400 A.D.). Appakavi records the pronunciation *saṁhati* > *saṁhvati*, *saṁhāra* > *saṁhvāra* (AK.) Similarly the conjuncts -hv- and -hy- were pronounced with an anusvara before it, thus *jihva* as *jiṁhva*, *gahvara* as *gaṁhvara*, *guhya* as *guṁhya vāhyāḷi* as *vāṁhyāḷi* and *lēhya* as *lēṁhya*. Appakavi and Venkata-kavi quote examples of this type and state that in these forms there is no anusvara before -hv- (and -hy-) and no v with forms in -mh- (AK. 2-260, Akau. p. 35).

(9) Dropping of sounds with or without compensatory lengthening: Dropping of medial or final sounds in words with (sometimes without) compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel is one of the important characteristic features of MT. This has changed the face of NT. in a substantial manner, in much the same way as the simplification of a double consonant with the lengthening of the preceding vowel did, in the development of NIA. vernaculars from MIA.

A few instances showing this development occurs in OT. 8th *ēlē*, 9th *upēkṣimcinā*, 10th *ellā*. 11th dated inscrr. *kumcālu* IV-1014) *aṁgaramga bhōgālaku*, *dakṣināna* (X-58), *sakavarṣālu* (X-60), *tulā saṁkrānti nimityāna* (IV-1300). In the succeeding centuries these examples are available in increasing number. It may be noted that -mu and -vu endings of nouns were most affected in the forms indicated by the inscrr. before the plural suffix -lu or an oblique case termination. Ex. *mōdālu*, *dīpālu*, *appālu*, *puṣpālu*, *vidyālu tāmbūlālu*, *cinnālu*, *avasārālu*, *miriyālu*, *āyālu*, *vīsālu*, *sukravārāna*, *mahotsavānikai*, *jītānaku*. (See SLS. vibhakti 14 and BV. tat. 43).

Nominal stems and other forms showing this development are rare in literature in the 11th c. Ex. Na, *jīvitamu* (Bhr. 2-1-37), > *jītamu* (Bhr. 2-1-38) 'salary', more common in the

succeeding centuries: Nanni.: *sāmu* (Kus. 4-53), (< *sagamu*), *grāmu* (10-17) (< *grahamu*) Palkuriki Somanatha: *marāku*, *ēlā*, *sēna* (*māṭalu*) (BKŚ. p. 134) *mājanamu* (< *mahājanamu*) (Ba. pu.); Tikkana: *marākumu* (Bhr. udyō) *nammī nammaka* (Bhr. śan. 2-351) 'not fully believing', etc. (For prayōgas in literature see BKŚ. pp. 126-136, 156-158, 203-205, 213-214, 217-221, 226-233, 244-246, 247-264).

Initial, medial and final long vowel thus developed secondarily in many categories of forms like the following: In nominal stems, with the elision of a nasal *cējerla* place name < *cemjerla* (VI-597, Gtr. 1247, cf. OT. *cemceruvu*). Infinitives in -an: *cālā* (< *cālan*), *kūḍā* (< *kūḍān*), *dākā* (< *tanukan*). kan, gan, infin. form of the root *agu*, > *gā*, eg. in *bāgā* (< *bāgugan*) *vēgaṅgā* (*vēgamugan*), *tiyyagā*, *sukhangā*, *dūrangā*, these are used as adverbials. *gā* as a contraction of *gadā* < *kadā*, Ex. *strīlanu nammārūḍugā*, aor. participles in -eḍu -eḍi: *cēsē* (< *cēseḍu cēseḍi*); *anē*, *tinē*, *vellē*. Conditional forms with *ēnin*, *inan*: *çestē* (< *cēsitēn(i)*, *cēsitivēni*), *vellinā* (< *vellinan*). Conjunctive partle *u*, *un(u)*, *Rāmūḍū Kṛṣṇūḍū* (< *Rāmūḍunu Kṛṣṇūḍunu*), *adī idī* (< *adiyu(nu)*, *idiyu(nu)*). Forms of the reflexive (*ātmārthaka*) with -konu: *cēsukō* (*cēsikonumu*). Permissives *cēyanī* (< *ceyanimmu*), *tinanī*, *cūḍanī*. Other Indeclinables: *ellā* (< *ellan*), *aṭlā* (*aṭulan*), *iṭlā* (< *iṭulan*), *eṭlā* (< *eṭulan*), *bahuśā* (< *bahuśaḥ*).

Aorist verbal forms: *cēsēru* (< *cēsedaru*), *cesīni* (*cēseḍini*), *vaccēvāḍu* (< *vaccēḍivāḍu*).

Past verbal forms: *cēsīnānu* (< *cēsīnāḍanu* < *cēsīnavāḍanu*), *cēsīnānu* (< *cēsīnadānanu*). Both the masc and fem. forms with distinct pronominal suffixes were reduced to a common derived form *cēsīnānu* obliterating the sex distinction. *cēsīnānu* further changed in the modern colloquial to *cēsāenu*, also *cēsāē*.

Present verbal forms *vaccucunnāḍu* (< *vaccucunnavāḍu*), *vaccucunnāmu* (< *vaccucunnāramu* < *vaccucunnavāramu*), etc.

Nominal forms: *cīku* (< *civuku*), *jābu* (< *javābu*), *sattā* (< *sattuvu*, Skt. *satva*).

Ketana considered such forms as *grāmya* and gives the following in illustration: *vāṭī* (< *vāṭini*), *mammū* (*mammun*), *goṇṭū* (< -un conj.) *mōsēṭi* (< *mōseḍu/mōseḍi*), *pampēru* (< *pampedaru*),

tempēru (< *tempedaru*), *pāḍēru* (< *pāḍedaru*), *sūsēru* (< *cūcedaru*) (ĀBB. V. 26) Peddana: *gāsaḍālu*, *koncārammi*, *koṅṭūbōku*, *pāḍēmu*, *sūsēmu*, *kāsēmu*, *vāsēvu sēsēvu* (Kac. 9-21); Appakavi: *āḍa* (< *akkada*), *vastāḍā*, *testāḍā* (AK. 1-22, 27); Ahobala. Ex. *vaccīrāni kucambulu iti dīrgha prayōgastu na prāmāṅikaḥ*. And finally it may be noted that BV's illustrations under *grāmya* all of them involve this feature: *vastāḍu*, *testāḍu*, *vaccēni*, *teccēni*, *vaccēvāḍu*, *teccēvāḍu*, *vaccētivāḍu* *teccētivāḍu*. The grammarians' description of these forms as *grāmya* must be understood in the sense that while those that are found in the works of great poets may be accepted (*anindya grāmya*) there cannot be a licentious use of them in the literary dialect.

(10) *-iya* > *-e*: Ketana refers to the change of *-iya* > *-e* while speaking of words like *malliya/malle*, *lanjiya/lanje*, *gaddiya/gadde*, *olliya/olle*. He states that *-iya* and not *-e* forms are to be used in literature. ĀŚc. (ajanta 24) and AKā. (ajanta 61) refer to the *e* forms approvingly and later grāmmarians Ahobala and Kucimanci Timmakavi (LSS. 1-9) criticise Ketana for prohibiting *-iya* forms. All this shows that the development of *-e* (< *iya*) had soon become quite acceptable in the literary dialect. There are two instances of *-iya -e* alternation in Na. *gaddiya* (Bhr. 3-2-347) — *gadde* (3-2-348), *palliya* (3-2-98) — *palle* (1-1-87) and two in Nanni. *tēniya* (Kus. 9-36) — *tēne* (3-62), *geḍakattiya* (9-108) — *celikatte* (8-150), and more commonly in the later texts.

The change occurs in NWs and assimilated loans in the finals generally, but some times also in the interior, *muttiyamulu* (Kus. 4-97) — *muttemulu* (4-99) *konciyamu* 'a little' — *koncemu* (See BV. ācch. 23 but *konciyamu* seems to be a back formation). Loss of *i* in *iya* endings (PV śab. 49): Ex. *muttiyamu mutyamu* (BV.), *div(v)iya* 'light' > *divya*, *paḷḷiyamu* 'plate' > *paḷyamu*; *sānembāṭi māniki* (SII. V-8 God, 1201 A.D., *sāniyambāṭi*), *nitya-nēmānuṣṭhāna* (X-343, Kurn. 1254 A.D., *nēma* < *niyama*) *-ava* > *ō*: the ordinal suffix *-ava* (= *avu* < *agu*, aor. part. of the root *agu* + adjectival *a*) > *ō*, the development is attested in inscr. from 12th c. *mūṅḍō* SII. IV-1155, A.D. 1186, and much later in literature. In the medial position in NT. *bhāgavatulu* > *bhāgōtulu*.

ayi > *ai*, *avu* > *au* (ĀŚc. ajanta 64, BV. kri. 103) Ex. dat. case sign *kai* < *ku* + *ayi* past part. of *agu* 'to be', *ayidu* 'five' >

aidu, *kayita* 'poetry' (< *kavita*) > *kaita*, *sayitamu* 'also' (< *sahitam*) > *saitamu*, *payini* 'above' > *paini*; *gavusena* > *gausena*, *avunu* 'becomes' (< *agunu*) > *aunu*, *avurā* exclamation > *aurā*.

Reverse development is also seen: *ai* > *ayi*, *au* > *avu* *Kaika* personal name > *Kayika*, *kaustubhamu* an ornament > *kavustubhamu*.

Similar change of *ay(a)* > *ai*, *av* > *au*: Ex. *bayalu* 'open ground' *bailu*, *sayyāṭa* 'amorous play' > *saiyāṭa*; *davvu* 'far' > *dauvu* (Jai. Bhr. 2-51) *ṛavva* 'accusation' > *ṛauva*.

Reverse development is also common: *aiy* > *ayy*: *haiyanga-vīna-* *hayyangavina-*, *vaiyākarāṇa* > *vayyākarāṇa*; *payi* + *eda* — *pai* + *eda* *paiyeda* > *payyeda* 'ladies' upper garment' *daiyamu* (< *daivamu*) > *dayyamu*; *auv* > *avv*; *yauvana-* > *yavvana-* (Kus. 8-157) *dauvārika* > *davvārika*.

Appakavi and Venkatakavi gives list of words with *aiy* and *ayy*, and *auv* and *avv* for the guidance of writers that they may not mix up the two spellings: *traiyakṣa-*, *vaiyātya-*, *kṣayya-*, *jayya-*; *haiyangavīna-*, *naiyāyika-*, *krayya-*, *sānnāyya* (AK. 2-104, 105, 226, Ākau. p. 35); *yauvana-* *sauvarṇaka-* *sauvidallūḍu* *dauvārikūḍu*; *ravva*, *-kavvamu* (AK. 2-106, 107. Ākau. p. 34-35).

(11) The *ṛ* phoneme: *ṛ* and *r* distinct phonemes in Telugu as in other Dr. languages, Ex. *tēru* 'to become clear' *tēru* 'chariot' *vēru* 'root', *vēru* 'different', *nīru* 'ashes', *nīru* 'water'. Confusion between these sounds in the matter of pronunciation set in by the time of the oldest inscrr. The confusion was greater in MT. and ultimately *ṛ* and *r* fell together into *r* by the end of this period. Nannaya kept *ṛ* and *r* apart in *yati* and *prāsa* but later poets combined them, occasionally in the 12th and 13th c., more often in the succeeding centuries. The grammarians, following the usage of Nannaya disallowed the mixing up of the two *rs* *nānyēṣām vaidharmyam laghavalaghūnām rayōstu nityam syāt* ĀŚc. sam. 11, AKā. sam. 20-21). Appakavi states that *ṛ* and *r* are different sounds, as different as the *dēvas* and the *dānavas* and points out that a great poet like Potana came to be considered as an *alākṣaṇika kavi* just because he combined the two *rs* in *prāsa* (AK. 2-234). Lakṣanakāras like Tirumalayya, Appakavi and Kucimanci Timmakavi, provided in their works lists of words

with ṛ and r and also forms in which either r was permitted, obviously cases where there was such sanction in the usage of the earlier poets. Actually there are found, in the printed editions of the texts of Na. and other poets a number of forms spelt once with ṛ and at another place with r. Ex. Na.: *ar (/ṛ) udu*, *ūr (/ṛ) ārcu*, *kur (ṛ) angali* *cīr (/ṛ) u*, *tūr (ṛ) u*, *cedar (/ṛ) u*, *tor (/ṛ) agu*, *dar (/ṛ) ikonu*, *ner (/ṛ) ayu*, *per (/ṛ) ugu*, *mundar (/ṛ) a*, *r (ṛ) āyi* Nanni: *cīr (ṛ) u*, *tūr (ṛ) u*, *tēr (ṛ) u*, *ner (ṛ) ayu*, *r (ṛ) eppalu*. Aka (sam. 13) recognises these doublets, r for an original ṛ and viceversa. Ahobala gives the examples, *merugu*, *marugu*, *karūgu*, *pongu ityādiṣu rēphasya dvaividhyam rūḍham*, *kuṭracid-ēkasyaiva laghutvam gurutvam cāp-y asti*, *laghur bhavēd guruḥ*, *kuṭracid-guruśca laghus tadā...*, and quotes prayogas from Errapragada's Nṛ. pu. for *toragu* (2-69), *toragu* (1-54).

Such instances arise from scribes introducing contemporary spelling habits in manuscript copies not to speak of changes made by editors of printed texts. Observe that printed editions of Bhr. show the word *kūturu* with r whereas contemporary inscrr. in 11th c. spell it always with ṛ (SII. IV-1010, 1015, 1161, V-1125, 1137, X-8); again Bhr. shows *rēvu* with r (1-3-36) whereas in the Nandampudi-grant written by Nannaya it is *rēvu*, as in *Tāḍlarēva*, *Gollarēva* (OT. *Artirēvula* 48-3). The r augment in adj. compounds with *ālu* as second member is represented as the soft r in literature and grammar (BV. San. 30, 31), but it is consistently written as ṛ in inscrr.; *nāyaku-ṛ-ālu* (V-1100, 1281, VI-1201), *manma-ṛ-ālu* (X-107, V-1265 etc.), *kuladīpaku-ṛ-ālu* (X-290, Gtr. 1239, X-321 Gtr. 1249 A.D.). Probably ṛ is original. r spellings rarely in inscrr. *nāyaku-r-āliki* (V-1280 Ganj. 1142 A.D.).

Instances indicating confusion between the two rs in inscr. Tel.: *sāni munnūrṛvuru* (X-110 God. 1141 A.D. etc., regularly—*sāni munnūrṛvuru* (X-14 God. 1142); *marturu* (IV-687 Gtr. 1155 A.D.: *marturu* (X-137 Gtr. 1155 A.D.).

(12) ḍ- (< ḷ- < -ḷ-, -ḍ-) > d- : Ex. *ḍigu* 'to descend' > *digu*, *ḍincu* 'to lower down' > *dincu* (cf. Tam. *iḷi*, *ḍaggaru* 'to approach' > *daggaru*, *ḍāgu* 'to be hidden' > *dāgu*, *ḍoṅga* 'thief' > *donga*. ḍ is preserved in the verb *ḍancu* in the 11th c. (SII. IV-1015. 1.12 A.D. 1084) *vaḍlumbrālunu ḍancci* and the adjective from the same root *ḍamggum brāla kuṁcca* (1.9), and in 12th c. IV-1114 A.D. 1163).

The change appears in Na. Ex. *ḍappī* — *dappi*, *ḍācu* — *dācu*, and Nānni. *ḍāgi* (Kus. 5-76) — *dāpaka* (11-47) *ḍāyan* (5-122) — *dāyan* (7-155) ḍ- gradually yields place to d-.

(13) -ṭ- > -ṣ- in the forms *aṭu* 'that side, day thus' *iṭu*, *eṭu*: Ketana's list of *gramyas* include *aṣuvale* 'in that manner', *iṣuvale* 'in this manner' (< *aṭuvale*, *iṭuvale*) and is the earliest reference to this pronunciation. It is purely dialectal, current among *vaidikas*, arthodox scholars learned in Vedas and priests, and is still current among them in Mdn. Telugu. In Southern literature where the characters are made to speak their dialect very effective use is made of these forms. Ex. *aṣu iṣu bōvakē viṣamāstrūḍ-ēcīni verri paḍuca* (Ahalyāsamkrandanamu), words spoken by a sage; *vōyī mēmu bāmpalamu gādaṣavōyi*, words of a brahmin scholar (MVN. p. 28); *yeṣuvaṁṭi bhrāmtuṁḍ-ainā yiṣuvale bhra-manu konunā*, words of an astrologer (MVN. p. 30); *vuṇḍarōyi aṣubaḍi iṣubaḍi yiṭuvaṁṭi māṭalu nagarabaḍen-āyenā* (MVN. p. 48), words of a priest. The same pronunciation is found also among the womenfolk of the *vaidikas*. Ex. *voka vakka bradda vēsukoni namalarādaṣavō... avunaṣē Raṅgā Vajjhala Timmakkā* (MVN. p. 48). Example from an ins. dated 1796 (SII. VI-79) *udbhavimcina-ṣuvaṁṭi*, (1.3) *pūrṇna caṁdruḍainaṣuvaṁṭi* (1.10), *jaṭalanē-ṭaṣuvaṁṭi* (1.14). Cf. Mdn. Southern Madras dialectal *aṣṭlā* 'in that manner' *iṣṭlā* 'in this manner' with an intrusive ṣ.

(14) -th- > -dh- : In modern Telugu, the distinction between -th- and -dh- is not observed by Telugu speakers the former being pronounced as the voiced aspirate. The voiced pronunciation of -th- must have existed in MT. also, for poets like Tikkana and Krishnadevaraya combined th and dh in prasa, and this variety of prāsa was expressly recognised by Appakavi (AK. 3-346 to 352). We have seen that the tendency was apparent even in OT.; there were instances of dh spellings for th, as *pridhivi* for *prithivi*.

Confusion between th and dh must have been great indeed, as Venkata kavi gives lists of words with th and dh for guidance, Ex. Forms with th: *pārthiva*, *Manmatha*, *pānthā*, *samartha*, *prṭhivi*, *Mithila*, *prṭhu*; forms with dh: *andha*, *bandhura*, *sindhu*, *nidhulu*, *dhāralu* (Ākau. p. 33-34).

Similar lists are given for words with kh and gh which is an indication that there was again the same kind of confusion in the

pronunciation of the voiced and voiceless velar aspirates, Ex. with kh: śṛṅkhala, vaiśākha, pramukha; with gh: ghaṅṭa, ghōra, arghya, nirāghāṭa, ghōṭaka (Akau. p. 32-32). Cf. Mdn. Telugu pronunciation vaiśāgham for vaiśākham.

(15) *Assimilative changes:* (1) -d- > -t- in verbal forms like the following, *braduku* 'to live' > *bratuku*, (both forms used in Na.), *vedaku* 'to search' > *vetaku*, *kaduku* 'to eat' 'katuku', *piduku* 'to milk' > *pituku*. *cadikilu* 'to squat' > *catikilu* under the influence of the following voiceless stop consonant. cf. *adumu* 'to press' which does not undergo this change (TVB. p. 32). d forms in inscr. Tel.: *pādika* (VI-639, Gtr. 1147 A.D., VI-882 Vizag, 1365 A.D., *bradukuvāṅḍu* (V-24, God. 1401 A.D.)

(2) -s- > -ś-: The dental and the palatal sibilants are often confused in the spoken language as is reflected in spellings in MT. and NT. We find that the tendency is to pronounce s with a front vowel as ś. (cf. tatsama Sg. *rāśi*. pl. *rāsulu*). The confusion is greater because of the opposite phonological change of ś > s in IA. loan words. Appakavi and Venkatakavi point out therefore that s and ś have to be differentiated carefully and give lists of examples indicating correct usage. Appakavi points out, for instance, *sakalamu* and *sakṛttu* should not be written as *śakalamu* and *śakṛttu*, and reminds us that in native Telugu words we have s and not ś (AK. 2-257 to 259, Akau pp. 31-32). Examples from inscr. are numerous: s > ś:—*śēyimcina*, *vēmccēśivunna* (SII. IV-280); *daṁḍu viccēśi*, *veraśi* (IV-282). *Koṁḍḍavīṭiśīmalōni* (IV-686): *śēvalu*, *śēvakumḍu* (IV-709), *cēśina* (IV-784), *kaṭṭaḍa śēsi* (IV-815); *cēśenu* (V-1164) *śēva* (XVI-57).

ś > s: 12th c. *suddha* (X-70), *sukravāramu* (X-83, 657, V-1062, X-74, V-1100), *nīlīsvara dēvara* (X-657), *silāśāsanamu* (IV-1250), *-dvādasi* (V-1008), *ēkādasī* (IV-1253), *atisuyam-aina* (in verse inscr. IV-672), *suklapaṁcami* (X-694), *subhamu* (IV-73), *sivarātri* (V-54), *sirassu* (X-509), *siṣyulu* (VI-859), *senivārānanu* (VI-850), *siṣya pāraṁparyam gānu*, *sivapūja* (XVI-86), *sivadrōhulu* (XVI-III). Such pronunciation obtains in Modern Telugu even in educated speech.

(3) -v- > -y-: v before a front vowel has a tendency to be replaced by y in the colloquial speech, examples for which are also available in OT. Ketana's examples under *grāmyā*: *yēga*

'quickly' (< *vēga*), *yēdālu* 'vedas' (< *vēdālu*), *yīḍu* 'this man' (< *vīḍu*) (ĀBB. v. 26) belong to this type. They do not occur in literature. However, note the alternation of *v* and *y* in *kōyilalu* 'temples' (Kus. 8-153) and *kōvilalu* (4-107). Inscr. Tel.: *Gōyinda giri* (SII. IV-675 1.28), *kōyilala* (X-709, Vizag. 1159 A.D.). *Kaila pasulu* (< *Kayila*, VI-1187, Vizag. 1198 A.D.).

(4) *Vowel assimilation*: Masc. *a* stems from Skt., and some *dēśyas* change *a* to *u* before the nom. sg. termination *-ṇḍu*, eg., *Rāmūḍu*. Exceptions occur in MT. *garuḍaṇḍu* (Bhr. 1-2-76), but they were, in most cases, brought over to the regular pattern in NT. *dēvūḍu*. But *Raṅgāḍu* defies the change and still preserves its stem vowel.

The accusative and the dative terminations *-nu*, *ku* > *ni*, *ki* after stems in *i*, eg. *Hari-ni*, *Hari-ki*.

The personal endings of the verb ending in *u* viz., I pers. *nu*, *mu*, II pers. *vu*, *ru* II & III pl. *ru* > *ni*, *mi*, *vi*, *ri* in the past verbal forms with *i*, eg. *cēsitini*, *cēsitimi*, *cēsitivi*, *cēsitiri*, *cēsiri*.

Stems in *i* change the vowel to *u* before the plural suffix *-lu*, *Hari* — *Harulu*, *giri* — *girulu*, *yāmini* night — *yāminulu*, *bhāmini* — *bhāminulu*; *i* in the penultimate syllable of the stem is likewise affected (BV. tats. 46), *kaliki* 'woman' — pl. *kalukulu*; *muliki* 'thorn' — *mulukulu*; but not in forms like *pandiri* 'thatched shed', *pidikili*, first, *rāpidi* 'rubbing', *tommidi* 'nine' which form their plurals *pamdirulu*, *pidikiḷulu*, *rapidulu*, *tommidulu* (BV. tats. 47). (> NT. *pandiḷlu*, *pidikiḷlu*, *rāpiḷlu*, but *tommudulu*).

II. Phonemic alternation

k/g. *konakoni* — *gonakoni* (Na.), *kusurukonucu* — *kusuru-gonucu* (Nanni.).

g/v. *tagulu* — *tavulu*, *pagalu* — *pavalu* (Na.), *ciguru* — *civuru* *trāgi* — *trāvi* (Nanni.); *īgi* — *īvi* 'gift, grant'; *nālugu* — *nāluvu*; *-vuru* — *guru* in appellative numeral nouns, cf. also *pagadamu* < Skt. *prāvaḷa*.

c/s. *cummu* — *summu* (Na.), *calupu* — *salpu*, *cavi* — *savi*, *cōkina* — *sōkina* (Nanni.).

ḍ/ṭ. *āḍadāna* — *āṭadāna*, *naḍapāḍu* — *naṭapāḍu* (Nanni.).

- ḍ/ṇ. *aḍāgu* — *aṇāgu* (Na.), *kaḍāgi* — *kaṇāgi* (Nanni.),
Pōḍimi — *pōṇimi*, *uravaḍincu* — *uravaṇincu*, *nāḍemu* —
nāṇemu (AK. 2-161 to 165).
- t/d. *tandaḍi* — *dandaḍi* (Nanni.).
- t/ṭ. *teṅkāya* — *ṭeṅkāya*, *juṭṭu* — *juttu*.
- d/ḍ. *kandukamu* — *kaṇḍukamu* (Krī.), *iruvadēnu* — *iruva-
ḍēnu* (See under 'Numerals' for the very frequent use
of such ḍ forms).
- d/j. *jāji* — *jādulu*, *būju* — *būdu*, *jūdamu* — *jūjamu*; OT.
Dutika place-name > MT. *Juttiga*.
- v/m. *nivuru* — *nimuru*, *dēvūḍu* — *dēmūḍu*.
- l/r. *ottalincu* — *ottarincu* (Nanni.) *Pandiri* — *Pandili*.
- l/n. *Telūgu* — *Tenūgu*, *tola* — *tona*.
- n/ṇ. in *tatsamas trinayana* — *triṇayana*, *nirnaya* — *nirṇaya*
(Ākau. p. 35).
- r/n. *pēr-(uramu)* — *pen-(n-uḍḍi)*, *iru-(vuru)* — *inu-
(māru)*.
- a/i. *adaripaḍu* — *adiripaḍu* (Na.), *kavayan* — *kaviyan*
(Nanni.).
- a/u. *caracu* — *carucu*, *torāgu* — *torūgu* (Na.), *goḍugulu* —
goḍagulu, *durapillu* — *durupillu*, *melapāru* — *melupāru*
(Nanni.).
- a/e. *okkata* — *okkate* (Na.) — *okkati*, *kōrika* — *kōrike*, *tīga* —
tīge (Nanni.).
- a/o. *andarū* — *andorū*, *okkaṇḍu* — *okkoṇḍu* (Na.).
- i/u. *eringincu* — *erungincu* (Na.), *veligen* — *velugen*
(Nanni.).
- i/e. *kōriki* — *kōrike* (Nanni.), *Nannecōḍa* (personal name
(VI-636 Gtr. 1151 A.D.) — *Nannicōḍa*.
- u/o. *ḍullen* — *ḍollen* (Nanni.). See concordances for
references to the works of Na. and Nanni.).

Vowel variation may be generally explained by their position in unaccented syllables except in cases where there may be a

more deep rooted cause as a/o in *okkaṇḍu* — *okkoṇḍu* (See 'The Numeral noun one in Telugu', Calcutta Philological Bulletin, Vol. 2, Calcutta University, 1961).

a/e alternation is commonly seen after the palatal consonants; note that vowels do not contrast in this position. e > a: *yarrana* (<Errana) > *yarrana* (Sṛngāra Śākuntalamu), *yevate* (<evate) > *yavata* (Kālindīpariṇayamu 2-115); *yav(v)aru* (<e(v)varu) (SII. IV-280, 709, 919); *tāyetu*, *uyyela*, *payyeda* > *tāyatu*, *uyyala*, *payyada* — the a forms were recognised by Kucimanci Timma Kavi who quotes prayogas in literature; the word *tāyetu* seems to be a loan word from HS., and not a Nw.; in the past verbal forms *koniyeṇ* > *koniyan*, *pōyeṇ* > *pōyan*. a > e: *cāyaku* > *cāyeku*, thus *lōyeku*, *cayyena*. Appakavi and Venkata Kavi point out that in all such cases the medial letter is ya, not ye. Alternation after c: *accaruvu* (Kus. 11-202) — *accervuvu* (6-149) *calarēgu* — *celarēgu* etc. Alteration of forms like *narayu* — *nerayu* 'to be come grey', *namili* — *nemali* 'peacock' is explained by ñ- (> n-) phoneme in P.Dr.

Similarly a/o alternation is common after v- in which position there is no contrast for these vowels: *vodda* (<odda) > *vadda* (see BKS. pp. 200-201 for prayōgas), *voyyāramu* (<oyyāramu) > *vayyāramu*; in family names *Vāḍrēvu* (<ōḍa-rēvu).

Long vowel/short vowel: *peṇḍlamu* — *peṇḍlāmu* (SII. IV-1244, God. 1121 A.D.), *pūjari* — *pūjāri* (X-171 Gtr. 1170 A.D.), *palumaru* — *palumāru* (Kus.); *ōyāramu* — *oyāramu*, *jōhāru* — *johāru*, *gūḍāramu* — *guḍāramu* (BV. Pra. 11. ĀBŚ. 41) infinitive *-kan*, *-kān*, cf. also long vowels (for short) in the verbal forms given under grāmya by Ketana: *pancākumayya*, *tōpincākumayya* (ĀBB. V. 26). This feature exists dialectally in Mdn. Telugu, Ex. *unnādi* for *unnadi*.

Geminate/non-geminate: *akkata* — *akata*, *accata* — *aata*, *aṭṭulu* — *aṭulu*, *villu* — *vilu* (Na.).

Long vowel + non-geminate/Short vowel + geminate: *ēdi* — *eddi*, *ēlidamu* — *ellidamu*, *pūvu* — *puvuvu* (Na.); *ūyela* — *uyyela*, *ūyala* — *uyyala*, *āye* — *ayye*, *ōyāramu* — *oyyāramu*, *nēyi* — *neyyi*, (BV. Pra. 6). The same phenomenon

operates in the alternations observed in OT. *kocciya* (7-4); *kōsiya* (24-11) (< *kauśika*), and *pannasa* (2-4): *panāśa* (12-8).

III. Phonological processes:

(1) Syncope: The loss of medial vowels by syncopation (BV. Pra. 17) in nouns as well as in verbal forms is seen in Nannaya, compare the alternation of forms: *ēḍulu* — *ēṇḍlu*, *toḍugu* — *toḍgu*, *manumāḍu* — *manmaṇḍu*, *paluku* — *paḷku*, *polati* — *polti*, *uniki* — *unki*; but it occurred much more commonly in colloquial Telugu as is clear from the numerous instances in inscrr. and in the works of the dēśi poets like Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha. The form *koḍu* for instance occurred more often than *koḍuku* in the 12th c. inscrr. Other Ex. 12th c. *Koṁḍapaḍmaṭi* (IV-678); *pōṅka-perka* (VI-637); *kānki* (VI-639); *kāma sānki* (IV-730); *lekni* (IV-1080); *viḍcina* (IV-1020). 13th c. *Mārebōnki* (IV-727); *ceru* (IV-159); *nidpu* (V-219); *cellaṁ galdu* (VI-706); *pervu* 'curd' (VI-728), etc.; *abburamu* > *abramu*, *kappuramu* > *kapramu*. Note that the geminate here become single consonant.

In the forms *adrucu*, *edrucu*, *padrucu* (< *adurucu*, *edurucu*, *padurucu*) the initial syllable is not metrically long (BV. Pra. 20). This feature is seen also in tatsama forms rarely.

Dropping of the u vowel of the conj. suffix as in *Vālingiliyu* (Nir. Rā. 7-99) *tallin taṇḍriyu* (Manu Ca. 3-98)—these are poetic usages. In verbal norms: *anuṭa* > *aṇṭa*, *konuṭa* > *koṇṭa*, *Pāṇḍu-nṛpālupālu gaikoṇṭaya cālu* (Bhr. udyō). Atharvana and Aḥobala prohibit these forms, perhaps because they are not found in Na.; Forms like *aṇṭa*, *koṇṭa* occur in Tikkana and later poets.

In a number of cases the forms without the vowel may be historically the older ones, Ex. *ceydi*, *kōrki*, *telpu*, *nilcu*, by anaptyxis could have developed into *ceyidi*, *kōriki*, *telupu*, *nilucu*, etc.

Final u of nominal stems is dropped resulting in consonantal endings in the spoken language right from the 11th c. onwards, and the tendency has gradually gained strength and has developed into a regular feature in NT. *ādivāramnāṇḍu* (X-75), *ācandrārkatā-*

rakarṁ (IV-1364, 1356, 1213 etc.), *śakābdam* (X-660), *Bāṇapuram* (V-1312), *gōtram* (XVI-271).

(2) *Metathesis*: As a formative principle it had ceased to be active. Forms with and without metathesis in MT. Ex. Nanni. *elā-dāgalu* (Kus. 9-114) — *lē-dāga* (7-63), *elā-bora* (7-14) — *lē-boraku* (3-75); *eraka* — *rekka* 'wing', *irulu* 'darkness' — *rēyi* 'night', *adāgu* 'to be contained' — *dāgu* 'to hide'. From the verb *anu* 'to say': *anan-*, *nān* infin., *anābaḍu* — *nābaḍu* passive, *anavuḍu* — *nāvuḍu* post action, *anaka* — *nāka* neg. part., *anaru* -*nāru* neg. verb III ep. pl. Forms with metathesis in this set are confined to the literary dialect.

Metathesis as a sporadic change: *alaran* (Kus. 11-34) — *aralan* (10-81), *navvuṭāla* (Bhr. udyo. 3-116) < *navvulāṭa*: *Druggādēvi* (SII. V-1217, Ganj. 1290 A.D.).

There is a tendency for metathesis in conjunct consonants with h. e.g. *madhyāhnamu* 'afternoon' > *madhyānhamu* (SII. X-464 Kurn. 1290 A.D. X-503 1313 A.D.) *vahni* 'fire' > *vanhi*, *Brahma* > *Bramha*; Appakavi points out that in *Brahma*, and *cihna*, m and n are the second letters and not the first (Ak. 2-260).

(3) Loss of initial consonant: *ciguru* 'sprout' > *iguru* 'sprout, gums of teeth', *pondu* > *ondu*, *pūnu* > *ūnu*, *nīlugu* > *īlugu*.

Sometimes by metanalysis n comes to be attached to a word, Ex. *negayu* < *egayu*, *nunḍi* < *unḍi*, abl. suffix, etc.

NEW TELUGU

The changes that appeared in the phonemic system of the language in NT. are (1) th ceases to be a distinctive sound being pronounced as dh. (2) the velar nasal ṅ and the palatal nasal ñ are not phonemic; even in MT. their phonemic status was only marginal. (3) ṛ fell together with r. (4) f, the denti-labial spirant becomes an essential sound through loan words from Hindustani and English, Ex. *safēdu* 'white', *kāfī* 'coffee', *farlāngu* 'furlong'. (5) *āe* developed secondarily through coalescence of i and a within words and contrasted with *ē*, Ex. *āḍāevu* 'you (sg.) played' < *āḍināvu*) : *āḍēvu* 'you might play dont' (admonitive) (< *āḍe-davu*); *adāe* (< *adi + ā* interr.) 'is it that': *adē* (*adi + ē* emphatic) 'it is only that', *tāṭāeku* 'palmyrah leaf' (< *tāṭi + āku*).

Vowels:

Front		Non-front	
i	ī	u	ū
e	ē	o	ō
	æ	a	ā

Consonants:

	Vel.	Pal.	Retro.	Alv.	Dent.	Lab.
Stop Vl.	k	c	ṭ		t	p
Stop Vl. asp.	kh	ch	ṭh		th	ph
Stop Vd.	g	j	ḍ		d	b
Stop Vd. asp.	gh	jh	ḍh		dh	bh
Nasal			ṇ		n	m
Semi-vowel		y				v
Flap				r		
Lateral			ḷ	l		
Spirant	h	ś	ṣ		s	f

The same allophonic situation as in MT. exists for the affricates c, j and the aspirate h. In a number of words c and j with back vowels are now commonly pronounced as palatals rather than as dentals in Mdn. Telugu, Ex. *calamu*, *candamāma*, *cakkerā*, *jada*, *jāji*, *jātara*. This feature seems to have prevailed also in MT. (AK. 2-117 to 137, Akau. p. 31). m is pronounced as *ṃ* intervocaly, finally and before s, w and h in consonant clusters, Ex. *Rāmūḍu* [*Rāṃūḍu*] *siṃham* 'lion' [*siṃhaṃ*]. v is bi-labial semi-vowel [w] it is pronounced as a denti-labial fricative in gemination. r, the alveolar flap is pronounced as a trill in gemination (TVB. p. 5).

ṇ and ḷ do not commence a word, but there is no such restriction, with y and v, Ex. *yantram*, 'mechine' *vōṭu* 'vote'.

The following features of pronunciation of the language in NT. are noteworthy: (1) ṛ and ḷ are pronounced as ru and lu, Ex. *Amrutānjanam* name of a patent medicine, *kluptamū* 'brief'.

(2) The onglides, y before front vowels ī, ē and v [w] before back vowels ū, ō are as prominent as in MT. (3) Aspiration of non-aspirate stop consonants and also its occurrence with vowels, is more commonly seen with a symbolism—to express an intensity of feeling or emphasis Ex. *gaṭṭigā* 'strongly', *gaṭṭhigā* 'very

strongly', *cālā* 'much' *chāla* 'very much'; often in negative sentences: *okkhādū lēdu* 'there is not even one person' *akkharlēdu* '(I) do not at all want'; *ārati* > *hārati* 'a form of worship', *aḍalu* > *haḍalu* 'fear'. (4) Initial clusters in r have become simplified in the speech of the coastal districts but dialectally preserved in the conservative border areas. Ex. *pāta* 'old', *prānta*. (5) Similarly the pre-consonantal nasal preceded by a long vowel is consistently lost in the standard speech but dialectally preserved in the southern Madras area. Ex. *vādu* 'he', *vāṇḍu*. (6) Elision of medial and final sounds and the process of shortenings in the colloquial continues, Ex. *cēsināru* > *cēsēru* 'they did', *cēsukona-valayunu* > *cēsukōvāli* 'have to do' *rālēdu* > *rālē* 'did not come'. (7) -iya mostly drops out yielding place to -e forms Ex. *malle*. (8) ḍ- forms are superseded by d- Ex. *dāpu*, 'near' *dancu* 'to pound, as rice'. (9) The -ṣ- pronunciation of -ṭ- in *aṭa*, *aṭu* etc. is still preserved among the *vaidikas*, Ex. *ancāraṣa* for *aṇṭāraṭa* 'it is said they say'. (10) -k- is spirantised to -h- in some words as *oha* 'one' num. adj., < *oka*, *ohaṭi* 'one' num. noun < *okaṭi*, *iha* 'hereafter' < *ika*, etc. (cf. MT. *Madhuhīśvara*- SII. V-1043 Ganj. 1123 A.D. for *Madhukīśvara*-). (11) In the verbal roots *braḍuku* *bratuku*, etc. t forms are current in NT. (12) The shift of v to y before front vowels is quite common, Ex. *cēsinavi* > *cēsinayi* > *cēsēyi* they (neut.) did, but this development is sub-standard in forms like *Yenki* < *Venki* personal name, *Gōyinda* < *Gōvinda*. (13) Concerning the phonemic variation in MT., there is a preference for g as against v in NT. *tagulu*, *pagulu*, *ciguru*, *tāgi*, etc., s as against c in many of the forms, *sōku*, *salupu*, but *cavi* 'taste' not *savi*; ṇ as against ḍ, *aṇugu* 'to be compressed' *vaṇuku* 'to tremble' a as against o, *andarū*, 'all persons' *okkaḍu* 'one person'. ṭ/ḍ alternation such as *āṭadāna* — *āḍadāna* does not exist in NT.; of the examples given therein the forms current in Mdn. Telugu are *āḍadāna*, *naḍayāḍu* (*naḍapāḍu* is also obsolete). But other forms showing this alternation are in evidence: *cēyaḍam/cēyaṭam*, verbal noun from *cēyu* 'to do'; *veṇḍruka* 'hair' — *veṇṭruka*. Vowel variation occurs in unaccented syllables, Ex. *ganuka* 'therefore' *ganaka*, *venuka* 'back' — *venaka*, *eduṭa* 'front' — *edata*. There is generally a/e alternation after palatal consonants and a/o alternation after labial consonants as, v- Ex. *jaḍa* — *jeḍa*, *śalavu* — *śelavu*, 'leave' *vankara* 'curve' — *vonkara*, *vaccāḍu* 'he came' — *voccāḍu*. (14) Final vowel in the neuter

termination -mu is dropped, *annam* 'rice' 'food', *sukham* 'happiness'.

In Mdn. Telugu we come across many dialectal differences which vary from one part of the country to another and as between social groups. For practical purposes it is enough to distinguish between three dialect areas, the coastal districts of Visakhapatnam, Godavary and Krishna, Rayalasima comprising Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur districts and Telangana area which includes the rest of them on the west. The forward developments in linguistic change are seen in the central Andhra area on the coast, whereas the speech of the outlying areas is generally conservative; compare, for instance the plural forms *paḷḷu*, 'fruits', *iḷḷu* 'houses' of the speech at Rajahmundry with *paṇḍlu*, *iṇḍlu* of Nellore area. Moreover in the respective areas Telugu is influenced by the bordering languages, Oriya in the Ganjam district in the North, Tamil in the Nellore and Chittoor districts in the South and Kannada and Maharashtra on the Western border. Urdu had dominated Telugu in Telangana for a long time as the language of the ruling king, the Nizam of Hyderabad. In the midst of this diversity, however, there is a standard form of Mdn. Telugu evolved with its basis on the speech of the Krishna-Godavary region. It is now increasingly used not only in news-papers and magazines, but also in serious prose and poetical works by all progressive writers.

CHAPTER V

SANDHI

VOWELS AND VOWELS

In intimate sandhi combinations — within a word, hiatus between vowels was avoided by the insertion of a *y* glide, or by the elision of the final vowel of the first constituent.

y glide

7th *Cirpali-y-a* (12-5), *Paḷḷe-y-ari* (16-7), *nēla-y-u* (20-9), *mu-y-yardhaṁśaḥ* (IA. VII-186); 8th *Kūcapōri-y-āri* (28-8); 9th *koḷelci-y-a* (35-6); 10th *maṛi-y-unu* (50-10), *rāvi-y-a* (*cēruvu*) (EI. IX-47), *gunṭ-ēri-ya* (*kariti*), *ēti-y-a* (*kariti*) (EI. XVIII-226). The *y* glide between the stem and the acc. termination in *guḍi-yi-ni*, *Bāraṇāsi-yi-m* (50-6) is a scribal mistake.

Elision of final vowel

7th *ūḍl-andu* (10-29) (< *ūḍla + andu*), the elision of *-a* of the oblique base is a colloquial feature; 9th *cīḍ-apa* (EI. XXXI-187); 10th *Pōt-am-ayya*, *Koṇḍ-ācāryya* (EI. V-127), *Pemm-ava* (EI. V-139).

In sentence sandhi concurrent vowels are often written in the prose inscriptions, but in the verse inscrr. as also in the prose inscrr. which are in *kāvya* style, this is consistently avoided. In the Addanki inscrr. which is in *campu* form sandhi changes are regularly observed in verse, but not in the prose passage; observe the retention of hiatus in *Paṇḍaramgu parama-Mahēsvaṛuṇḍu - Āditya batāraniki iccina bhūmi - enubodi vuḍlu - āḍlu paṭṭu nēla, vīni rakṣiṅcinavāriki - asvamēdambu palambu - agu* (35-9 to 12).

HIATUS

Final *u*

7th *Rēnāṇḍu - ēlan* (1-5), *śaksikānu - iccina* (2-9), *Tiruvuḷa pāraḱu - iccina* (16-5), *pañcamahāpātaḱu - agu* (6-8), *nēlayu - Uruvuṭūri bōḷa* (20-10); 8th *mutturāju - ēla* (23-7), *mutturāju -*

accarvuganu (29-2); *aḍugu - aḍugu* (30-5); 9th *pandumbu - ārla-
paṭu* (34-8), *palambu - agu* (35-12), *Paṇḍaramgunu - ī dharmma-
(37-5)*; 10th *punnama-nāṇḍu - ēnūru drammaḷu* (44-65), *sarvvapari-
hāruvu - icce* (47-18), *daṇḍuvu - aruvadinaḷugu gaḍyeḷu* (50-15).

Final i

7th *Kuruvadi - ācarla* (4-1), *Inpulōli - anapotulu* (9-1), *Vit-
parti - uttarambuna* (10-6), *ī - ūḍlandu* (10-29), *Kāśyapa gōtriniki
- iccina* (14-11); 8th *Īnteddivāḍi - Erigallu* (23-6), *Kārigaḷḷa vaḍa-
variki - ūri svāmuḷ* (25-2), *gaḷarēni - ūri stiti* (25-24), *Pāmbuḷiggi
- ēḷucu* (28-7); 9th *Raccayirriki - iccinadi* (34-3), *dāni - Inmaḷūri
(34-6)*, *iccina bhūmi - enubodi vuḍlu* (35-10), *rakṣiṅcinavāriki -
asvamēdambu* (35-11), *ēnagun ēṅṅhi - uttarāyana* (39-2); 10th
naravādyadi - ēnu (44-59); *padi-ēḷ* (45-4).

Final a

7th *iccina pannasa - iravadiyādināḷku marunturḷu* (2-12),
Cōlamahārājurḷa - ēḷa - Erigal tugarājurḷa (6-1), *Badirājula - andu
(16-6)*; 8th *Kacērupāḷa - Erāma* (24-27), *Badra Pereya - ūri
panina* (25-8), *Penna mariyāda - ēḷucu* (26-10), *Vēṅgi pāra -
Īśvarunāku* (26-13); 9th *visāraduṅḍayna - Ayyapayyayu* (37-4),
nūtayenubonrra - idḍa (43-2); 10th *campaka - āḷi mukku* (50-14).

Optional cases of sandhi occur, as in numeral compounds, Ex.
UD. *nūṭ - eṅmaṇḍakunu* (52-8) and with y glide, *nūṭa-y-eṅma-
(52-26)*.

In vocalic junction where there is no hiatus, either there is
elision of final vowel, or the insertion of a y-glide which it must be
remembered, occurs not only before front vowels but before back
vowels as well. Literary MT. again recognises only the y glide.
The -v- glide occurs in OT. in but one doubtful instance *irḷakā-v-
eruguvāru* (7th. 17-3) where, however, it is irregular before a
front vowel.

The form *pārthīśvaraḥ* (*Pārtha + Īśvara-*) occurs in the Skt.
passage at the end of a Telugu inscr. (45-6) showing the Telugu
sandhi feature of the elision of the final vowel, for *Pārthēśvaraḥ*.
The elision of a of the neg. part. in *goragalgāk-orul* (38-10) 9thc.
(*gōka + orul*) is a colloquial feature.

CONSONANTS AND VOWELS

(1) After a consonant the on-glide *y* is written in *samvatsarambul - y - ēnagun-āṇḍu* (13-7).

(2) Sometimes there is gemination. There are examples of gemination of *l*, *ḷ* and *n* before a vowel, in the data, Ex. 7th *Cōḷamahārāju-l-ēḷan* (7-2), *Śrī sōḷa mahārājuḷ-l-ēḷan* (9-1), *samvatsarambul-ḷ-enḷbodi* (11-4). 10th *Śrīparvvatambun-n-aḷisinavāru* (48-5).

(3) The druta *N* as in the gen. termination - *kun* combines with a following vowel, Ex. 9th *rēnikin - edarayna* (40-5), UD. *bhaṭāralakun - iccinadi* (60-9), or drops out and its previous vowel elided, Ex. 7th *vasantīsvarambunāk - iccinadi* (13-16); 10th *Gan-nara ballahunik - asta-prāptamb-ayna* (44-7), *nīk - ēmi valayu* (44-35). But more often the practice is that the nasal is dropped and hiatus is maintained, Ex. 7th *Tiruvuḷa pāraḷu - iccina* (6-5), - *bhaṭāraḷāku - āru puṭḷu* (11-11), *dēniki - ahitam̄bu* (11-15), - *gōtriniki - iccina* (14-12), *dāyanambunāku - icce* (16-13), *rakṣiñcinavāniki - aḷug-aḷug -* (16-14); 8th *Kumāraśarmmariki - udakapūrvvaṅ kēsi* (EI. XXX-69); 9th *bhaṭāraniki - iccina* (35-10), - *vāriki - asvamēdam̄bu palambu* (35-11).

VOWELS AND CONSONANTS

(1) After the short demons. bases, the consonants *n*, *b* and *y* (in the examples available) are geminated, Ex. 8th *i-n-nalvuru* (31-3). 9th *a-b-Bāranāsi* (38-12); *i-y-yoṭṭu* (38-14); *i-n-nēlava* (38-25).

(2) The sandhi change called *gasadadavādēśa* by Telugu grammarians involving the 'softening' of *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* to *g*, *s*, *ḍ*, *d*, *v* (where the forms are not in oblique case relationship) appears regularly in OT., Ex.

7th *Śrī - Sōḷa mahārājuḷ* (9-1), *paṇi - sēsina* (10-5); *ārlapattū - sēnu* (10-7), *iru - vuttī* (10-29), *paṁnuḷ vāyun* (11-15), *āṇati - gānu* (13-15), *vē - vānr - urḷu* (14-22), *mūnru - vuttū* (16-10), *śavana - aoniri* (17-2), *vē - gavilāḷu* (20-14); 8th *vaccinavāru - gaḷarēni* (25-4). *ūri stiti - dappinavāru* (25-4), *cēsina - sēyudu - sanu* (25-6), *Pōrmukharāmuḷ - Vānarājuḷa pāḷa* (26-9), *Cōḷlakālu - gulicinavāru* (26-18); *Paḷugu - bāru* (26-22) (but *Tim̄gavelli pāru*, *Vārāṅṅa pāru*,

Jāya pāru with p without sandhi change). *paṭṭambu - gaṭṭi* (33-14); 9th *daya - sēsiri* (34-5); *ceruṅcuvāru - gaḷarēni* (34-9), *paṭṭambu - gaṭṭina* (35-3) *sēna paṭṭambu - gaṭṭiñci* (35-4), *koṭṭambul - vaṇḍ - reṇḍu - goṇi* (35-6), *duṛggambu - gaḍu bayal - sēsi* (35-7), *Kalasa - nirvahanambu - sēsi* (37-11), *prastuta - rājāśrayuṇḍu - dribhuvanā - bharanuṇḍu* (38-4), *negi - dīrce* (38-10), *pāpambu - goṇḍru* (38-13), *pāpambu - ḍamaku* (38-21), *oṇḍ - sōṭu* (38-24), *ana - ghunḍu - sēkoni*, *inḍu - vratyakṣamba yannan* (38-24), *alipuṭa - vāpambu - gāna* (38-35) *aḍavi - sonpe* (39-5). 10th *arḍḍharāj - yambu - sēyucunna* (44-15), *ari - veṭṭi* (44-66), *rājul - gaḷarēni* (44-71), *reṭṭeḍlu - gāmpulu* (46-2), *vittu paṭṭu - vrasādañcēsiri* (46-2), *mahārāju - dana* (50-2), *stiti - vaḍasinaṅvāru* (50-6), *Kēs - yanna - sēsinaṅvāru* (50-9).

CONSONANTS AND CONSONANTS

The consonants appearing as finals in O.T. are *r*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ* and *n*.

1. *r* occurs finally in *Kaṇḍukur* in the Bez. inscr., the consonant *b* following it is doubled: *Kaṇḍukur-b-Bejavāḍa* (*gāviñce*) (35-8) which is no more than an orthographic practice. *r*, *l* and *ḷ* with other consonants involve no change, Ex. 7th *kuntur - Lōkama* (5-2), *Vikramādityula koḍukul - Kāśyapa gōṭrunru* (14-5), *pravartamānam - kānu* (18-5), *sāmantakamuḷ - cirumbūru eḷan* (22-7). 8th *cōlamahārājuḷa tēvuḷ - Maṅkhi porriyāru* (23-10), *cavaccarambuḷ - pravartillan - vāṅarājuḷ - Pāmbuḷiggi eḷucu* (28-4).

2. *n* + consonant other than *k*, *c*, *t*, *t*, *p* involves no change. The *druta* remains or drops out optionally. Examples are more common for *druta* dropping out, *dēniki - vakrambuvacinavānru* (6-7), *dēni salpinavāniki - vē-guḷḷuvu* (14-21), *pūrva vrittiki - vakrambu - vaccina* (15-12), *bhatāralaku - vijayarājya samvatsarambuḷ* (19-4), *Miriyampu bōḷajaku - rengari peḍāsina* (20-7), *dīniki - vakrambu* (25-4), *dēniki - vakrambu* - (26-25, 31-4), *panne - śalaku - vagrabuvaccuvaru* (27-8), *Mōrayāku - Muṭṭaku muppaḍi marūtū* (30-2), *dharmma nirvahanōdyōgammunaku - Bṛihaspati samāmulayna* (37-6), *cāḷukya Bhīmunaku - śauca - kandarppunaku - vēṅgīśvarunaku - raṅamarḍḍānvaya* - (44-2 to 5). Retention of *N* *dīniki - vakrambu vaccinavāru* (48-5), *Bhīmarajunakuṅ - Bācavvariki* (48-6), in the same line, with dropping of *N*: *Bācav - variki - dharmmavugān* (48-6, 7).

n + surd consonant involves no change in the following Ex. 7th *pen-pāra* (9-3), *mahārājulākun - pravarddhamāna* (10-2), *annēṅṅan - pallināṅṅi* (11-5); 8th *Dantiyanma māṅgutōlan - poḍuci* (29-4), similarly in the following Ex. where the druta drops out: *dāni - kāci kuḍipinavāru* (8-6), *tūrppuna - kōṭi tālu tōmṭalāyu* (10-8), *Tirpalūra - panāśa* (12-8) *dāniki - kalāśab iḍḍāṭlu* (38-41).

But generally speaking k, c, ṭ, t, p after n is voiced to g, j, ḍ, d, b respectively, the nasal N dropping out optionally. Sonantisation under the influence of druta N is called *saraḷādēśa* by Telugu grammarians. The change is observed compulsorily in the verse inscrr. Ex. 7th *rājyampunan-dana* (15-2), *padēn-dumbu* (20-8), *pan-dumbu* (21-3); 8th *pen-bāra* (28-17), *prabhum-Baṅḍaramgu* (35-5); 9th *Īsvarunakum - Gārttikēyundum - bōle* (37-3), *Cōlanim - jēkoni* (39-8); 10th *kaṅṭhiyam - gaṭṭi* (44-10), *nelā yellaṁ - gāvaṁ - būni* (44-12), *aynanu - barōpakārambu ponṭhe* (44-35), *paḍumaṭan - goṅḍayu* (47-15), *dānim-jēkoni* (48-5), *modalugānu - jiru deraḷ* (50-5).

MIDDLE TELUGU

Speaking of Dravidic Sandhi L. V. Ramaswamy Iyer says (QJMS, XXVI, pp. 2-3). "The Sandhi rules elaborately recorded by indigenous grammarians and meticulously observed in literary texts from the earliest known times in each speech do not hold good in many contexts in the respective colloquials. A comparison of the literary rules and the colloquial features particularly in Tamil and Telugu would reveal a certain degree of standardisation in the formulation of the literary rules."

This 'standardisation' of the rules of Sandhi is already apparent in the language of the verse (and some prose) inscrr. in OT., and in the literary dialect in MT. Inscriptional Telugu which gives a more faithful picture of the spoken language presents, as L.V.R. points out, many deviations from the Sandhi rules of classical literature, very much like in OT.

Thus there is often hiatus between vowels in Sandhi, Ex. *Rāmayya tama-ayya pōtaya tama-y-amma piḍapa pēraṅgām beṭṭina* (SII. V-1009, 1127 A.D.) *ṣaṭsahasrāvani-ēlen* (VI-103, verse inscr. 1145 A.D.) *pratimāsamunā-amāvāsya-utsavam celluṭaku* (V. 1304, 1246 A.D.), *guḍi-ettimci* (X-289, 1238 A.D.), *aneḍi-ūru* (X-346,

1255 A.D.); elision of final a of nominal stems as *vell-eḍḍu* (VI-143 Gtr. 1132 A.D.), *tamayēlik-ūrainā* (VI-649, Gtr. 1160); introduction of the Telugu sandhi principle (of elision of final vowel of the first constituent) into Sanskrit compound formations sporadically, as *Rāmīśvara dēvaraku* (X-71 Gtr. 1103 A.D., X-86 Gtr. 1127 A.D., X-178 Gtr. 1172 A.D. etc.), *Madhukīśvara dēvara* (V-1023, Ganj. 1113 A.D.), *Trikōṭīśvara dēvara* (X-85), *Amritīśvara dēvara* (X-90 Gtr. 1132 A.D.), *Cōḍīśvara dēvara* (X-173), *Bhīmīśvara dēvara* (X-177 Gtr. 1171), *Narēndrīśvara mahādēvaraku* (X-187 Gtr. 1172 A.D.); and the introduction of a v glide (before back vowels): *gonaga cakravarti koḍku-vudayacandradēva* (IV-1025 God. 1225 A.D.); *cālumūla-vubhaya nānādēśi pekkaṁḍru* (X-567 Gtr. 1378 A.D.), *trōva-vuttara-* (VI-781 Vizag. 1386 A.D.), *dakṣiṇāna-vuttarapuṁ gommuna* (X-566 Gtr. 1394), *ī cāmarala koluvu - vubhaya dhūpakālālānu* (VI-772 Vizag. 1461 A.D.), *tama-vubhayamugānu* (IV-295, Chit. 1512 A.D.), *nagari-vuttarānanu* (IV-702 Gtr. 1518 A.D.) *Malejyalaku vaka - pālumnu* (XVI-18).

An instance of *druta dvitva sandhi* of which there is only a partial tardy recognition in grammar: *nāgapamcchamiyun-n-ādīvāramu nāṇḍu* (VI-949 Vizag. 1284).

The dropping of *druta* before a vowel: *Śrī Rājēndra kulōttuṁga Cōḍe rājulaku dharmmamugā-uṇḍavelli mahājanamnakū* (X-162 Gtr. 1167 A.D.), *uṇḍavelli sthānamunaku-y-utsava-dēvaram jēyimci* (X-260 Gtr. 1214 A.D.).

SANDHI RULES IN LITERARY TELUGU

Since sandhi is defined as the junction of final and initial sounds of forms in connected speech it is necessary to point out the sounds that can occur in these positions: Initial: all vowels and consonants excepting *ṇ* and *ḷ*; note however, that *ṙ* and *ḷ* behave as consonants (BV. pra. 1), Ex. Na *brahma-ṙsitvamu* (Bhr. 1-7-109); Final: all vowels excepting *ṙ* and *ḷ*, and of the consonants the *druta* N, occur. Some times the liquids *l*, *ḷ*, *r*, and *n* (of some verb roots like *anu*, *konu*, *canu*) also occur as word-finals but it is due to the elision of the final *u* in the words, mostly in verse for exigencies of metre, Ex. *Vivvacu cētiki gannul galavancun-encirapud-entē vīrayōdhāgraṇul* (Vi. Vi. 3-154), *puvvulu vēḍukaina gadivōyina vāḷ muḍuvaṅgavaccunē* (U. Hari. 1-74); *Girivrajaman*

purambu (Bhr. 2-1-173). *jaḍigon kōrkulan-inti tānu magavēṣamb-ūni* (Satya. 3-105); *toḍiviṅṭivāḍu can trōvā bōka* (Āmu. 6-78).

The rules of sandhi are, as pointed out above, observed regularly but absence of sandhi at the end of a sentence (or a line in verse) occurs and is permitted (Akā, san. 2) Ex. *paḍagan-unna Hanuma bhayavihvaḷūḍu gāḍu - aradamunaku sūtūḍ-acyutuṅḍu*. Elsewhere, in the midst of a line, *visandhi* is a sandhi dōṣa (AK. 5-9). But note that in inscriptional Telugu it is common enough in verse, Ex. *kara-giri-viyad-indu-gaṇanamai paragāgā śakun-ēṅḍlu - akṣaya tritīyyayu mihira vāsaramuna* (SII. IV-731), *vara-vīra cōḍa vallabhunḍu - akhaṅḍavarti dīpambu* (VI-731), *bhūsu-rēndrulu-ī rīti samstutimpa* (SII. V. 1212). (BKS. p. 292).

VOWELS AND VOWELS

Intervocal glides

In grammatical Telugu only the front *y* is recognised and became standardised for all situations, whatever be the nature of the meeting vowels. In the spoken language, on the other hand, both *y* and *v* appear as intervocal glides. The front or the back character of the glide depends on the nature of the second vowel involved in the junction (and not on the first vowel as in Tamil, and generally speaking Kannada) *mā -y-illu*, *mā -v-ūru*, cf. *Tam. puli-y-il*, *pulā-v-il*.

L. V. Ramaswami Iyer explains how *-y-* came to be standardised in Literary Telugu. "In inflections, conjugations and syntactical contexts the only glide that was recognised as such was *y*, the *v* appearing in *pū-v* etc. having been already treated as being part of the noun-base.

The use of the consonantal druta *n* together with the tolerance of a large number of cases of elision of vowels (either absolutely or optionally) reduced the number of contexts in which otherwise *-v-* might have been used. Hence the front *-y-* which has always been frequent (in connection with front vowels) probably usurped (in literary Telugu) the place of *v* even in the few cases, (like *talā-y-okkaṭi* one each), where we might have expected *-v-*. The rigidity with which the rule relating to the use of the druta *n* has been prescribed for the literary dialect has acted as a check on the cropping up of many intervocal contexts where back

vowels could meet together and give rise to the back glide *v*. On the other hand the colloquial has dropped the druta in many categories and hence the number of contexts where back glides would arise has always been greater in the popular dialect. Examples of *y* glide in the literary dialect: *talā-y-okkaṭi*, *mā-y-ēlika* 'our king', *rāka-y-uṇḍenu* 'he, she or it did not come' (beside *rāk-uṇḍenu* with the elision of *a*), *mā-y-ūru* 'our country', *puṭṭina-y-illu* 'house where one was born', *doḍḍa-y-amma*, 'elder mother'.

In the colloquial language the nature of the glide is mainly conditioned by that of the second vowel; when both vowels involved are similar in character (i.e., back or front) then of course, the glides are back *u* or front *y* according to the character of the vowels; but when dissimilar vowels meet together, the on-glide of the latter assumes predominance and becomes the intervocal glide in colloquial Telugu, e.g., *mā-v-uḷḷō* 'in our village', *mī-v-uḷḷō* in your village, *nēn-ī-vūru vaccina tarvāta* 'after I came to this village', *ialli-v-unna* 'where mother is', *tōṭalō-y-evarō unnāru* 'there is somebody in the garden', *inkā-y-ēmi ceptāvu* 'what dost thou say further', (*inkā-ēmi* is also heard)".

Elision of vowels

In vocalic junction the final vowel of the first constituent is generally elided, *pūrvasya pararūpatvam-atraiva niyatam bhavēt* (Akā. san. 1).

Final *u*

is elided before another vowel, Ex. *Rāmūḍu + atāḍu > Rāmūḍ-atāḍu*.

Final *i*

of II personal ending of past finite verb is elided *nityam-anuttama puruṣa kriyāsv-itaḥ* (ĀŚC. san. 1). The expression *anuttama puruṣa* in the sutra is interpreted differently: 'other than (*an-*) first (*uttama*) and third (*puruṣa*) persons i.e. II pers.; 'other than (*an-*) first person (*uttama puruṣa*)' i.e. II and III pers. Akā's sutra is in consonance with the first interpretation, *prathamē-c-ōttamē-c-aiva kriyē tō vā bhavē-c-cyutiḥ, nityam anyasya vikrtau*, (san. 6, 7) and BV. follows this line (san. 7). Appakavi and Bālasaraswati understood the sutra in the second way (AK. 5-61); so the former criticises Śrīnātha for the non-elision of the vowel of the

III person verb (AK. 5-64) in the prayogas *kūrcuṇḍiri-y-onḍorun gadisi* (Śr. Nai. 3-78), *siddā gānciri-y-avimuktasīmayandu* (Kāśi. 3-232). Ahobala answers Appakavi by invoking the authority of Kārikāvali and adds that Appakavi did not know Atharvaṇa's work and was misled thereby.

In Na. i of the II pers. is elided and that of the I and III pers. optionally elided (HTL. p. 1343) Ex. II pers. *mancit-anēka yāga-mula* (Bhr. 1-2-199), I pers. *apaharincitim-ani*, (3-2-67), *uṇḍitimi-y-orul-eruṅgakunḍa* (1.6.239); III pers. *nilcir-anta* (3.2.54), *hās-yambu sēsiri-y-aḍavin ēmi sēsed-aniri* (3.2.102). In Nanni. the vowel is elided in all the persons.

In the later texts we come across prayōgas without elision, even in the II pers. Ex. *idesaman-ājña drōcitiri-y eccatan-uṇḍ-iṭa vaccināralu* (verse quoted by Sarvalakṣaṇasāra Sangrahamu from Kavulaṣaṣṭhamu, the text of which is now lost (BVG.P. p. 24).

From this it appears that elision of the vowel of the personal endings is either compulsory or optional and that forms showing elision occurred more commonly in the earlier period.

i of the forms in *kim-ādi gaṇa* (ĀŚC. san 2, *ēm-y-ādi* BV. 5) is optionally elided. Included in it are the indelinables *ēmi*, *maṛi*, and the pronouns *adi*, *avi*, *idi*, *ivi*, *ēdi*, *ēvi*. There is no elision of the vowel in these forms in Na. although printed editions show a few examples with elision (HTL. p. 1342), Ex. *ēmi-y-ani* (1-8-104) *ēm-ani* (3-1-238).

Optional elision further in the following categories; in some nouns in the native element *bant-idi/banti-y-idi* (ABB. v. 48). Na. *rātir-ella* (Bhr 1-6-160). Pāl. Sōm.: *Kanc-ēḍuvāḍalu* (Ba. Pu.) *vāv-eruṅgaṇi* (Pa.Ca.) Tikkana: *cēr-okka* (Bhr. udyō. 1-219) *teliv-ēndunun galadē* (Bhr. udyō. 2). Other instances given in SLS. *vurut-ālu*. *baṇḍ-eddu*, *peṇḍl-ādi*. *veṇḍ-unḡaramu*, *paṇḍ-andelu*, *tanḍr-ēdi*; in numerals: *ḍebbad-ēnu*, *iruvad-ēnu/iruvadi-yēnu*, *okaṭ-ēla/okaṭi-y-ēla*; in past neg. adj.: *cēyan-atti/cēyani-y-aṭṭi*.

i in the following forms is not elided: (1) adverbial past part. (*kvārthētō na bhavēt sadā* Akā. san. 6). (2) genitive case forms. (3) tatsama nouns. This is generally true of Nannaya but in texts belonging to 12th and 13th c. onwards exceptions are found in increasing number.

Ex. of elision of *i* in the adv. pp. (PV. san. 2): Pāl. Sōm. *verac-unḍumu*, *ētenc-āragince*, *kalig-unḍu*, *kūḍ-unḍu* (Ba. Pu.); Tikkana; *and-immu* (Bhr. Virā. 4-112), some explain it as a śabda-pallava, *verac-itlu* (Nir. Rāmā. 5-88), *erīng-erīngi* (Bhāg. 9-515), *cēpp-ampāḍe* (Prabhā, 4-136), *cinc-iccuvāru* (Āmu) *aḍig-iccunō* (Vi. Vi.) *anvalas-aṅṭigāka* (Vi. Vi.). Ostensibly because of such usages in the classical poets KV. gives license for their occasional use 'iḍagavaccunu lyappupain-itva sandhi mātram-okkoka cōṭanu. (V. 14). It is not acceptable to Appakavi and Cinnaya Sūri, but PV. accords recognition to these usages. In the iteration of the past participles *aḍig-aḍigi*, the elision of *i* in the first form is likewise permitted by some grammarians. e.g. Muddaraju Ramana, and prohibited by others e.g., Ahobala and Cinnaya Suri (BV. san. 10). Elision of past participial *i* is seen in inscr. Tel. Ex. *vilc-iccina* (SII. VI-724, Vizag. 1399 A.D.).

Ex. of elision of *i* in gen. case forms: (PV. san. 17). There is one prayoga in Na. *narun-uniki* (Bhr. 1-8-167). Tikkana: *jamun-illu* (Bhr. Virā. 2-209). *Kṛṣṇun-allūḍu* (Drōṇa. 2-248, 337); *magan-ālu* (Kāśi. 2) *Cirutoṇḍan-iṅṭiki* (Haravi. 1-15), *dīn-angh-rulu* (Sṛ. Nai.), *Indrun-valen* (Utta. Rā. 2-33); rarely in an adj-form as in *manc-ālavu* (Kus. 6-15).

Ex. of elision of *i* in tatsama nouns occur in later texts; Atharvāna notes these forms approvingly: *kutrācit saṁskṛtīyō pi prāṇōp-yatra cyutō bhavēt* (Akā. san. 3), Ex. *Śaur-iccu* (Vasu. ca.), *saurabhōdgār-āṭa* (Kavirā.) (ĀBŚ. San. 15), *ānat-iccu* compound verbal root; *dharmō jayat-anucu* (Bhr. Bhīṣma. 1-8) in anukaraṇa sandhi.

Final a

Elision of final *a* is treated as *bahula* by the grammarians (BV. san. 4) (*kvacit pravṛttiḥ*, *kvacid-apravṛttiḥ*, *kvacid vibhāṣā*, *kvacid-anyad ēva*).

Compulsory elision of *a* is not found in external sandhi. Elision occurs with relationship terms like *amma*, *ayya*, *appa*, *akka*, *anna* because these are words of suffixal status.

Elision of *a* with the words like *āku* 'leaf' *anta* 'that much' was optional practice in the earlier period, but forms with elision had become much more common latterly. Ex. *cinta-y-āku*, *cinta-āku*,

tāt-āku marri-y-āku, marr-āku; tana-y-anta, tan-anta, koṇḍ-anta, gōr-anta. (kēci-cchabdāstu sāngatyēnaiva sādhaḥ) (Akā. san. 3).

The vowel in the neg. adv. part is optionally elided: *cēyak-undenu, cēyaka-y-undenu.*

Final a which is either functional, or original in NWs and LWs is generally not elided, but exceptions occur.

Elision of a in gen. plurals (PV. san. 17) Na. *urvīśul-odda* (Bhr. 1-7-221), *vṛddharājul odḍa* (1-6-11), *tallidaṇḍrul-odda* (3-2-133); Pāl. Sōm.; *bhaktul-iṇḍhu, kulahṇul-eṅgiḷlu.* (Ba. Pu. p. 215). Tikkana: *rājul-ājña* (Bhr. Virāṭa), more commonly in the later period, *surārul-amma* (Bhag. 1) *tāmarasanētral-iṇḍla* (Manu. 2-) *rajanīcarabhāskara bimbamul-rucul* (Rama. 5-75). Elision of a in adjectival gen. forms: Na. past adj. *unn-atāḍa* (Bhr. 1-3-147); always *mēna-y-atta* (not *mēn-atta*) Pāl. Sōm.: *maḍiyincin-ātani.*

Elision of a in the vocative is rare, Ex. *ammalār-akkalār-ani, jainulār-ennadu* (Ba. Pu).

Elision of a in native words: Na. *mundar-indru pancina* (Bhr. 1-8-238); Tikkana, *ant-avamānamu* (Bhr. sabhā. 2-203); *nelat-icce* (Āmu.), *cēṣṭ-uḍige* (Āmu.). Elision of a in LWs.: (Akā. san. 3): in later texts. *Gang-anu kāse* (< *Ganga + anu*) (Āmu.). *Śrī Raṅgabharat-ancu.* Āmu.)

VOWELS AND CONSONANTS

1. Gemination of single consonants (excepting the spirants ś, ṣ, s, h, and the r sounds r, ṛ) occur after the short demons. bases a-, i- and the interr. e- (ĀŚC. hal. 6, BV. samā. 14), Ex. *a-k-kathakūḍu, a-m-munivarūḍu, a-y-yūru*; with aspirated stops, infrequently. Ex. *i-d-dhātrīpati, e-b-bhaṅgi.* Similarly after the short form of the num. adj. mu-: *mu-k-kaṅṭi, mu-p-padi.*

Gemination of conjunct consonant, even if rarely, is seen in Pāl. Sōm.. Ex. *a-k-kṣata dhūpa dīpādul-onarci, ya-k-kṣaṇambunā banca bhakṣamul gudici* (Ba. Pu.), *a-k-kṣaṇamātra neyyambulō danadu vakṣambu deraci* (Ba. Pu.), and in *dvyartha* kāvyas like Rāgha.Pā. and Haris.Na. (for examples see ĀVSS, P. 1212-1213),

2. The sandhi change called *gasadadav-ādēśa* by the Telugu grammarians involving the softening of k, c, ṭ, t, p to g, s, ḍ, d, v respectively (voicing with k, ṭ, t, and spirantisation with c and p) takes place:

(i) After words in the nominative (ĀBB, v, 62, 63, Kāc, V. 66, 67) excepting after *tānu*, *nēnu* (which were considered as *drutaprakrtikas*, ĀŚC. san. 7). It is a form of assimilation—of the surd which comes to stand in intervocalic position, as the first constituent in the nom. case form ends in a vowel. Ex. *sutūḍu-gaḍu vēgamunan*, *sutūḍu-saniye*, *sutūḍu-ḍakkaritōḍa*, *sutūḍu-danḍriki*, *sutūḍu-vuṭṭe*; *Viswavibhūḍu-saturūḍu . . . cokkulāḍu*. As in OT. so in MT. up to Peddana's time (14-15th c.) it appears the change was quite usual and whether the constituents on either side were native or tatsama. But gradually the scope of this sandhi change became narrowed (1) to exclude it in tatsamas, *na vikṛti śabdāt paratas sāmśkr̥tikānām bhavanti gasadadavāḥ* (ĀŚC. san. 7), and (2) to be more of an optional practice rather than a usual one (cf. AKā, san. 14-17). However it is to be noted that *gasadadavādēśa* with tatsama forms was comparatively rare in the *mārga* poets even from Nannaya's time when compared with the situation in inscriptional Telugu and in *dēśi* literature.

(ii) In *dvandva* compounds, where the environment for the surd is practically the same as in the above, Ex. *talli-danḍrulu*, *kūra-gāyalu*, *kālu-sētulu*, *ṭakku-ḍekkulu*, *ūru-vallelu*. The sandhi change in these compounds is regular, but exceptions occur, even from Tikkana's time *appa-celleṇḍru* (Nir. Rā. 3-96), *rāka-pōkalu* (Bhāg. 10), *kaṇḍa-tuṇḍemulu*, (PV. san. 9). It is noteworthy that the absence of this change is specified and illustrated in the case of c, t, p. only.

(iii) After some indeclinables and verbal forms: ĀBŚ. (san. 68) points out that the change, again in these cases also, was usual in Bharata as in the contemporary inscriptional language (unlike in the later period when it is optional), but that in the printed texts it is seen only in *prāsasthānas* (where the readings could not be tampered with). Ex. Na. *ēmi sēyudu*, *ēmi seppudu*, *pedda vōye* (Bhr. 1-6-293), *eṭṭu sūci cūci* (1-6-252), Nanni. *aṭlu vōle*, *ēmi gāru*; *āhā vuṭṭimpadē*. The infin. *kāN* (from the root *agu*) regularly becomes *gāN* when used as an adverbial, Ex. *tinna-*

gān, vaḍi-gān; rāru-gaḍā, rāru-kadā, vatturu-vōḍuru, vatturu-pōḍuru.

(iv) In numeral compounds, Ex. Na. *iru-gaḍalan, ēḍu-gaḍa.*

3. Final u of aor. adjectives like *anu, konu, canu* is some times dropped, before a consonant (PV. san. 14); this would appear to be due to metrical exigencies, Ex. *giriivraja man-purambu* (Bhr. 2-1-172) *toḍuvintivāḍu can-trōvā bōka* (Āmu. 6-78), *jaḍigon-kōrkulan inti tānu magaveṣāmbūni* (Satya. 3-105).

4. The nom. -mu ending or the vowel -u in it is said to be dropped optionally in compound verbal roots (ĀŚC. san. 4) *bhaya-paḍu, bhayam-paḍu, saṅkaṭa-paḍu, saṅkaṭam-paḍu*; beside *bhayamu-paḍu* (BV. san. 46). But actually forms without -mu may be older having been formed directly from the Skt. stem form, and m (> mu) may be the neut. sg. termination in Skt. which coincides in its phonetic shape with the amahat ending-mu in Telugu. Other examples of this kind: *kaṣṭa-paracu*. (Nir. Rā. 2-86) *tōraṇa-kattu* (Kaḷā. 3-8), *vijayam-cēyu* (Nir. Rā. 7-135, Kāśī. 5-117). The ending -vu of the first constituent similarly appears to be dropped in *acceru vaḍu* and *pāsu varacu* (Na.); they might have been formed from older stem forms without the -vu ending or dropped it by haplology.

5. The vowels i and a of the genitive forms are sometimes dropped before a consonant (PV. san. 17) Ex. *Indrun-valen* (U. Rāmā. 2-33), *rajanīcara-bhāskara-bimbamul-rucul* (Rāmā. 5-75), due to metrical reasons probably. Grammar, in any case, is indicated by word-order.

CONSONANTS AND VOWELS

The druta N is practically the only consonantal ending in Telugu, and the peculiarity with this sound is that it may be dropped without affecting the meaning of the form concerned. It has the phenomic value of n before a vowel, n or nu before a consonant and in final position, and as a general rule homorganic nasal before a varga consonant in sandhi contexts, freely varying with Ø after short vowels but always Ø after long vowels. Forms ending with the druta N are called *drutaprakṛtikas* and those other than *drutaprakṛtikas* are called *kaḷas*, i.e. vowel-endings.

Appakavi states it is not possible to enumerate the druta-prakṛtikas and gives illustrative forms where n is original and not druta (AK. 5-24 27). However BV. (san. 11) lists druta-prakṛtikas as follows: nominal inflections: acc. -N, instr. -cetaN, -todaN, dat. -korakuN, abl, -valanaN, -kaṇṭeN, gen. -kuN -lōpalaN, loc. -anduN; verbal inflections: post-action -ḍuN, benedictive -eḍuN, -taN, pres. part. -cuN, infin. -aN, conditional -inaN; pronouns: Isg. nēN, Reflex. tāN; indeclinables: valeN, entayuN, pōleN, ayyuN, etc.

There is a change in the character of some of the Kaḷa and drutaprakṛtika categories of forms in course of time. Thus for instance, BV. regards *indu*, *nēnu*, *tānu*, *ella* as drutaprakṛtikas but there are prayōgas where the forms have been used as kaḷas. *indu* occurs in OT. with *gasadadavādēśa* after it, *indu vratyakṣamb-ani* (Bez. inscr.); so too the others, *ēnu*: *ēnu vidapa ḍigiyeda* (Bhr. Śalya, 2-333), *ēnu vōyeda* (Ba. pu); *ella*: *ella-y-andu* (Bhr. 1-2-157, Udyō. 2-325) (PV. san. 7). And similarly, it may be noted drutaprakṛtikas forms of MT. drop their N and behave as kaḷas for the most part in NT. *ēlaN* (Kus. 8-176) elsewhere generally it is a Kaḷa form.

Sometimes one and the same form appears with and without N, as in Na. *end-ēnin-unḍi* (Bhr. 1-3-181), *eyy-ēnin-okka* (1-5-18) etc., but *eyy-ēni-y-un-okka* (Bhr. 1-4-128, 1-5-188) (for expected *eyy-ēnin-un-okka*); here it may be explained as due to the dismilative effect of the following n. Elsewhere it may be a case of mixing up of chronological levels.

1. Normally the druta simply combines with a following vowel and no sandhi change takes place, Ex. *Śrī Kaivalya-padambu jēruṭakun-ai* (mostly belonging to the termination and not to the stem).

2. Sometimes the druta is dropped and its previous vowel elided before another vowel (AKā. san. 4). Elision of u Ex. *nannuN + aḍige > nann-aḍige*, *nākorak-icce*, *nāk-ādaruvu*, *vaccuc-unḍenu*, *cūcuc-ēgenu* (alternatively *nannun-aḍigē*, *nākorakun-icce*, etc. when the druta is not dropped). i: (BV. san. 9) Na. *vānik-aligi*, *endēn-unḍi* beside (*vānikin-aligi*, *endēnin-unḍi*). a: (BV. san. 9) *ik-aina*, *ikan-aina*. The contexts where the druta may be dropped before another vowel are limited as shown above. But

in the colloquial language there is an extension of this sandhi change, Ex. *poḍic-arkuṇḍu* for *podicen-arkuṇḍu*. (AK. 5-45).

3. Some times there is gemination of N, examples for which we get from the time of the earliest classics, Ex. Na. *paricaryal onarcucun-n-aparimita niṣṭhā* (Bhr. 1-1-93), *navvulan-n-alarulak-icci* (Kus. 9108), *nannēlan-n-ollaka* (Kus. 8-176), *sarvamun-n-atani divyakalāmayam-ancu* (Bhag. 7-142), *payyedakun-n-anuvaina cētulan* (Manu. 3-48), *anan-n-eruṅgavē* (Manu. 3-94), *okaṭin-n-ara*, *reṇḍun-n-ara*; Appakavi gives us to understand that this principle has an extended application in coll. speech, Ex. the druta in the past verb. *cūcen-n-inti* for *cūcen-inti* is given as an example of a *sandhi dōṣa*.

Similarly gemination of n in aor. adj. of roots like *anu*, *manu* etc. (PV. san. 9) Ex. *an-n-iṣṭa sakhi* (Bhr. 1-3-140), *nandini-y-an-n-ēti taraṅgalan* (1-8-79); the aorist verb *cannē* (*mun̄ndra nīku jannē nalinākṣul-andu mādi nilpagan* (1-8-179) may be explained as *can* (< *canuN*) + *ē*, *man-n-āsa* (Kus. 10-142), *an-n-urvīśūḍu* (Ni. Rā.).

Gemination of final consonant in onam. forms: *jhum-m-ani*, *grak-k-ani*. The same principle is manifested in compounds like *pen-n-uddi*, *min-n-ēru*, *kan-n-āku*, and *pal-l-arapu* (Haris, 4-109) with gemination of l.

Gemination occurs in Skt. loan-words with consonantal endings—in *anukaraṇa sandhi* involving quotation: with m. *ahamādīnām dvitvam* (ĀŚC. san. 5), Ex. *jñātiścēd-analēna kim-m-aneḍi vācārūḍhi satyambugan* (Vasu. 3-101), *kastvam-m-aniye*, *dāsōham-m-ane*, optional *dāsōham-ane*, *nayanam pradhānam-anu pūrvavacas-sthiti dappakuṇḍāga* (Bhr. Virā. 2-35); but not when the consonant is preceded by a long vowel, Ex. *rakṣatumām-ane*. With other consonants as well: *antagasya holō dvitvam bhavēd-anukṛtē parē* (Akā. san. 10), Ex. *kiṁtat-t-aniye*, *ātmārtham pṛthivī tyajēt-t-aneḍu vākyamb-aśṛtambē nṛpā* (Kāśī.) (Note the same sandhi phenomenon is operating throughout, as Tel. *ceṭ-t-u* 'tree' < PDr. **keṭ*, *kan-n-iu* 'eye' < PDr. **kaṇ*, OT. *rājul-l-ēlan* (< *rājul* + *ēlan*) NT. *rōḍ-d-u* < Eng. road, *bāṭ-tu* < Eng. bat.).

4. In *anukaraṇa sandhi*, final visarga (i) is dropped before another vowel *lōpōnama ādikē visargasya* (ĀŚC. san. 5) Ex.

punnāmnō narakāt trāyata iti putra-y-anu vēdavacanambu (Bhr. 1-4-89); with a -v-glide in the case of -u stems (AKā. san. 10), Ex. *pāpī cirāyu-v-ane, iyam dhēnu-v-ane*; (ii) with the previous 'a' vowel takes the Skt. sandhi form -ō, *nama śabda visargasya lōpa oṭvam -ap-iṣyatē* (AKā. san. 13). ĀVSS. (P. 428) states that there are no instances of -ō forms in Kavitraya, and that they occur in others; Ex. *śruti-y-ēka ēva Rudrō-y-anna-y-aṭṭulu* (Ba. Pu.), *śruti sadā paśyanti śūrayō yanāga* (Ba. Pu.), *ḡvasthāya namō yanaṅga* (U. Hari. 2-130); (iii) becomes r, Ex. Pāl. Sōm. *dhēnur-ane*, (alternatively *dhēnuv-ane*), *viṣṇur-anāga, vāyur-ana, aniyata gaṇair-aniyu* (Pa.ca.)

CONSONANTS AND CONSONANTS

1. The druta N which is a sonant voices a following surd consonant k, c, ṭ, t, p to g, j, ḍ, d, b respectively, and itself remains or drops out optionally as is its nature. Ex. *pūceN + kaluvalu > pūcenu - galuvalu, pūcen - galuvalu, pūceṅ - galuvalu* (commonly written with the anusvāra *pūcem-galuvalu*), *pūce-galuvalu*.

The druta drops out optionally before other consonants, Ex. *tatvavittva-muna-dānaguṇābhiratin* (Bhr. 1-1-6), *dēvatātatikin-namaskṛti sēsi* (1-1-21); *vacceN + gōvulu > vacce - gōvulu, vaccenu - gōvulu, vacceṅ - gōvulu*.

Rarely the nasal is assimilated to the following stop consonant in these forms: Ex. *pāḍen-gandharvūḍu, pāḍeṅ-gandharvūḍu* (commonly written with ṁ).

The druta is assimilated to the following m (PV. san. 22) in the Ex. *kammani latāntamulakum-monasi* (<*kuN + monasi*, Bhr. 1-5-137), *vrṣṭi jēsem-mahānadi dīrghikā sarasī nadambulu niṇḍāgan* (<*cēseN + mahānadi* 3-3-113).

2. Assimilation of other consonants takes place when brought together by the elision of the final vowel of the first constituent in sandhi: *ren-nāḷḷu* (<*reṇḍu nāḷḷu*, Bhr. 1-1-68), *mūn-nāḷḷu* (*mūḍu nāḷḷu*, Kāśī. 2-72), *vēn-nīḷḷu* (<*vēḍi nīḷḷu*, Mārka. 3-254).

AUGMENTS IN SANDHI

The following sounds come in as augments (*āgamas*) in compound formations.

(1) n

in genitive compounds when the first member ends in the vowel u (ĀBB. V. 50 ĀŚC. san. 5), or ṛ (BV, san. 34) Ex. *koḍuku-n-ālu*, *kūtu-n-oḍami*, *vidhāṭṛ-n-ānati*; Pāl. Sōm. *tanadu-n-āśramamu* (Ba. Pu.); PV. (san. 10) notes exceptions to this, after the Kavitraya period, where the augment does not occur in regard to u endings, Ex. *gōkulam - ill-īlu* (Hari. pū. 5-203), *bacc-iṅṭa* (Pāṇḍu. 3-16), *śiras - andambu* (Kālā. 7-126); *niṣadharāj - antavāni* (Sṛ. Nai.).

in adjective compounds - generally before surds (k, c, ṭ, t, p) and sonants (g, j, ḍ, d, b) (Akā. san. 23-24, BV. san. 25). Ex. with u stems: *gaṇḍu-n-gōyila*, *taḷuku-n-gajjalū*; *tammu-n-gurralū* (Bhr. 3-7-413) (PV. samā. 16); with the adj. inflection pu, mpu: *singapu-n-godama*, *sarasampu-m-baluku*; rarely before other sonants, as m: *garuvapu-n-muruvu*; in *dvigu*: *vēyu-n-gōṭulu*. The augment is seen on i stems as well, Ex. *jīḍi-n-irri* (Kus. 4-16), (cf. inscr. Tel. *sītu-m-gālamu* (SII. V-1342), *nānādēśi-m-pekkaṇḍru* (IV-939), *ērra-n-ḷeruvu* (IV-704), where the augment very commonly occurs. The augment n in the adj. cpd. with the -mu ending as in *saṁkrānti kālamu-n-appuḍu* (X-320 Gtr. 1248 A.D.), *punya-kālamu-n-appuḍu* (X-482 Gtr. 1297 A.D.) is found in the older classics cf. *prathamambu-n-ēṇḍu* in OT. (35-3) for which the regular literary form would be *prathamampu-t-ēṇḍu*.

when the aor. adj. ending in u is followed by a vowel, Ex. *cēyu-n-ātāḍu*, *cēsēḍu-n-ātāḍu*.

Sometimes before the secondary derivative suffix—tanamu on u and a stems: *sogasu-n-danamū*, *cakka-n-danamū*.

(2) ṭ

in adj. compounds (ĀBB. V. 120, ĀŚC. san. 4), Ex. *jūdapu-ṭ-ātalu*, *neyyapu-ṭ-ādaramulu*, *niluvu-ṭ-addamu*, *ciguru-ṭ-āku* (beside *cigur-āku*), *peṅku-ṭ-illu*; with other vowel endings as well: *dukki-ṭ-eddu*, *tēne-ṭ-īga*; also in gen. compounds *vēlpu-ṭ-āvu*. -ṭ- is adj. gen. marker, same as in the inflectional increment ṭ-i which is analogically extended the above contexts. Forms without -ṭ- also occur in the older texts. BV. prescribes -ṭ- compulsorily in some forms (san. 28), optionally in others *pēr-v-ādi gaṇa* (san. 29). There are instances of the use of -n- for -ṭ-. Ex. Pāl. Sōm. *gujju-n-ōgiramū* (Ba. Pu.) (3) p

in *tāmara-p-āku* (U. Hari 3, PV. san. 3), *mōdugu-p-āku*, is analogical extension of the adj. marker. Regular forms *tāmar-āku*, *mōdug-āku* are current, exclusively so in Mdn. Telugu.

(4) r

in the fem. derivative nouns before the suffix *ālu* (ĀBB. V. 168 AKā. san. 25), Ex. *god-r-ālu/godḍu-r-ālu*, *pātaku-r-ālu*, *java-r-ālu* Inscr. Tel. shows the augment as *r* regularly OT. *manma--r-ālu*: MT. *nāyaku-r-āli* (V-1100 Ganj. 1135 A.D. VI-1201 Vizag. 1219 A.D. etc.) *manma-r-ālu* (V-1265 Ganj. 1207 A.D.), *kuladīpaku-r-ālu* (X-290 Gtr. 1239, X-321 Gtr. 1249).

in onomatopoetic forms before the auxiliary verbal root *anu*: Na. and Nanni., *bō-r-ana*, (later *bhō-r-ana*), *diggu-r-anāga*.

(5) m

in onam forms before *-anu*, Ex. *kanakana-m-anu*, *salasala-m-anu*.

NEW TELUGU

VOWELS AND VOWELS

Most of the characteristic sandhi developments in NT. are anticipated in the 'exceptions' to the sandhi rules applicable to the literary language, and more commonly seen in inscr. Telugu.

In vowel Sandhi there may be (1) elision of final vowel, sometimes of the initial vowel of the second constituent, (2) the glides *y* or *v*, or (3) retention of hiatus.

Elision of final vowel

Final short vowels are elided, with a secondary accent coming in where the elided vowel is in some way significant for understanding the meaning of the word, Ex. *vāḍ-ekkad-unnāḍu* 'where is he', *ad-ekkadik-ellindi* 'where did she it go', *cepp'occāḍu* 'after having told, he came' (cf. the accent in *cepp'occāḍu* 'he has come to say' (i.e., to advise), *Jamun illu* 'Jamuna's house', alternatively *Jamuna illu*. Where *i* is elided before *ē*, the latter takes on the colouring of *æ*, Ex. *caddi-annamu* > *cadd-æ nnamu* 'cold rice', *sōḍi + amma* > *sōdæ mma* proper name, *tāti-āku* > *tāt-æ ku* 'palmyrah leaf', *idi + ā* > *idæ* 'this'? *cēsināḍu* > **cēsiāḍu* <

cēsāḍu, 'he said', *paḷḷemulu* > *paḷḷālu* 'plates'; *ā* is also heard in *māka* 'goat', *vāḷa* 'time', *pāḍa* 'cowdung', *cāpa* 'fish', and in *gādā* 'store house for grain' etc., where it is a development from *e* under the influence of an open vowel *a*. There are fine shades of vowel quality resulting in sandhi, and 'a native speaker can apparently distinguished between various pronuciations of *a* as in *gunḍā* when it represents *gunḍa + ā*, *gunḍi + ā*, *gunḍe + ā*, *gunḍu + ā*'.

Elision of previous vowel

a- is elided after *ē* of the habitual adjective, Ex. *vacc-ē'tanu* 'he who comes' *cēsē'ppuḍu* 'while doing'.

Glides

The nature of the glide depends on the second vowel in sandhi; *y* occurs with *ī*, *ē*, and *v* with *ū* *ō*, Ex. *anni -y-ērpaṭlū-y-ikkadē* 'all arrangements here only', *annī-y-ī jāneḍu poṭṭakōsam* 'all these for the sake of this cubit of the stomach', *okkadū vunnāḍu* 'he is single' (alternately also *okkadū unnāḍu*). But between *ā* and *ā* no glide is heard in standard Telugu.

Hiatus

It was common in prose writings outside the literary dialect in O. and MT., and similar is the situation in NT. Hiatus is regular between *ā* and *ā*, Ex. *māamma* (my/our) mother, *nā ājña* 'my order'. The introduction of *y* in this context like *mā-y-amma* is a feature of the substandard dialect. Hiatus also occurs after other long vowels, as in *enta bāgundō-adi* 'how fine that is'.

VOWELS AND CONSONANTS

(1) The use of the short forms of the demons. bases *a*, *i* and the interr. *e-* with doubling of a following consonant is not common in NT. except in some inherited forms like *a-k-kaḍa*, and *mu-p-padi* which are inherited compound formations.

(2) *Gasadavādēśa* is seen optionally with bound forms, Ex. *sampadagala*, *sampada kala*, *adi gāka*, *adi kāka*, *rāru gadā*, *rāru kadā*, and in some *dvandva* compounds inherited from MT., *tallidaṇḍrulu* (beside *talli-taṇḍrulu*); but *appa celleḷḷu*. Elsewhere *gasadavādēśa*, generally does not occur in NT.

(3) Initial p and v of some verbs like *paṭṭukonu* 'to hold', *puccukonu* 'to take, receive', *vaccu* 'to come', *valayu* 'to want' require' are sometimes elided after a vowel in the colloquial speech, Ex. *ceyya'aṭṭukoni* 'holding by the hand', *karr'uccukoni* 'having taken the stick', *kind'adipōyindi* 'it fell down', *ceyy'occu* 'I etc. may do' *nāk'oddu* 'I do not want'.

CONSONANTS AND VOWELS

(1) The druta-prakṛtika forms cease to be a separate category in NT.; for all practical purposes they behave as kaḷas. Survivals of druta are found in sandhi contexts before a suffixal vowel, Ex. *dāni cētan-ē*, *dāni vallan-ē*, 'by that only,' *dāni tōn-ē* 'with that only' *dāni lōpaln-ē* (dialectal) 'in that only', optionally *cēt-ē*, *vall-ē*, *lōpal-ē* but mono-syllabic *tōn* has only one form *tōn-ē*.

As the druta is absent in the forms concerned we have in NT., *nann-aḍigēḍu* 'he asked me' (MT. *nann-aḍige*, *nannun-aḍige*) *nāk-istāḍu* 'he will give me' (MT. *nāk-iccunu*, *nākun-iccunu*), etc.

(2) Gemination of final consonant before a vowel occurs, as in the onam. forms, Ex. *ṭhak-k-una*, *dham-m-ani*.

(3) In *anukaraṇa* sandhi final visarga often tends to be retained Ex. *guravē namaḥ ani*.

CONSONANTS AND CONSONANTS

(1) As pointed out above the druta ceases to be a factor in sandhi; in the comparatively few instances where it remains *saraḷādēśa* does not take the place, Ex. *cēstān cūḍu* 'look, I do'.

(2) The most prominent feature of sandhi in NT. is that in contexts involving vowel + consonant, the vowel may be dropped resulting in the junction of consonants which may then be subject to assimilation depending on their nature, Ex. *cūs-cūsi*, (*cūsi-cūsi*) 'having seen a long time; *reṇ-ṇāḷḷu* 'two days', *vēṇ-ṇāḷḷu* 'hot water', *ceruḡ-gaḍa* 'sugar-cane' (*ceruku-gaḍa*); the same type of change is seen in the interior of a word, Ex. *vāṇṇi* < *vāḍṇi*.

CHAPTER VI

MORPHOLOGY

NOMINAL STEMS

Nominal stems are either native or borrowed. Native stems generally occur without any characteristic ending or suffix, though a comparatively small number of them are constituted of gender suffixes, of the masc., the fem. or the neuter. Among tatsama loan-words stems taking gender suffixes form the majority.

Native stems again may be divided into two classes, primary bases—not analysable into root and suffix, and secondary bases formed from verbal roots and participles, existing substantives including numeral stems etc.

Native stems without gender suffix: Ex. Masc. *pāra* (7-4), *koḍuku* (27-4), *perggaḍa* (37-6), *mānisi* (44-60) Fem. *kuntur* (5-2), *amma* (28-10), Neut. *paṇi* (3-2), *āṇḍu* (13-7), *ūru* (25-4), *vennu* (39-7), *rō* (43-5).

With gender suffix: Masc. -*nru*; *tabunru* (27-5), *maganru* (29-2), -*ṇḍu*: *tammunḍu* (39-11), Fem. -*ālu*: *manmarālu* (5-1), Neut. -*mbu*: *pandumbu* (21-3).

Tatsama nouns without gender suffix: Masc. *mahārāju* (9-1), *satyābhimāni* (65-19), Fem. *strī* (-*vadya*) (14-26), Neut. *aṣṭami* (47-11), *ājilōn* (39-7), -*bhūpati* (39-6).

With gender suffix: Masc. -*an*: *Mahēndran* (29-1), -*nru*: *uttamōttamunru* (12-4), -*ṇḍu*: *acalituṇḍu* (39-9). Fem. -*ama* (<*amma*): *lōkama* (5-2), Neut. -*bu*: *uttarabu* (28-16), *mbu*: *vakrambu* (31-4), (m)*mu*: -*udyōgammu* (37-6), *Kiranapuramu* (39-8).

Primary basēs

6th *kuntur* (5-2); 7th *āṇḍu* (13-7), *koḍuku* (16-8), *ceruvu* (10-7), *cēnu* (10-8), *putti* (10-29) 8th *amma* (28-10), *ūru* (25-4), *kaṭṭu* (28-17), *ḍagu*, *tere*, *daṇḍu* (25-3) 9th *ēṇḍu* (35-3), *koḍuku*

(37-7), *guḍi* (39-12), *cēnu* (34-4) 10th *anna* (44-41), *garusu* (47-15), *daṇḍuvu* (44-62), *nāṇḍu* (44-24), *mukku* (50-14).

Secondary bases

Derived from verbal roots: 6th *paṇi*, work < *paṇ*, to do 7th *tūrpu* (20-11), east < *tūru* to enter, *tōmṭa* (10-8) garden *tōṇḍu*, to dig, *pāra* (7-4) seer, brahmin < **pār* to see, Tam. *pār* to see 8th *kottali* (24-30) engraver < *kottu* to strike, engrave; 9th *alipuṭa* (38-35) causing destruction < *ali* to destroy (verbal noun), *cōṭu* (38-24) place < *coru*, to enter, *paṇi* (40-4) work < *paṇ*, to do; *biṅkamu* (39-7) pride < *bigi-yu*, to stiffen.

Derived from existing noun stems: UD. *peṇḍlambu* (65-15) wife < *peṇḍli* marriage.

Derived from numeral forms: 7th *vēvuru* (13-19) 8th *nalvuru* (31-3), *vēvuru* (27-9), UD. *padunrru* (81-12).

Derived from verbal participles (past and aorist): 7th *laccinavānru* (7-5), *laccuvānru* (19-12); 8th *laccinavāṅru* (26-28), *laccuvānru* (30-4), *ēḷuvānru* (29-2), *kuḍucuvāru* (10-10); 9th *ēḷuvāru* (38-30), *ēḷeḍuvāra* (38-30); 10th *laccinavāṅḍu* (50-6), *kuḍuceḍuvāru* (48-6); from past passive participle: *paṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍinavānru* (83-5).

Indo-Aryan loan-words: Those borrowed with change—*tadbhavas*:

Ex. 6th *pannasa* (2-4), *aṇapotulu* (9-2), *arṃmapūṇṇama* (10-3), *āṇati* (13-15), *kammari* (13-21), *kalyāṇa ḍasanula* (11-9), *kavilāḷu* (20-14), *Gaṇaya sammaṇa* (17-1), *Goyinda porēri* (5-1), *dayāvesanu* (11-6), *ḍugarājul* (7-3), *nivabu* (5-3), *palaṃbu* (8-6), *pāradāya* (12-6), *bidiya* (12-9), *raṭṭakuṭṭa* (8-2), *rājamānambu* (21-5), *Śakti komara Vikramādityula* (14-4); 8th *accarvu*, *Arivarajamunru* (29-3), *asvamēdam̄buna* (30-5), *Īsaraya* (27-3), *cavaccaram̄bu* (28-4), *cakṣi* (24-20), *dasaparādham̄bu* (25-3), *pridhivirājyambu* (26-6), *Bejeitta bhaṭaraḷa* (27-1), *rācamānambunan* (28-14), *sarvva bāda pariyāruvu* (25-3), *stīti* (25-2); 9th *aḍavi* (39-5), *arttin* (38-7), *asvamēdam̄bu* (35-11) *Bejavāḍa* (35-8), *icca* (38-27), *Īśānanambuna* (39-12), *Īśvarunakun* (37-3), *Kannarābhūpati* (39-6), *kayyambuna* (40-3), *kalasanirvvahanambu* (37-10), *komarasvāmiki* (38-7), *jātraku* (38-23), *tānapatulu* (38-16), *tiram̄bu* (38-30), *dammuvulu* (35-11), *disa (guḍlum̄)* (37-11) *Beje-*

yarāju (37-7), *maṭambunu* (37-11), *mogamāḍuvu* (38-42), *saktitraya sampannuṇḍu* (31-9), *stīti* (39-3); 10th *astaprāptambu* (44-7), *Īsānaśivulu* (47-32), *kannara ballahuniki* (44-6), *dēsamu* (44-14), *dōsambunaku* (44-61), *paṭṭabhadduṇḍu* (49-8), *stīti* (44-50), *Śrī-parbbatambunan* (47-28), *kṛiṣṭa* (E.I. IX-47, l. 39), *Kriṣṇa* (l. 43 in the same inscr.).

Words borrowed from Skt. without change—*tatsamas*:

Ex. 7th *ahitambu* (11-15), *acandratāra purassaraṁ* (18-4), *Ālakumara priyatanayimru* (18-6), *rājamānambu* (16-9); 8th *uttarabu* (28-16), *pañcamahāpātakunru* (24-24), *prithivi rājyam* (24-5); 9th *akhiluṇḍu* (36-3), *Acalapuramu* (39-9), *mahārāju* (40-3,) *kalaśabu* (38-41) *viṣayavāḍa* (IA XX-414), 10th *dakṣiṇāyana saṁkrānti* (48-3), *parīkṣa* (50-15), *rājyambu* (44-15) *dāsu* (50-12), *stīti* (50-6).

MIDDLE TELUGU

Nominal stems as pointed out above may be either monomorphemic, derivative or compound. At the descriptive level we speak of nominal roots and verbal roots depending on the nature of the inflections which they take—nominal or verbal. For instance *ūru* village, *illu* house. *kālu*, leg, *ceyyi* hand, are nominal roots, and *vaccu* to come, *pōvu* to go, *āḍu* to play and *tinu* to eat, are verbal roots. But at the level of the proto-language when we speak of the root it is the common core of a number of related forms, devoid of formative element, if any and indeterminate in terms of nominal or verbal function. But this does not prevent us from recognising that Dr. roots are mostly verbal in character, Ex *tir* 'turn', *ī* 'give', while there are also others like adjectival roots *veḷ* 'white', *kem* 'red', pronominal roots *ñān/yān* 'I', and numeral roots or 'one', *ir* 'two' etc. In the cluster of forms *pacca*, green, *pacci* unripe, *paccika*, grass, *pasaru*, green colour *pasi*, young, tender, *pasimi*, green, yellow colour, *pasirika*, greenness, *pasupu* yellow colour, turmeric, *pāci* moss, *paṣiḍi*, *payiḍi*, *paḍi*, gold, the root is reconstructed as *pac/pas/pay*. The Dr. root thus established by comparative grammar is said to be monosyllabic in character, which may be any one of the canonical types \check{V} , $C\check{V}$, \bar{V} , $C\bar{V}$, $\check{V}C$, $\bar{V}C$, $C\check{V}C$, $C\bar{V}C$ (TVB). To these original monosyllabic roots formative suffixes came to be added in course of time, to many of

them, resulting in disyllabic and trisyllabic stems, in the different languages. At a particular period, already in the pre-Telugu stage consonantal endings had become all vowel endings. The euphonic vowel so added was generally u, thus *an-u*, *kon-u*, *tin-u*, *ceṭṭ-u*, *kāl-u*, (root forms without formative suffixes) and *oḍ-al-u-*, *gel-uc-u* (with formative suffixes). The development of nominal stems in all their variety from the proto stage needs fuller elucidation by further research.

Peculiarities of nominal stems in MT. are like as follows: (1) Monosyllabic bases become disyllabic, Ex. OT. *rō* money, MT. *rōyi*; *pū-vu* flower, older form *pū* survives in the compound *śirasupū* (Kāśī 1-2); *ā-vu* cow, cf. pl. *ā-lu*, *ā-la manda*, herd of cattle; *nūvu*, II Sg. pronoun, the original form of which comparative evidence points to *nī*; similarly for the stems *nēyi* ghee, *cēyi* hand, compound formations show only mono-syllable *nē-māna*, *cē-cācu*. Comparative evidence would also reveal many an instance, Ex. Tel. *īga*, Tam. *ī fly*. (2) Some stems in older literature and inscr. preserve u for the regular i vowel finally, OT. *tālu-* (10-8) - MT. *tāḍi*; *cēyu* (Kus. 8-175)—regularly *cēyi*; *nēyu* in inscr. Tel.—(IV-1263 God. 1100 A.D.)—regularly *nēyi*; again *mundaru* (Kus. 2-12) *mundaru maraṁdi* (IV—667 Gtr. 1132 A.D.)—regularly *mundara* with a as final vowel; *valuvu* ‘cloth’ (Bhr. 1-4-43, Bhag. 9-516), *duvvaluvu*—later Tel. *valuva*. (3) And some stems preserve -ru final. OT. 10th *pēdaru*, poor, in the expression *pēdari-yāku-jinta* ‘poor leaved tamarind tree; (EI. XIX-148) and *podaru* ‘bush’ (Bhr. virāṭa. 3-82)—later Tel. *pēda*, *poda*. (4) Some stems become constituted of a gender suffix later on whereas there was none in the earlier stage OT. *pāra*, MT. *pārūḍu* (Bhr. 1-5-203). (4) Some nominal stems show an alternation of nu and ŋku or ŋgu in the final syllable, OT. 10th *gōnu* (EI. XVIII-226)—10th *gōgu* (*rēvu*) (EI. XIX-148); MT. *kalanu* - *kalāku*, *mrānu* - *mrāku*, *rēnu* - *rēgu*, *gōnu* - *gōgu* (ĀBB. 73, 74, BV. ācch. 18, 19). The plural forms are regularly constituted of k/g, *kolākulu*, *mrākulu*, *rēgulu*, *gōgulu*. The velar here is explained as an old plural suffix (attested in N. & S. Dr.) which has lost its original signification, lu having been generalised in Telugu. There are, again, forms in Telugu showing the incorporation of the velar element absolutely, *ēlika/eluka*, ‘rat’, (Tam. *eli*), *ciluka* ‘parrot’, (Tam. *kili*), etc. (See Sandhi for more examples Pp. 29-30). (5) The word *tem-m-eral* ‘southern wind’ is used

in classical literature (Kus. 9-8), but later on due to confusion with final l as the Pl. suffix *temmera* comes into existence as a back formation (ĀBB. V. 25) (Cf. NT. *kanistīpu* < Eng. *constable*).

These and many other such formal changes had been there in the course of time besides semantic changes.

Lakṣaṇakāras refer to two types of *grāmya* (*pāmura vyavahārāika prasiddham grāmyam-ucyatē*): *śabda grāmya*, forms which are grammatically incorrect, and *artha grāmya*, forms which are grammatically correct but not used in cultured society. It should be noted that what is regarded as *grāmya* at one period may become received usage at another and viceversa. Ex. in early MT. past forms in —st. like *istini* 'I gave', are *grāmya* as indicated by Ketana (ĀBB. V. 26) and confirmed by their avoidance in the Kavitraya, although they do appear in contemporary inscr. from 11th c. Ex. SII. X-58. But they are in *śiṣṭa vyavahāra* in Mdn. Tel., and must have been so at least from the 15th c. for Śrīnātha uses such forms (*cūstimī*, *rōstimī*) even if it be, in *cātu* verse (BKS. p. 240). Appakavi in the 17th c. prohibited the use of words *cevulu* ears, *buggalu* cheeks, *boḍḍu* navel, *paṇḍlu* teeth etc., as vulgar (Ak. 1-220) but these are actually found to be used in classical texts.

The classification of vocabulary in the traditional grammars is into *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *dēśya* as in the Prakrit grammars, with the addition of a fourth category called *grāmya*. In a Dr. speech like Telugu *tatsama* and *tadbhava* would be the unassimilated and assimilated loan-words from Indo-Aryan, and *dēśya* would be the inherited vocabulary. *grāmya* is by definition the colloquial which is not admitted in the literary language, but then this category is for the sanction of such of those forms which have actually been used by great poets. They are like the *ārṣa prayōgas - anindya grāmya* (BV. sam. 23); the implication is that other poets should not use such forms.

The grammarians give different sub-classifications of *desya* vocables and it becomes difficult to understand, at this distance of time, the full import of their categorisation from the examples they cite: (1) *acca tenugu* (ĀŚC. ĀBB Kāc), (2) *āndhra dēśyamu* (ĀŚC), (3) *sahaj-āndhra-dēśyōdbhavamamu* (Kāc.), (4) *śuddh-āndhra-dēśyamu* (AK.), (5) *dēśyōdbhavamamu* (Kāc.), (6) *anya-dēśyamu*

(ĀŚC.), (7) *anyadēśaj-āndhramu* (AK.). It would appear however that the grammarians are here referring primarily to two different types of words: those which are familiar, and used in daily life, and those which are not so familiar, being dialectal words (7), or literary (5), or archaic forms (1). Appakavi was similarly referring to the non-familiar words under *Tenūgu-marūgulu* (AK.). The examples given are loan-translations from Skt. which are found to have been used in acca-Tenugu kāvyas — artificial coinings without doubt.

The traditional categories of vocabulary, *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *dēśya* are defined in ĀŚC *prakṛti dvayajā tajjā, tul-yātu samā, pravāhinī dēśyā*. (ĀŚC. samjna. 15). In as much as Telugu is considered to be derived from both Skt. and Pkt. (ĀŚC. samjnā. 3) grammarians have made a fourfold classification of IA. vocabulary, *saṁskṛta-sama* and *Prākṛta-sama*, *saṁskṛta-bhava* and *Prākṛta-bhava*. The category of *saṁskṛta-sama* is clear enough, but that of the other three groups has not been determined or distinguished properly; the lexicographers label them all as *vaiṅkṛta* and the grammarians call them *tadbhava* and both content themselves by explaining the changes in them from Sanskrit proto-types. An indication of the typical sound changes in the tad-bhavas in the two levels — in the MIA. Stage, and in the course of their entry into Telugu from OIA. and MIA. is given below.

FORMATION OF TADBHAVAS

I Changes which had already taken place in MIA. and reflected in MIA. Lws. in Telugu:

(1) Mutation of OIA ṛ vowel: MIA. *siṅgārō* (< OIA. *śṛṅgāra-*) > Tel. *siṅgāramu*; *gēha-* (< *ḡrha-*) > *gēhamu*; with cerebralisation of a following dental: *sadhila* (< vedic Skt. *śṛthira*) > *sadalu*; *puḍhavi* (< *pr̥thivī*) > *puḍami*. (2) ai, au > ē, ō: *vejjo* (< *vaidya-*) > *vejju*; *sōbhagga* (< *saubhāgya*) > *sobagu*. (3) A long vowel is shortened before a medial conjunct: MIA. *ayya* (< *ārya*) > *ayya*; *karja* (< *kārya*) > *karjamu*. (4) n > ṅ: *ṅisi* (< *niśā*) > *niṣi*; *ṅiddha-* (< *snigdha-*) > *niddamu*; *āṅatti* (< *ājñapti-*) OT. *āṅati* (13-15), MT. *āṅati*, the retroflex ṅ is retained in OT. as in the case of the native element, cf. *pūṅṅama* (OT. 10-3) (5) y < j (except in Mg. where it remains and replaces j):

jamō (< *yama-*) > *jamūḍu*; *ajja-* (< *ārya*) > *ajja*. *ajja* is attested in personal names as honorific, in OT. in *Aggijja*, *Nandijja*, *Khamdajja*, *Bhaddajja* (Maṭṭepāḍu plates of Dāmōdaravarman, c. 350 A.D. (EI. XVIII-327), regularly *ayya*; *nijōgulu*, *nijōgam* (IV-99 Kist. 1242 A.D. < *nijōga-*). (6) *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* > *s*: *ākāsa-* (< *ākāśa-*) > *ākasamu*; *dōsa-* (< *dōṣa-*) > *dōsamu*. (7) Medial conjunct consonants were generally assimilated, or split up by anaptyxis (particularly in words borrowed from Skt. - semi-tatsama borrowings): *aggī* (< *agni-*) > *aggi*; *dassana-*, *darisana-* (< *darśana-*) > *darisenamu*. An initial conjunct was generally simplified (i.e., one consonant was lost) or split up by anaptyxis: *siri* (< *śrī*) > *siri*; *thāliā* (< *sthālikā*) > *taliya*; *masana-*, *maśana-* (Mg.) (< *śmaśāna-*) > *masanamu*, *maśānamu* in the intensive compound in Coll. Tel. *mannu-maśānamu*; *dōṇi* (< *drōṇī*) > *dōne*. *kṣ* > (c) *ch*, (k) *kh*: *khāra-* (< *kṣāra-*) > *kāramu*; *lacchī* (< *lakṣmī*) > *lacci*, also *lakkimi*; *akkhara-* (< *akṣara-*) > *akkaramu*; *rakkhasō* (< *rākṣasa-*) > *rakkasūḍu*; *ty*, *thy*, > *cc*, *cch*; *dy* *dhy* > *jja*, *jjha*: *ṇicca-* (< *nitya-*) > *nicca*; *racchā* (< *rathyā-*) > *racca*; *sañjjhā* (< *sandhyā*) > *sanja*. (8) *-sṇ-* > *ṇh*: *viṇhu-* (< *viṣṇu-*) > *vennūḍu*; Similarly metathesis with *-hn-*: *ciṇha* (< *cinha-*) > *cinne*. (9) *m̄h* > *m̄gh*: *siṁgha-* (< *siṁha*) > *siṁgamu*. (10) Voicing of intervocalic plosives: *aḍavī* (< *aṭavī*) > *aḍavi*; *kavila* (< *kapila-*) > *kavila*; *kadhā* (< *kathā*) > *kada*. Loss of intervocal plosives at a later stage in MIA: *ghāya-* (< *ghāta-*) > *gāyamu*. Reduction of voiced aspirates to *h*: *muha-* (< *mukha*) > *mohamu*, Coll. Tel. > *mōmu*.

Devoicing of voiced plosives is a feature of the Paisaci Pkt., *rāca-* (< *rāja-*) *rāca-* cf. Pkt. forms in Amaravati inscrr. Remember Proto Dr. had only unvoiced plosives.

II. Changes which took place in MIA, and OIA. Lws. in Telugu, (along the lines of the native Dr. phonetic system):

(1) Mutation of *r̄*: OIA. *r̄ṣi* > *ruṣi*. (2) Shortening of medial long vowels: MIA. *kappūra-* (< *karpūra-*) > *kappuramu*, OT *-sammana* (17-1). (3) *ai* > *e* or *ay*; *au* > *o* or *av*: OIA *daitya* > *detti*; *prauḍha-* > *prōḍa*; *yauvana-* > *yavvanamu*. (4) *i* > *e*, *u* > *o* (particularly before an open vowel, by vowel assimilation): MIA. *disā* (< *diśā*) > *desa* OT. *disa* (37-11); *guna-* (< *guṇa*) > *gonamu*. (5) Introduction of a prothetic vowel before *r-*: OIA. *ratha-*

> *aradamu*. (6) Voicing of initial and medial unvoiced stops: MIA. *cakkavāa* (< *cakravāka*-) > *jakkava*; OIA *bhakti* > *bagiti*, *bagutiḍu*; *caturāṅga* > *cadarangamu*; *Draupadi* > *Drōvadi*. (7) Devoicing of voiced plosives: MIA. *goṭṭha*- (*gōṣṭha*-) > *koṭṭamu*. (8) Loss of y-: OIA. *yugādi* > *ugādi*; *yuvatī* > *uvida*. (9) Loss of h: MIA. *hiṅgu*- (< *hiṅgu*-) > *iṅguva*; OT. *pariyāruvu* (25-3) (MIA. *parihārō*, OIA, *parihārah*), *astaprāptambu* (< OIA. *hasta*-); deaspiration of aspirated plosives: MIA. *bhatti* (< *bhakti*) > *batti*; *bandhō* (< *bandha*-) > *bondu*: Introduction of h by hyper-standardisation: *arattiyam* (< *ārātrikam*) > *hāratī*. MIA. nom. sg. forms in -ō (< Skt - aḥ) developed -vu in Telugu: *dhammuvu* (MIA. *dhammō* < OIA. *dharmah*), *baruvu* (*bhārō* < *bhārah*), *kasavu* (*ghāsō* < *ghāsaḥ*). (10) Elimination of conjunct consonants: by assimilation: OIA. *Acyuta* > *accutūḍu*; *nitte* (X — 159 Gtr. 1166 A.D.) *nicca* (SII. X-318, 1248 A.D. < *nitya*); by Anaptyxis, more commonly: *harṣa*- > *haruṣa*-, *haruṣāśrudhāralu* (Kus. 12-213), *kalhāra* > *kaluhāra-gandhi* (Kus.); OIA. *kṣēma*- < *sēmamu*; by simplification: *jōtinādhuni* (X-312 Cud. 1247 A.D.) (< *jyōti*-). (11) Loss of s: MIA. *sarisava*, *sassava*, *sāsava* (< *sarṣapaḥ*) > *āva*; *sūṅkō* (< *śulka*-) > *unkuva* ('OIA & MIA. loan words in Telugu' by T. Donappa) s > c: MIA. *sukka* (< *śukra*) > *cukka*; *haṁsō* (< *haṁsa*-) > *anca*. *sakkharā* (< *śarkarā*) > *cakkerā*; *seṭṭhi* (< *śrēṣṭi*-) > *ceṭṭi*; OT. *cavaccarambu!* (< *samvatsara*- (28-4), *cakṣi* (< *sākṣi*-) (24-20). The change of MIA c > s is also represented, MIA *cunṇa*- (< *cūrṇa*-) > *sunnamu*. (12) Other changes: Introduction of a pre-consonantal nasal: MIA *pūga*- (< *pūga*-) > *pōka*; *oṭṭha*- (< *uṣṭra*-) > *oṭṭe*; MIA. (and Skt.) *bhaṭa* > *baṅṭu*; OIA *bhēda* > *bindambu* (Kus. 5-88), OIA. *nāyaka* > *nāyākūḍu*. Dropping of final syllable. MIA. *tāmarasam* (< *tāmarasam*) > *tāmara*; *santāna*- (< *santāna*-) > *santu*; Addition of final syllable: MIA *candamā*- (< *candramā*-) > *candamāma* by folk-etymology, *māma* means 'uncle' as in a form of address in endearment, another example for which is *āranjōti* (< OIA. *arundhati*); Dropping of medial syllable in śabdapallava: *vēn-cēyu* (< *vijayam-cēyu*), *viccēyu* 'to come'.

The change of v to b is attested in loan words: MIA. *panti* (< *paṅkti*) *banti*; MIA. *vasabha* (< *vṛṣabha*) > *basava*, Kan. *basava*; MIA. *vāvi* (< *vāpi*) > *bāvi*, *bīramu* (Bhr. 1-6-203) etc. And there are many instances of this change in OT. *Bāranāsi* (23-23), *hidiya* (12-9), *bīra-lōkambu* (85-10), *Bejeitta bhaṭaraḷa-*

(27-1), *Bejeyarāju* (37-7, 39-11), *Bejeyēśvarambu* (37-10) *Bejavāḍa* (35-8), *Śrīparbbatambunan* (47-28) in which there is possibly both Pkt. and Kannada influence. *bidiya*, *tīra-*, and *parbbata-* do not survive in NT. where *v* forms are regularly used.

FORMATION OF TATSAMAS

Vowel stems:

a stems:

Masc. *a* stems denoting masc. beings take the gender suffix *nru nru*, *ṇḍu* in OT. *ṇḍu* in M. & NT., Ex. *Rāmūḍu*, *asurūḍu*. But there are forms in which the stem vowel is not so affected, examples for which are more common in inscr. Tel., OT. *Rāmaṇḍu* (90-11), MT. *dēvaṇḍu* (SII. IV. 762), *upādhyāyalanu* (IV-1186). They are mostly regularised in NT. *Rāmūḍu*, *dēvūḍu*, *upādhyāyulu*. Exceptions in NT. also occur, *Rangaḍu*, *nāyāḍu*, beside *nāyūḍu*.

Some animal names and inanimates are made to take the masc. suffix by personification, *gurudāḍu* (Bhr. 1-2-63 and regularly in a number of instances, Kus. 4-23), (> *garudūḍu*), *vānarūḍu*, *anilūḍu*, *analūḍu*.

Some stems merely change the final *a* to *u* without adding the gender suffix, *vṛddhu* (Bhr. 2-2-11), *mūrkhū* (2-2-24) *nīcu*, optionally *vṛddhūḍu*, *mūrkhūḍu*, *nīcūḍu*.

Some appear identical with the Skt. stem form, *dūta*, *asura*, optionally *dūtūḍu*, *asurūḍu*; *vīha*, *dāra*. Similar forms occur in Mdn. Tel. *Nārāyana*, *Kṛṣṇa*.

a stems denoting non-rational beings and inanimates objects, whatever be their gender in Skt., take the neut. suffix *bu*, *mbu*, (*m*)*mu* in OT., *mbu*, (*m*)*mu* in MT. and *m(u)* in NT., *kalaśabu* (38-41), *ahitambu* (11-15), *udyōgammu* (37-6); MT. *vanambu*, *vanammu*, *vanamu*; NT. *vanam(u)*.

Sometimes they take the *vu* ending, OT. *dharmmuvu* (38-45), MT. *arghuvu*, *varguvu*, optionally *arghamu*, *vargamu* and *vargu*.

Some nouns appear identical with the Skt. stem form: *samarpaṇa*, *vartana*, *caritra*, *antaḥkaraṇa*, *darbha*, optionally *samarpaṇamu*, *vartanamamu*, *caritramamu*, *antaḥkaraṇamu*; but *darbhamu* does not occur; *cikna* (Bhī. Kh. 4-151).

i stems:

These are borrowed without any addition of gender suffix or change in the stem vowel, OT. *nīti* (38-35), *sthiti* (50-3); M. & NT. *Hari*, *kavi*, *bhūmi*.

u stems:

u stems of whatever gender in Skt. take the ending *vu*, *prabhuvu*, *guruvu* teacher, *bandhuvu*, *hētuvu*, *ṛtuvu*, *Rāhuvu*, *bāhuvu*; these two forms *Rāhuvu*, *bāhuvu* are found without *vu* ending in liter. (PV. śabd. 26), *Rāhu*, *bāhu*. Nouns denoting masc. beings optionally add the masc. gender suffix to the stem form *bandhūḍu* (Kus. 2-94), also to the form ending in *-vu*: *bandhuvūḍu*, *gurūḍu*, the planet Jupiter, *prabhūḍu*. The *vu* forms are more common in NT., *bandhuvu*, *prabhuvu*.

Some *u* stems occur always with the masc. suffix, and do not take *vu*, *Śantanūḍu*, *Abhimanyūḍu*, *Kantūḍu* (ĀBŚ. śabda. 61).

Some *u* stems denoting inanimate objects take the *-mu* ending with the change of the stem vowel to *a*, *kamaṇḍalamu*, optionally *kamaṇḍaluvu* (BKS. p. 326).

ṛ stems:

These are borrowed with a shortening of the long *ā* of the nom. Sg. form, *dhāta*, *karta*, *bharta*.

Some nouns denoting masc. beings optionally add the gender suffix to the stem form. *vidhātrḍu*, *vidhāta*.

Stems in long vowels:

Monosyllabic stems ending in long vowels are borrowed without any change, *kṣmā*, *śrī*, *strī*; *bhrū* is an exception which takes the *vu* ending, *bhrūvu*. In others final long vowels are shortened. *ā*: *praja* (< *prajā*), *arcana*, *bhāṣa*, *mīnanētra*, *bhikṣa*; sometimes with the neuter ending, *bhikṣamu* (Bhr. 1-7-209) *mēkhalamulu* (Kus. 6-52). *ī*: *Gauri* (*Gaurī*), *Vāṇi*, *Lakṣmi*, *janayitri*. *ū*: The stem with the shortened vowel takes the *vu* ending Ex. *vadhuvu* (< *vadhū*), *camuvu*, *Kadruva*, and *Kadruva*, proper name (*Kadrauvu nāgamāta* BV. tats. 51).

bhū 'earth' occurs in Telugu in the locative case form of Skt. *bhuvi* (BV. tats. 62). Other examples of loc. forms borrowed as

stems are *divi*, *hṛdi* (BV. tats. 84). These must have come into the language along with a phrase such as *hṛdi sthita Janārdana* and then become dissociated from it.

Other vowel stems:

gōvu (< *gō*); *nāva* (< *nau*); *rai*, (< *rai*) *glau*, (< *glau*). (BV. tats. 64).

Consonantal stems

These are brought over to the vowel series in Telugu in consonance with the nature of the nominal stems in this language. Many of the consonantal stems may be referred to the nominative singular case forms of Sanskrit as source forms; some may be referred to the accusative singular and some others to the stem form. Some tatsamas may possibly be derived from spoken Sanskrit forms.

From Skt. nom. sg.:

dikku (*dik*), *maruttu* (*marut*), *vākku*, (*vāk*), *svarāṭṭu* (*svarāt*) or *vāku*, *svarāṭu*—single consonant may occur after a long vowel instead of the geminate (BV. tats. 69), *Parīkṣittu* (*Parīkṣit*), *sampattu* (*sampat*), *Indrajittu*, *Indrajitūḍu*, *Indraji* (*indrajit*), *jagattu*, *jagamu* (*jagat*) *mahima* (*mahimā*), *prēma*, *prēmamu* (*prēma*), *karma*, *karmamu* (*karma*), *janma* *janmamu* (*janma*), *mahātmūḍu* (*mahātma*), *Brahma* masc. (*ṛtvig-vipra-caturāsya vācaka*), *Brahmamu* ntr. (*tattva tapō yōga vācaka* (*Brahma*), *Aśvatthāma* (*Aśvatthāma*) *Viśvakarma*, *Viśvakarmūḍu* (*viśvakarma*), *tapasvi* (*tapasvī*), *jayaśāli* (*jayaśālī*) *sakhūḍu* (*sakha*), *rāju*, *rājamu*, *rājūḍu*, Ex. *khagarāju*, *vṛkṣarājamu*, *hatarājūḍu* *Paraśurāmūḍu*, (BV. tats. 78) (*rājā* or *rājan*, stem form) *āyuvu* (*āyuh*), *dhanuvu* (*dhanuh*), *Durvāsūḍu* (*Durvāsāh*), *vēdha* (*vēdhāh*), *purōdha* (*purōdhāh*), *arci* (*arcih*), *rōci* (*rōcih*), *jyōti* (*jyōtiḥ*) *Hanumānūḍu* (*Hanumān*).

From Skt. acc. Sg.:

mudamu (*mudam*), *srajam* (*srajam*), *ṛtvijūḍu* (*ṛtvijam*) *purōdhasūḍu* (*purōdhasam*), *aṅgirasūḍu* (*aṅgirasam*), *śrīmantūḍu*, *śrīmanturālu* *śrīmantamu* (*śrīmantam*) thus *Hanumantūḍu*, *dhanavantūḍu*. (BV. tats. 70, 73, 81).

NOUN DERIVATION

Nouns are formed from verbal and other roots or from nouns generally by the addition of suffixes. But sometimes noun derivation consists of some internal change within the root or the verbal root is itself used as a noun without any modification. Derived nouns are declined like primary nouns.

Derivation of nouns from verbal and other roots

6th i: *paṇi* (3-2), work (< **paṇ*, cf. Tam. *paṇṇu* to do, Tel. *pannu* to contrive, scheme).

7th a: *tōmṭa* (10-8), garden (with devoicing of ḍ in the final syllable of the root as in *tōṇḍu* to dig); *pāra* (7-4), seer, brahmin (< **pār* cf. Tam. *pār* to see, brahmin); pu: *tūrpu* (20-11) east (< *tūru*, to enter); *māra*: *paḍumāra* in *paḍumāri kōṭan* (10-7) on the western boundary (< *paḍu*, to fall).

8th. The verb root is itself used as a noun without any modification: *kaṭṭu* in *uttarabu kaṭṭu* (28-16), northern boundary (vb. *kaṭṭu*, to bind); *ḍagu* (25-3), a tax (vb. *taggu*, to decrease); a: *pāra* (24-13); ali: *kottali* (24-30) engraver (< *koṭṭu*, to strike, engrave); i: *paṇi* (25-8); *cēṭu* 'harm, ruin' (< *ceḍu* 'to be spoiled',) unpublished inscr. ARE. 48/1953-53, Kurnool dist., in characters of 7th-8th c.).

9th Internal change: *pōṭu* (40-4) battle (< *poḍu-cu* to pierce); a: *nēla* (35-10); *bimkamu* (39-7) pride (vb. *bigi-yu* to stiffen) mpu: *kāmpuḷu* (34-7) farmers (< *kācu*, to protect).

10th Internal change: lengthening of root vowel, in *vīḍu*, capital town *Pottepi vīṭa* (48-3) (vb. *viḍi-yu* to stay), mpu: *kāmpu* (50-3); pu: *peṃpu* (47-10) increase, bright fortnight (*cittadi peṃpunandu*) (< *pen*, big); ki: *unki* being, existence (1.9. Ganga-dharam inscr. Bharati, March 1967 *Jinapūjal sēyuc-unki*).

NOUNS DERIVED FROM OTHER NOUNS

UD. eṇḍu: *māneṇḍu* (52-9), of the measure of a *māna*; ambu: (> MT. amu) *peṇḍl-ambu* (65-15).

MIDDLE TELUGU

There are different sets of suffixes for primary and secondary derivation (*kṛt* and *taddhita*). However there are a few which seem to serve in both, Ex. *imi*: *kalimi* prosperity (< *kalugu* to be in possession), *magāṭimi*, manliness, valour (< *magāḍu* brave man, warrior), devoicing in the masc. suffix is exceptional; *ika*: *amarika* arrangement (< *amaru* to be in order), *aramarika*, consciousness of being a stranger < *aramara*.

The meanings in which the secondary derivatives are used are clear and stated by the grammarians. But the meanings or the force of the primary derivatives being varied have not been defined or indicated by them; we are asked to know from usage. Akā. says *ajanya janya bhēdēna śabdāssyur vikṛtau matāḥ, janyānta gata varṇānām bhūyasī syād vicitratā* (ajanta 95), *bhāṣēyam amitā tatra dēśuā citra swabhāvayuk, tāccitratāt draṣṭavyā nūpyapāda subhāṣitaih* (kri. 36). A few examples given by way of illustration in BV. may however be noted. *ka*: *āka* obstruction (< *āqu* to stop) *bhāvārtha*; *molaka*, a sprout (< *molacu* to sprout) *kart-rartha*; *ika*: *kōrika* desire (< *kōru* to desire) *bhāvārtha*, that which is desired *karmārtha*, *ēlika* ruler (< *ēlu* to rule) *kartrartha*.

Early grammarians have not dealt with primary derivatives and referred to the secondary derivatives cursorily. BV. PV. and ĀBŚ. between them, however, give a fairly good list of the suffixes, which are enumerated below.

PRIMARY DERIVATION

BV. (*kṛdanta* 2) mentions that before the derivative suffixes final syllables in *k*, *g*, *c*, *y*, *v* of roots are dropped. It is clear that these nouns are formed mostly from primitive verb roots not extended by formative suffixes in *k*, *g*, *c*, *y*, *v*.

1. *ka* - (BV. 3): *aluka* anger < *aulgu* to be angry; *kāka* heat < *kāgu* to boil; *pōka* going < *pōvu* to go; *rāka* coming, vb. *vaccu* to come; *kānuka* gift, with a lengthening of the root vowel < *kanu* to see.

2. *imi* - (BV. 4): *kalimi* riches < *kalugu* to happen; *ōrimi* patience < *ōruru* to bear; *tālimi* patience < *tālu* to bear; *oḍḍimi* a wager, < *oḍḍu* to wager.

3. nta - (BV. 5) replaces -yu in the root-final: *cēta* deed < *cēyu* to do; *kūta* a cry < *kūyu* to cry; *vrāta* writing < *vrāyu* to write; *mūta* lid < *mūyu* to close.

4. kuva- (BV. 6): *aḍākuva* humility < *aḍāgu* to be submissive; *lōkuva* subordination < *lōgu* to yield.

5. ṭa, ṭa-mu (BV. 7) . replaces ḍu, ru, or ru in the root final: *āṭa* play < *āḍu* to play; *maṅṭa* flame < *maṅḍu* to burn; *vēsata* fatigue < *vēsaru* to be fatigued; *tēta* clear, upper portion of a liquid, clearness < *tēru* to become clear; *āṭa* often with the neuter ending mu, *āṭa-mu* (< *āḍu* to play) when used as an auxiliary verb Ex. *pōrāṭamu*, *pōrāṭa* fight (Bhr. udyō. 3-7); *kōlāṭamu* a dance-play, also cf. *kūtamu* a hall, a group < *kūḍu* to gather (ĀBŚ. 8). Similarly -ṭa is sometimes extended by kamu: *vaṅṭakamu* cooking < *vaṅḍu* to cook.

6. ṭu (BV. 8): - replacing non-initial syllables in the root, and with a lengthening of the radical vowel, *pātu* a fall, suffering < *paḍu* to fall, Inscr. Tel. *prasāpātu* (XVI-57 Chengleput 1517 A.D. < *prasāḍapaḍu*), *cētu* ruin < *ceḍu* to be spoiled; *kātu* a bite < *kaṛacu* to bite; *ēṭu* a stroke < *ēyu* to strike; *vrēṭu* throwing < *vrēyu* to throw.

7. pamu - (BV. 9): *tiripēmu* begging < *tiriyu* to beg; *kala-pamu* mixing < *kaliyu* to mix.

8. ta - (B.V. 10): *āvulinta* a yawn < *āvulincu* to yawn; *gilinginta* tickling < *giligincu* to tickle; *kolata* measurement, < *kolucu*, to measure, (ĀBŚ. 7).

9. pu - (BV. 11): *māpu* dirt < *māyu* to become dirty; *impu* agreeableness < *incu* to be agreeable; *cūpu* sight < *cūcu* to see; *mēppu* admiration < *meccu* to like, admire; *valapu* love < *valacu* love; *kānupu* sight < *kanu* to see.

10. ika - (BV. 12): *anjika* fear < *anju*, to fear; *ōpika* strength < *ōpu* to be able; *pondika* fitness < *ponḍu* to obtain; Similarly *nammika* belief < *nammu* to believe. ĀBŚ. (15) points out that *mammiga*, *opiga* are oldēr forms.

11. ana - (BV. 13): *vīvana* fan < *vīcu* to blow (as breeze); *mannana* respect < *mannincu* to respect; *ḍīvana* blessing < *ḍīvincu* to bless.

12. baḍi - (BV. 14): *ēlubāḍi* rule < *ēlu* to rule; *kaṭṭubāḍi* building < *kaṭṭu* to build; *sāgubāḍi* cultivation < *sāgu* to cultivate.

13. gaḍa - (BV. 15): *cērugāḍa* nearness, shelter, < *cēru* to reach; *tirugāḍa* roaming < *tirugu* to roam, *tīrugāḍa* completion < *tīru* to be over.

14. iki - (BV. 16): *kōriki* desire < *kōru* to wish; *cūḍiki* sight < *cūcu*, to see.

15. vu - (BV. 17): *manuvu* living < *manu* to live; *cāvu* death < **cā*, *caccu* to die; *ulivu* sound < *uliyu* to sound; Inscr. Tel. *guḍi golvunaku* to the temple priest IV-1248, l. 17 God. 1112 A.D. < *kolucu* to serve; *ūḍvu nēla* wet land (IV-1364 l. 12 God. 1121 A.D. < *ūḍcu* to harvest).

16. a - (BV. 18): *gīra* a line < *gīru* to scratch; *eṇḍa* sunshine *eṇḍu* to become dry; *vrayya* a piece < *vrayyu* to break.

17. akamu - (B.V. 19): *māarakamu* exchange, < *māru* to be exchanged; *ammakamu* sale < *ammu* to sell; *addakamu* printing < *addu* to press.

18. ḍu - (BV. 20): with a change of c and y in the final syllable of the root to p, *ammuḍu* sale < *ammu* to sell; *dampuḍu* pounding < *dancu* to pound; *māpuḍu* dirt, state of being soiled < *māyu* to become dirty; (ĀBS 23); *eguḍu* ascent < *ekku* to ascend *diguḍu* decent < *digu*, to descend.

u- (BV. 21): *oppu* beauty < *oppu* to be fit; *aṇṭu* ceremonial impurity < *aṇṭu* to touch. (These may be taken as examples for the use of the root form as noun without any modification).

19. vaḍi - (BV. 22): *koluvāḍi* measurement < *kolucu* to measure; *naḍavāḍi* character < *naḍacu* to walk. (These forms may be interpreted as -*āḍi* (secondary derivative in *Svārthā*) added to derivative nouns in -*vu*, *koluvu*, *naḍavu*).

20. vi - (BV. 22): *telivi* intelligence < *teliyu* to know; *virivi* extensiveness < *viriyu* to bloom, extend; ĀBS (25) points out that *vu* appears in the older language for *vi*, as in *tēlivu*, *gelivu*. Nouns with -*gi* *īgi* 'gift' (Bhr. 3-1-99. KuS. 8-163). *īvi*, *sēgi* 'action' (Kus. 10-198, < **cēgi* vb. *cēyu* 'to do'), later Tel. 'bad action'.

21. *avu* - (BV. 22): *tagavu* justice < *tagu* to be fit; *nagavu* laughter < *nagu* to laugh.

22. *i* - (BV. 22): *cēyi*, 'hand' < *cēyu*, to do; *vrāyi*, a letter *vrāyu* to write; with a change of the final consonant *y* or *c* to *p* (PV. 1) *dappi* thirst < *dayyu* to be fatigued; *noppi* pain < *noccu* to pain; *puppi* rotten < *puccu* to rot.

23. *kali* - (BV. 22): *kanukali* sight, < *kanu* to see; *vinukali* hearing < *vinu* to hear.

PV. adds the following suffixes:

24. *iḍi* - (PV. 2): *rāyiḍi* rubbing < *rāyu* to rub; also replaces *c* and *y* of final syllables in roots to *p*, *rāpiḍi*: *dōpiḍi* burglary < *dōcu* to rob. (ĀBS. 36).

25. *ena* - (PV. 3) with a change of *c* and *b* in root final to *p* - *irpena* a comb for removing nits < *ircu*, to comb out nits; *uppena* a swell of the sea < *ubbu* to swell; *duvvena* a comb < *duvvu* to comb.

26. *puramu* - (PV. 4): *kāpuramu* living < *kācu* to protect; *dāpuramu* hiding < *dācu* to hide. (It is possible to consider *ra-mu* as the suffix here).

27. *mati* - (PV. 5 *prēraṇārtha*): *egumati* export < *ekku* to ascend; *digumati* import < *digu* to descend.

28. *vali* - (PV. 7): *kāvali* guard < *kācu* to protect; *vivali* wind < *vīcu* to blow as the wind.

ĀBS. has the following additional suffixes:

29. *dala* - (ĀBS. 15): *arugudala* digestion < *arugu* to digest; *paṭṭudala* perseverance < *paṭṭu* to hold; *heccudala* increase; *taggudala* decrease; *pārudala* flow.

30. *kaḍa* - (ĀBS. 19): *nilukaḍa* steadiness < *nilucu* to stand *pōkaḍa*, going, behaviour < *pōvu* to go; *rākaḍa* coming < *vaccu* to come.

31. *va* - (ĀBS. 33): *viluva* price < *vilucu* to sell; *corava* boldness *coru*, *coccu* to enter; *takkuva* decrease < *taggu* to decrease; *teguva* daring < *tegu* to be cut.

32. ili - (ĀBŚ. 35): *aṅkili* obstacle < *anku* to obstruct.
 33. ita - (ĀBŚ. 37): *pogaḍita* flattery < *pogaḍu* to flatter.

List of Primary Derivatives

1. The root form without modification is capable of being used as a noun. The u suffix (BV. 21) is set up as a convenient symbol for the sake of technique of description.

2. Internal change in the root - lengthening of the root vowel manifests itself as a formative principle of noun formation, Ex. *vīnu*, ear < *vinu* to hear; *sūḍu* enemy < **suḍu*, cf. Tam. *suḍu*, to burn.

3. Suffixes: a, akamu, ana, avu, i, ika, iki, iḍi (with a change of c and y of roots to p), ita, imi (Tam. mai, Kan. me), ili, ena, ka (Tam. kkai, Kan. ke), kaḍa, kali, kuva (appears mostly with gu ending roots), gaḍa (Kan. gaḍe), ṭa, (ṭa-mu), ṭa-kamu (replacing ḍu, ru or ru in the final syllable of the root), ṭu (replacing non-initial syllables of the root and with internal change), ḍu (with a change of c and y of roots to p), ta, nta, dala (Tam. tal, Kan. tale), pa-mu, pu, puramu, baḍi, mati, va, vaḍi, vali, vi, vu.

SECONDARY DERIVATION

Derivative suffixes given by the early Telugu grammarians:

ABB.:

1. *kāḍu* - masc. nouns, in the sense of possession of skill (v. 162) *gonabukāḍu* a handsome person; *celimikāḍu* a friend.

2. *īḍu* - masc. nouns, in the sense of belonging to a language or community, possession of a quality (v. 163) *kannadīḍu* a Kannada person; *sālīḍu* one of the weaver caste, *kapaṭīḍu* a deceitful person.

3. *iṇḍi* - absence of something (v. 164) *mukkiṇḍi* noseless person; *vrayiṇḍi* illiterate person; *uppiṇḍi* a saltless thing.

4. *āḍu* - masc. nouns, possession of something, in a derogatory sense (v. 165) *boṅkulāḍu* a liar; *tagavulāḍu* quarrelsome man.

5. ari - possession, (v. 165) *penapari* a quarrelsome man, *tun-
tari* a loafer, *kallari* a liar. In the sense of belonging to a com-
munity (v. 129): *kammari* blacksmith (but this is derived from
Pkt. *kammāra* with i suffix), *kancari* a worker in bell-metal
(= *kāmsyakāra*), *mēdari* a basket-maker.

6. ami - absence of something (v. 166) *vinami* not hearing;
kānami not seeing.

7. imi - possession - (v. 166), *tālmī* patience; *kūrimi* friendship.

8. tanamu - abstract nouns (v. 166) *mancitanamu* goodness;
lōbhitanamu miserliness; *āḍu*, *īḍu*, *kāḍu* - masc. nouns (v. 168)
cinnēlāḍu a fop; *suṅkarīḍu*, tax-collector; *sogasukāḍu* handsome
person.

9-10. *katte*, *pōḍi* - fem. nouns (v. 168) *āṭakatte* dancer *pūvū-
bōḍi* a delicate (beautiful) woman. While *ketana* takes *pōḍi* as a
taddhita pratyaya, some of the later grammarians considered forms
with *pōḍi* as compounds, Bahuvrīhi (BV.), or karmadhāraya (PV.).

Kāc:

1. ari - possession, (v. 142), *sūḍari* enemy; *prēlari* prattler.

2-3. *īḍi*, *iḍi* - possession (v. 142): *uppīḍi* saltless thing, *cappīḍi*
insipid.

4-5. *kāḍu*, *āḍu* - masc. nouns. possession (v. 142): *nīṭukāḍu*
a fop, *pōṭukāḍu* a hero, *inculāḍu* an agreeable man, *takkulāḍu* a
trickish person.

6. *ara* (v. 143): *dabbara* lie, *cindara* piece, ruin.

AśC.

Mentions *tanamu*, *ka*, *uka*. *tvārthē tanaśca vikṛtau syāt,
nāmnah kavarnakassyāt svārthē syād-utvam-api parē tasmin*
(Halanta 28).

AKā.

*mānāntāccāisir-atrasyād bhavēd antar vibhāṣayā, matrō dagh-
nētu baṅṭyādis tataḥ pūrvatra naḥ kvacit* (ajanta. 55) Ex. *ēsi:
intal-ēsi (kannulu) intēsi (kannulu), cēṭantēsi (sommū) nālugēsi;*

mātra: *kaṭimātram* (*iccati puṣkaramulu*); *baṅṭi*: *mukkunabaṅṭi* (*nīru*), *mukkubaṅṭi* (*nīru*). Similarly *mōkāli kolādi*. etc.

bhavēt kas strīsamān nāmnā utvam tasmīn parē bhavēt (kriyā. 21), Ex. *velāduka* (< *velādi*), *nippuka* (< *nippu*).

ĀKau

1-4. *kāḍu*, *gāḍu*, *vāḍu*, *āḍu* - masc. nouns, denotes possession - p. 22; *vagakāḍu* a fop; *andagāḍu* a handsome person, *pandegāḍu* a wagerer; *pasulavāḍu* a shepherd, *caṅṭivāḍu* an infant.

5. *ari* - *nēri* a skilful person, *jūdari* a gambler, *tīri* a judge.

6. *īdu* - masc. nouns. *kannadīdu*, *sālīdu*, *kapaṭīdu* a hypocrite.

7. *īdi* - possession, *kaṭṭīdi* hard-hearted person, *veravīdi* a clever person.

8. *īdi* - absence of something, *mukkīdi*.

BV., PV. and ĀBS.

(Numbers refer to the sūtras in the taddhita prakarana in the respective works).

BV.

Abstract nouns (*bhāvārtha*)

1. *tanamu* (BV. 1): The suffix is added to the oblique base form of the noun, *Rāmunitanamu*, *Rāmutanamu* the quality of Rāma, *goppatanamu*, greatness, *ākonnāvanitanamu* the state of a hungry person (*mahat*), *ākonnādānitānamu* (*amahat*) or with the adj. participle (without the pronominal form) *ākonnatanamu* (PV. 2).

2. *rikamu* (BV. 2): *cinnarīkamu* smallness, childhood, *kannarīkamu*, virginity; with a change of the final u of the word to a: *tottarīkamu* slavishness (< *tottu*, slave), *kōdarīkamu* state of a daughter-in-law (< *kōḍalu*) (also *kōḍanṭramu*, *kōḍanṭrikamu*) (ĀBS. 36).

3. *īmi* (BV. 5): *pēri* greatness, *kaḍi* bravery.

4. na (BV. 6) with nouns denoting quality; *nallana* blackness, *tiyyana* sweetness; with a change of the final u of the word to a: *uppana*, saltiness (< *uppu*, salt).

5. ika (BV. 7): *aggalika* greatness, *ommika* fitness.

Pleonastic (*svārtha*).

ika (BV. 9) *aramarika* consciousness of being a stranger, *naḍavāḍika* character.

6. uka (BV. 10) *cirutuka* a young woman, *nātuka* a woman (< *nāti*).

Denotes possession of something by a person (*matubartha*).

7. *kāḍu*, *gāḍu* - masc. nouns (BV. 11, 12): *āṭakāḍu* dancer, *sogasukāḍu*, *andagāḍu* handsome person.

8. *kattiya*, *gattiya* (BV. 11, 12) fem. nouns; *āṭakattiya* dancer, *andagattiya*, beautiful woman. *kāḍu*, *kattiya* are also sometimes used in *svārtha* (BV. 13): *celimikāḍu* male companion. *heggāḍikāḍu*, *heggāḍikattiya*, male, female guard at the women's apartments; > *katte*, *gatte* (ĀBS).

9. *īḍu* (BV. 15) masc. nouns: *aṭamaṭīḍu* a deceitful person, *bānasīḍu* a male cook; *īḍu* is sometimes used in *svārtha* (BV. 16): *mokkalīḍu* a brave man, *māvatīḍu* an elephant driver.

10. *ari* (BV. 17): *jālari* fisherman, *suṅkari*, with the lengthening of the final vowel of the word *pūjāri*, 'priest (beside *pūjari*), *sonnāri* goldsmith; in spoken Telugu: *ettari*, *poḍagari* a tall person (ĀBS. 16).

11. *i* (BV. 18): *ōyāri*, a coquettish woman; *akkasi*, an angry person; *rāyabāri*/*rāyabhāri* ambassador, (*rāyab* (h) *āramu*) (ĀBS 17).

12. *ta* - with names of communities - fem. nouns (BV. 19): *koṛavata* a woman of the *koṛava* tribe; *cākita* washer woman; with a change of final vowel of the word to e (BV. 20): *cenceta* a woman of the *cencu* tribe, also *cencita* in desi literature (PV. 4); *ta* is also used with other nouns than community names, as *miṇḍata*, *muṭṭuta*, *gubbeta* (BV. 21).

13. *āḍi* - added to a noun in the plural, fem. nouns (BV. 23), *vagalāḍi*, *cinnelāḍi* a coquettish woman,

14. āḍu - (BV. 23) added to a noun in the plural, masc. nouns: *vagalāḍu*, *cinnelāḍu*, a fop.

Denotes absence of something

15. īḍi - (BV. 24) *mukkīḍi* a person without a nose, *siggīḍi* a shameless person.

In the sense of 'full'

16. ēḍu - (BV. 25) occurs with nouns denoting weight or measurement in the sg.: *gampēḍu* basket-full, *vīsēḍu* of the weight of one viss; *li* in the final syllable of the word is dropped before this suffix, *piḍikeḍu* handful (< *piḍikili*), *dōsēḍu* (< *dōsili*) (BV. 26).

In the sense of 'upto'

17. baṅṅi (BV. 27), *mōkālibaṅṅi* knee-deep, *rommubaṅṅi* chest deep; also with a tatsama noun *kaṭibaṅṅi* thigh-deep (PV. 17); ĀBS. (34) points out that in early literature the usage is *rommunabaṅṅi*, *mukkunabaṅṅi*, *pukkiṭibaṅṅi*.

18. kolāḍi (BV. 27) *mōkālīkolāḍi* upto the knee, knee-deep, *rommukolāḍi* upto the chest, chest-deep.

PV. adds the following suffixes to those listed in BV.

19. āḍu - *matubartha* (PV. 5) *ceḍugāḍu* a bad man; *duḍu-kāḍu* a rash man.

20. aḍamu - *svārtha* (PV. 6) *vēraḍamu* separation.

21. aḍi - *svārtha* (PV. 7) *vellaḍi* publicity.

22. iḍi - *svārtha* (PV. 8) *teliviḍi* knowledge, *viriviḍi* extensiveness, *vinikiḍi* hearing, heresy, *lēmiḍi* absence, *rāpiḍi* rubbing.

23. itamu - *svārtha* (PV. 9), *impitamu* pleasing, *bigitamu* firmness, *pōritamu* fight.

24. idamu - *svārtha* (PV. 10), *oppidamu* agreeableness, *tappiḍamu* mistake, *matubartha*: *krovvidamu*, *beṭṭidamu*.

25. iri - *svārtha* (PV. 11), *vāpiri* desiring eagerly (after long separation) < *vāpu*.

26. *karamu - bhāvārtha* (PV. 12), *nāyākaramu* chieftainship (< *nāyāka*) [with a nasal which is analogical, cf. *nāyākūḍu* beside *nāyakūḍu*].

27-28. *kāramu, gāramu - bhāvārtha* (PV. 13), *celikāramu, nayagāramu*, said to be used also in *svārtha*: *nuḍikāramu, kolagāramu*.

29. *miri - svārtha* (PV. 14) *calimiri*.

ṭi - bhāvārtha (PV. 15), replacing the final syllable of the word in *oṅṭi* state of being alone (< *oṅḍu*), *Kauravasēna yēḍa yonṭi sanuṭa yēḍa* 'where is the Kaurava army and where is (the question) of going alone' (Bhr.).

30. *mayamu - prācuryārtha* (PV. 18), this is *mayat* pratyaya of Skt. which has come to be used with native words as well, *tanamayamu, medaḍuprōvulamayamu*.

na - infrequently, in *matub-ārtha* (PV. 19) *divyatējambunavāḍu*, a person in divine splendour, i.e., possessing divine splendour. ĀBŚ. has the following suffixes in addition.

31. *uḍu*, and *iṭi - arthaviśēṣa* (ĀBŚ. 25) *cevuḍu* deafness, *ceviṭi* a deaf person (< *cevi* ear).

32. *kāri - matub-ārta* (ĀBŚ. 29) *māṭakāri* a talkative person.

33. *māri - matub-ārtha* (ĀBŚ. 29) *māṭalamāri* a garrulous person.

34. *mātramamu* (ĀBŚ. 33) in the sense of 'only', *antamātramamu, kontamātramamu*.

35. *vāḍu -* derives masc. nouns from names of communities - (ĀBŚ. 35); *bāpanavāḍu* a brahmin, *kōmaṭivāḍu* a person of *kōmaṭi* caste.

36. *adi -* forms fem. nouns (ĀBŚ. 33), *bāpanadi* a brahmin woman; *kōmaṭidi* a *kōmaṭi* woman.

37-40. *pōtu, kōru, dāru, goṭṭu - tācchilyārtha, arthaviśēṣa* (BV. 28, ĀBŚ. 37) *tinḍipōtu*, a glutton; *pogarumbōtu*, coll. *pogarumōtu* a rogue; *dagākōru* a cheat; *cōpudāru* a warder; *vāpirigoṭṭu* one who desires for a thing after long privation.

Classified list of Secondary Derivatives:

vāḍu he; *adi* she, it; *kolādi* limit, extent; *pōtu* male of animal species, - these are independent words still in use in the language, reduced to suffixal status in the respective forms.

The suffixes *āḍu*, *aḍu* are derived from *vāḍu*; *īḍu*, *kāḍu*/*gāḍu* are connected with *vāḍu*. *āḍi* = *āḍu* + i fem.

ṭi in *oṅṭi* is an inflectional increment; the oblique form *oṅṭi* in course of time came to be used in the nom. as an abstract noun. Similarly *ceviṭi* is the oblique form in origin (short for *ceviṭi vāḍu*, cf. *mukkaṅṭi*), *na* in the genitive compound *divyatējambunavāḍu* is recognisable as the loc. case suffix; it is a compound formation; *tanamu* may be connected with the reflexive pronoun *tān*, and *baṅṭi* with *varaku*, *vaṭṭu*, Kan. *baṅe*.

mātramū, *mayamū* are borrowed from Skt. through tatsamas and gradually extended to native words; -*maya* is also used as an independent word in Telugu, *māninījanāmbu sēri Magadhanādhūḍaḡu Jayatsēnu cuṭṭu nēḍvan adhika-dīna-nādamulaku nā mānasāmbu sāndra-karuṇa-mayatā bonde* (Bhr. strī. 2-141, AVSS. P. 1313).

The suffixes *kōru*, *dāru* are from Hindustani *khōr*, *dār*.

mu in *itamū*, *idamū*, *karamū*, *kāramū*, *gāramū*, *tanamū* and *rikamū* may be recognised as the neuter ending

Derivative suffixes proper, of Telugu origin, are:

<i>āri</i>	<i>matubartha</i>
<i>aḍamū</i>	<i>svārtha</i>
<i>adi</i>	<i>svārtha</i>
<i>iḍi</i>	<i>svārtha</i>
<i>āḍu</i> , <i>aḍu</i> , <i>īḍu</i> , <i>kāḍu</i> , <i>gāḍu</i>	<i>matubartha</i>
<i>āḍi</i>	<i>matubartha</i>
<i>i</i> (Tam. Kan. <i>i</i>)	<i>matubartha</i>
<i>kāri</i>	<i>matubartha</i>
<i>īḍi</i> (Tam. <i>iḍi</i> , Kan. <i>ili</i>)	<i>abhāvadyōtaka</i>
<i>itamū</i>	<i>svārtha</i>
<i>idamū</i>	<i>svārtha</i>
<i>imi</i>	<i>bhāvārtha</i>
<i>iri</i>	<i>svārtha</i>
<i>miri</i>	<i>svārtha</i>
<i>uḍu</i>	<i>arthaviśēṣa</i>

ēḍu	parimāṇārtha
kattiya, gattiya, katte, gatte	matubartha
karamu, kāramu, gāramu	bhāvārtha
ta	matubartha
tanamu (Tam. tanam, Kan. tana)	bhāvārtha
na	bhāvārtha
banti	daghnārtha
māri	matubartha
rikamu	bhāvārtha

Examples of secondary derivation from inscr. Tel.: tanamu: *cōlgaṅga Mādhava dēvara guḍi sthānāpatitanamu* (X-709, Vizag. 1159 A.D.), *talāritanamu* (VI-201 Gtr. 1209 A.D.); ikamu: *raḍḍi-kamu* (X-91 Gtr. 1132), *raṭṭaḍḍikamu* (IV-1250 God. 1122 A.D.), *pradhānikam* (XVI-196) *karaṇika talārikālu* (XVI-295, 1584 A.D.), *kāru* : *maddalya kāru* (X-89), etc., *nibandhakāru* (X-110); āṇi: *pārvatināyakāṇi* (VI-935 Vizag. 1297 A.D.), *Māranāyakāṇi*, *Garuḍanāyakāṇi* (VI-835 Vizag. 1391 A.D.), *Sunnānāyakāṇi* (VI-1059 Vizag. 1391 A.D.) *Tallamanāyakāṇi* (VI-767 Gtr. 1394 A.D.), *Tallu Mahāpātrāṇi* (V-1228 Ganj. 1503 A.D.). These forms in āṇi are peculiar to inscr. Tel., and it may be noted, are all from the northern districts of Vizag. and Ganjam; vāru:—*guruvulānu tallitam-ḍṛlānu vāraṇāśilōnu cāmpina dōṣamvāru* (XVI-42 Kur. 1503 A.D.); khōr: *harāmkhōrlu* (X-751 Gtr. 1592 A.D.).

Some of the suffixes not included in the grammars may be indicated: amu: *oppamu* beauty (Kus. 8-56 Daś. ca. 10-7) (< *oppu* to be fit or proper), *tallaḍamu* anxiety (< *tallaḍillu* to be tossed about, be anxious); ara *cūpara* on lookers Bhr. Śalya. 2-248), *ampara* row of arrows (< *ammu* arrow); iya: *tuniya* fragment (< *tunugu* to be torn); kōlu; abstract noun form of *konu* to take, derives nouns from śabdapallava roots: *viḍukōlu* leave taking (< *viḍukonu* to take leave) *goṇḍi*: *prēlugoṇḍi* one who prattles, abuses (Kus. 7-49) (< *prēlu*, to prattle); (i) di, (i) damu: *cey (i) di*, *cey (i) d-amu* 'deed' (< *cēyu* to do); pi: *terapi*, leisure (< *teracu* to open; mara: *viḍumara* separation (< *viḍucu*, to leave, let off). (cf. OT. māra with r).

NEW TELUGU

The change in the form of the derivatives involving p and v is noteworthy. vu suffix: *ūḍvu nēla* 'wet land' (IV 1364 l. 12 God.

1121 A.D.): later Tel. *ūḍpu-*; *pu:* *kolupu* 'service (VI-756 Vizag. 1113 A.D. also in MT. *koluvu*): NT. *koluvu*.

There have been naturally changes in the use of the suffixes in course of time, Ex. MT. *meccu* (Kus. 1-81), *meppu*, Mdn. Tel. *meppu*; MT. *puṭṭu*, *puṭṭuvu*, *puṭṭuka*; Mdn. Tel. *puṭṭuka*; MT. *mugiyika*, *mugimpu*, Mdn. Tel. *mugimpu*; MT. *telivu*, *telivi*, *gelivu* *gelivi* Mdn. Tel. *telivi*, *gelivi*. ĀBŚ. kṛt. 25).

And certain usages have become obsolete while the suffixes themselves continue, Ex. *oppamu* (Kus. 8-56), *nōta* performance of a *vrata*, *lanjakāḍu* adulterer (Kus. 8-144), *mandala* (*viḍucu*), (Na. Bhr. 1-4-212), *bāḍudala* (Ti. Bhr.).

The following is a rough list of live suffixes in NT: *ika:* *kōrika* desire, *ka:* *vāḍuka*, custom (also *vāḍika*); *kamu:* *pampa-kamu* partition, *iccakamu* (< *icca*), *imi:* *ōrimi* patience, *balimi* pressure; *pu:* *nērpū*, intelligence, *sompū* beauty. *i:* denotes possession of the quality indicated by the noun, indeterminate in regard to gender, *jñāni* learned person, *rōgi* a patient; *asi:* *rūpasi* a beautiful person, *balavasi* a strong person (ĀBŚ. 12) *tanamu:* denotes nature in abstract of the quality indicated by the noun, *mancitanamu* goodness *duṣṭutanamu* mischief; *āḍu:* derives masc. nouns, *venkāḍu* proper noun, masc., *i:* derives fem. nouns *venki* proper noun, fem.; *kāḍu*, *gāḍu:* derives masc. nouns, *andagāḍu*, beautiful person; *katte*, *gatte:* *andakatte*, *andagatte*, beautiful woman; through Skt. the suffixes *vant* and *iṣṭha* have become common: *guṇavantūḍu*, *śrīmantūḍu*, *panimānturālu*, Cf. MT. inscr. *Śākṣimantulu* 'witnesses', *rōgiṣṭi*, *kōpiṣṭi*; and through Hindustani the suffixes *giri*, *dāru*, *kōru* have come into use: *gumāstāgiri*, *māeṣṭar-giri*, *pettanadāru*, *dagākōru*, *lanca-kōru*.

Through Skt. HS. and English influence Telugu speakers have become familiarised with prefixation as a type of noun-formation, Ex. *apadūru*, insinuation; *apanammakamu* distrust; *duralavāṭu* bad habit; *bē-vārasu*, without heir, *mājī mantri* Ex-minister; *heḍ gumāstā*, (< Eng. head), *sab-inspektaru* (< Eng. Sub-Inspector).

COMPOUNDS

The two main classes of compounds are (1) those borrowed from Sanskrit—*Sāmskr̥tika samāsas*, and (2) those formed of Telugu words—*tatsama*, *tadbhava* or *dēśya*, Ex.

1. 7th *vipra-kavacaṁbu* (15-4), *Turutatākanām-ābhidhāna-nagar-ādhiṣṭhānumru* (18-5) *bhūmi-dānaṁbu palaṁbu* (6-6); 8th *pañcamahāpātaka-saṁnyuktunru* (24-24); 9th *āhava-Rāmuṇḍu* (36-5), *guṇagaṇ-ābharaṇuṇḍu* (37-2), *dharmma-nirvahan-ōdyōgam-munaku* (37-5); *anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkrta-samasta mahī-maṇḍala-prakāśita-kīrti* (39-3); 10th *iṣṭha-viṣaya-kām-ōpabhōgaṁbul* (44-21), *anēka-vastu-vāhan-ōtsavaṁbul* (44-43).

2. 7th *aḍugu-aḍugu*, (16-15) often; *anvayaṁbuna-vāru* (11-13), *pola-garusu* (14-15); *pen-pāra* (9-3); *peru-velpu-guḍlu* (10-22), *Miriyampu-bōḷajaku* (20-5), *padēn-dumbu* (20-8); 8th *pen-bāra* (28-17); *asvamēdaṁbuna-pallaṁbu* (30-5); 9th *Kaṭṭepu-durggaṁbu* (35-7), *Trinayanu-sutuṇḍu* (38-23); *pandumbu* (34-8), *disa-guḍlun* (33-11); 10th *Kusumāyudhu-pedda-koḍuku* (44-16), *pēr-āmani-punnama*.

The use of Sāṁskṛtika samāśas is greater in verse inscrr. and in prose inscrr. written in kāvya style. Some of them show changes in usage according to the Telugu ways of pronunciation, Ex. the dropping of medial vowel, *ātm-ānmataṁbunam* (37-7) (*atmānumata-*); loss of h, *asta-prāptaṁbu* (44-7) (*hasta-prapta-*); s for ś *kalasa-nirvahanamṁbu* (37-10), *sakti-traya-saṁpannuṇḍu* (37-9); *parama-mahēsvaruṇḍu* (35-9); *cau-* for *catus-*, *cau-ṣaṭṣi-kala-visāraduṇḍu*. The compound *armma-pūṇṇama* (10-3) seems to be a tadbhava rendering of *ambāpūrṇima*, and *bejeyēśvaraṁbu* (337-10) of *vijayēśvara-*. The neut. ending (for masc.) in *uttamāditya-sāmantakamuḷ* is peculiar.

In the Rameswaram insc. of Puṇyakumāra, 7th c. the compound *pōr-mukha-Rāma* '(a veritable) Rāma in the battle field' (13-1) is constituted of a Skt. stem; it is a *vairi sāmāsa* hybrid compound not permitted in the literary dialect. Another instance is 8th c. *arivara-jamunru* (29-3) 'death to the best of enemies'.

By another classification, based on syntactical relation we have *Dvandva* 'copulative' *Karmadhārya*, *Dvigu* and *Tatpurusha* 'determinative' and *Bahuvrīhi* 'possessive', compounds. The most common ones are the adjectival and genitive (determinative) compounds, Ex. *pen-pāra* (9-3), *pen-bāra* (28-17) with voicing of p after nasal, 'big brahmin', (MT. is not familiar with this compound), *peru-velpu-guḍlu* 'big temples for gods', *pen/per* are root adjectives; *peda-paṇḍaraṁgulu* (37-4), 'paṇḍaranga, the elder',

pedda-koḍuku (44-16) 'eldest son'. When two nouns are put together the first one stands in an adj./gen. relation to the second one, Ex. *mār-piḍugu* (13-13) 'thunderbolt to the enemy', *oṇḍu-sōṭu* 'another place', *uttarabu-katṭu* (28-16) 'northern boundary'. Sometimes the inflectional increments serve as adj./gen. markers, *ūri svāmuḷ* (25-) 'elders of the village', *paḍumaṭi-katṭa* (IA. XIII-50) (10-7) 'the western boundary', *Inpuḷōli-aṇapotulu* (9-1) 'those in command of (the town of) Inpuḷōlu', *vitparti-uttarambu* (10-6) 'north of vitparṭu'; a is also an adj./gen. marker which occurs mostly with plural nouns, *Śrī Vikramāditya mahārājula-rājyampunan* (15-1) 'in the reign of the king-', *mārurā-piḍugu* 'thunderbolt to enemies' (29-1), *cāmaṇakāla-dha* (short for *dharma*, word for 'charity') (12-11) where it is not a plur. noun, but an honorific with the suffix *-kālu*; the use of a on a Sg. noun as in *rāviya-periya-ceruvu* (El. XI- 47-56) 'tank of the big *Rāvi* tree' is exceptional. (The construction in later Tel. if the translation is correct, would be *pedda-rāvi ceruvu*). The same adj. a may be recognised in the Kan. neg. adj. *illada* 'which is not', *pusi-illad-ālman*, title of king (47-21). The neuter ending *-mu* appears to have been dropped, as a device, of compound formation, in *polagarusu* (14-15) 'boundary of the field' (*polamu + karusu*); and the masc. gender suffix in *vallabhu-kolpunan* (39-6) 'in the service of the king', *Kusumāyudhu-pedda-koḍuku* (44-16) 'the eldest son of Kusumāyudha', *Trinayanu-sutuṇḍu* (38-23) 'the son of the three-eyed God'. However such a device of compound formation seems foreign to Dr. In the first example *polā* in the first member may be the preservation of the old shape of *polamu*, i.e., without the neut. *-mu*, and in the tats. masc. forms the dropping of the masc. ending as a sign of the genitive may be analogical. Sometimes the adj./gen. forms appear with (m)pu for the (m)b/(m)m of the noun; Ex. *Katṭepu-durgambu* (35-7) 'the fort of Katṭemu'; *Miriyampu bōḷajaku* (20-5) 'the officer of the town of Miriyambu' (or of the house-name Miriyambu). But *bhūmi-dānambu-palambu* (8-6) 'the merit of a gift of land'; *uttarabu-katṭu* (28-16) without this substitution, a feature which applies to the language of Nannaya where there are no instances of pu *ādēśa* in gen. compounds, and only a few doubtful instances in adj. compounds. The gen. case relation may also be expressed by *-na* (the loc. case ending) in the first member (Ex. *asvamēdambuna-pallambu* (30-5) 'the merit of (performing) a horse sacrifice'. The use of such a case form

for expressing the adj. is a rare idiom, *karanammuna-panḍaram̃gu* (37-5) 'panḍaram̃ga, the *karaṇamu* (an office)', the gen./adj. meaning flows from that of the locative, cf. *anvayambuna-vāru* 'those in (of) the dynasty', *pūlla-vaṭṭambuna-vāriki* (13-9) 'to those in (of) the flower-garden'; *prabhū-celvunru* (41-6) 'confidant of the king', the long vowel is irregular.

Karm. may be constituted of a verbal adjective in the first member; available examples are of the aor. and past tenses: *laccu-vānru* (19-12) 'he who is/will be destroyed', (*pancamahā-pātakan-cēsina-vāni-lokambun-*) *uṇḍu-vāru* (38-11) 'those who remain/will remain'; *enubodi-vuḍḍu-āḍḍu-paṭṭu-nēla* (35-10) 'land sowable with eighty puṭṭis of *āḍḍu* (variety of paddy)', *laccina-vānru* (7-6) 'he who is/will be destroyed', *ēlē-muḷa-cēsina-sēyuḍḍu* (25-6) 'action that was taken by the administering officers', *iccina-stiti* (25-2) 'grant that was given'.

When the aor. adj. ending in u is followed by a vowel, n comes in as augment, *ēn-agun-āṇḍu* (13-7) 'fifth year', *eṇumbodi-an-n-ēṇṭi* (10-3) 'eighteenth year' – a case of preservation in sandhi contexts of a sound which is dropped in free forms, (cf. Tam. aor. forms *āgum*, *seyyum*; for alternation of m-n in Tam. and Tel. compare *kuḷam-kolanu*, *maram-mrānu*, etc.).

As regards the length of compounds, generally they are constituted of two or three members, but bigger ones are met with, the immediate constituents of which are again compound formations, *Rengari peḍasina reṇḍu-vaṭṭi-padēndumbu/āḍḍu paṭṭu* (20-6). There is no difficulty in *anvaya* because the relationship of words in Telugu is normally one of attributive nature.

Dvigu is of common occurrence, *iru-vuṭṭi* (10-9) 'two puṭṭis', *inu-vūru* (EI. XXX-69) 'two-villages', *inu* in this collocation is not familiar in MT., *immaḍi* (24-8) (< *inu-maḍi*) *pan-dumbu* (21-3) 'ten tūmus', *padēn-dumbu* (20-8) 'fifteen tumus' *vē-seruvulu* (14-21) 'thousand tanks'. The use of the Skt. form *ādi* in num. compounds referring to multiples of ten is a feature of OT., *iravadi-yādi-nālku* (2-13) 'twenty four', lit. 'four beginning with twenty', *nalpād-yadi-y-okoti* (47-9) 'forty one' lit. one beginning with forty'. *Mūnru-vuṭṭu* 'three puṭṭis' is a sg. dvigu in which the num. substantive functions as adj.

The Bahuvrihi and Dvandva are rare in the available data for OT. As an instance of the former may be given the form *adra-*

baṭṭu (for *ādla paṭṭu* as in the passage: *nālunu vuṭṭu pandumbu adra-baṭṭu rājamānambu Haṅgunuvula Dēvaṇa yice* (21-4) 'Haṅgunuvula Devana gave (land) sowable with four puṭṭis and ten tūmus of āḍlu (variety of paddy)'; the word land is implied, not stated, so *ādla paṭṭu* is to be regarded as BV. construction. The omission of the substantive word with which the attributive normally goes with, and the assumption of the possessive meaning by the latter gives rise to the BV. Compare the following occurrences where the attributive is used with the substantive: *ārla-paṭṭu-sēnu* (10-8, 34-4), *ādla-paṭṭu sēnu* (10-30, 54-6), *ādlu-paṭṭu nēla* (35-10), *ārla-paṭṭu kṣētram̄bu* (16-10), *ārla-paṭṭu sukṣētram̄bu* (11-12). Similarly *vittu-paṭṭu* (46-2) 'lit. holding seed', i.e. 'land holding seed' *ir-buli*, (EI. XVIII-257) Name of village literally 'two tigers'. Dvandva: *aḍugu-aḍugu* (16-15, 30-5) 'often'; it is an exo-centric construction. The compound *rāju paṭṭambu gaṭṭina patiyu* (38-16) is an active construction for what would be normally put in the passive.

There are many instances of genitive constructions with an attributive compound as one of the constituents. Ex. *Kuṇḍikāḷḷula iccina pannasa* (2-1) 'grant given by *Kuṇḍikāḷḷu*' (See under syntax).

MIDDLE TELUGU

Compounds in Telugu may be divided into two broad classes: *siddha* or *sāṁskṛtika* (borrowed from Skt.) and *sādhyā* (formed in Telugu). *Sādhyā samāsa* is again of 3 types: (1) *ācchika samāsa* or *samāsaka*, constituted of 'Telugu' words (i.e. native Telugu and tadbhava), Ex. *rēni-yānati* 'king's order', *ceruvu-nīru* 'water of the tank', *niṇḍu punnama nāṭi jābilli vennela sauru* 'the beauty of the moon-light of the full-moon day'. (2) *tatsama samāsa*, constituted of tatsamas (i.e., sama-Saṁkṛta forms), Ex. *sarasapu-vacanamu* 'good expression', *paṇḍitula sabha* 'an assembly of learned men'. (3) *miśra samāsa*, constituted of Telugu and tatsama words, Ex. *rāju-mudala* 'king's order', *ceruvu-n-udakamu* 'water of the tank', *nī vinūtna maṇinūpura śabdāsakta citta haṁsa trāsā karāmbudamu* (ĀBB. v. 135). Structurally there is no difference between the three types. But the changes like the dropping, addition and substitution of sounds appearing compulsorily or optionally in the *ācchika samāsa*s are said to be varied and to be understood from usage (PV. 36, BV. 20) i.e. not amenable to statement of rule like in the other two types.

A large part of Telugu literature beginning with Nannaya's Mhb. is a translation/adaptation of Skt. originals, and in the course of translation a great deal of Sanskritic expression was borrowed into Telugu. The harmonisation of the Sanskritic with the native element is the very genius of the language and may be said to be responsible for the euphonious character or 'sweetness' for which it is famed. Compare the compound formations in the following (the first one is *ācchika*, the second is *Sāṃskṛtika*, and in the third passage is *miśra*; see how the Telugu and Sanskritic constructions read alike and blend imperceptibly into one another); *mēli pasinḍi gājula samēlapu paccala kīl kaḍempu ḍā kēlu meruṅgu; ō lalit ēndra nīla śakal ōpama kaiśika; īsuna butṭi ḍendāmuna hec-cina śōka ḍavānalambucē gāsili yēḍcē brāṇa-vibhu kaṭṭeḍuṭan lali-tāṅgi paṅkaja śrī sakhamb - aina mōmū payi cēla ceṅṅiḍi.* (Nā Rēḍiyō Prasangālu by P. Lakshmikantham).

Siddha sāmāsa has brought into Telugu some types of constructions which are not possible in the language, like the *avyavā bhāva*, Ex. *yath-ōcitamu, ābāla-gōpālamu.*

Some *siddha Samāsas* are modified in usage and are current in *tadbhava* form, Ex. *vana-lacci* (< *vana-lakṣmi*), *anca-yāna* (< *haṃsa-yāna*), *rā-yanca* (< *rāja-haṃsa*), *tava-nidhi* (< *tapō-nidhi*). Similarly *prāṇagodḍamu* is connected with *prāṇa-kuṭṭaka* by PV., but it may not be. Some are said to be used in the 'wrong' way - that is, from the stand point of Skt. grammar, and not generally countenanced by the grammarians. Ex. use of *mahat-* for *mahā-* or vice-versa, in Karm. compounds, *sumahat-saṃkṣōbhit-āmbōdhi-nādamu* (KuS. 7-126), *su-mahat-darp-ōru-bāhā-bal-ōddhurūḍu* (12-177) Coll. Tel. *mahat kāryamu*; for *mahā kāryamu* 'great deed'; use of the stem for an inflectional form *nimnasarasī-vihāra-marālikā-paṅkti* (1-2) (for *nimna sarasī viharan-*); *traya-trimś-ādi-dēvāli* (11-35) (for *traya-trimśad-ādi-*); endings in the final members of compounds, *i* ending for *a* in fem. nouns, *utpala-nētri* (6-165), *kamala-ḍaḷa-nētri* (6-165), *kambu-kandhari* (8-18), *kuṭil-ālaki* (5-24), *kusuma-kōmali* (5-144), *i* endings in masc./neut. nouns where gender-suffixes are expected, *bhasm-āṅgi* (2-21), *sura-samūhi* (2-92); *bhakta-samūhi* (Pā. Sō); peculiarities of sandhi, *brahma-varcasa-padavi* (7-3) (for *brahma-varcaḥ-padavi*), *paṭu-rajās-tamayuta-pradōṣatā-vibhāti* (11-77) (for *paṭu-rajās-tamō-yuta*); change of form in the first member, *punkhā-puṅkhamu*

(12-152) (latēr Tel. *puṅkhānu-puṅkhamu*); *muṣṭā-muṣṭi* (Śrī-nātha) (Skt. *muṣṭī-muṣṭi*); use of a tats. form in siddha samāsa: *nadī-suta-guru-karṇa-śalya-* (for *nadī-suta-*); use of tats. *durvāsūḍu* in Siddha samāsa: *durvāsa tīrthamu* (Pan. ca.); the use of -vant with a Karm. compound, *anugūṇa-bhāryāvantūḍu* (Tikk.); change of position of past passive part. as one of the constituents of the compound, *duhkhanivṛttu* (9-196) (for *nivṛtta-duhkha-*) *dig-badhirī-kṛtambu* (7-126), *sukhaprāptuṅḍu* (10-92), *hṛd-dalīta-āmbu-jātun* (10-123) (for *dalīta-hṛd-āmbu-jātun*); anaptyxis: *haruṣāśru-dhāralu* (12-213), (*harṣa-*), *barīhikēśi-bharambu* (4-102, (for *barhi-*), *kalahāra-kumud-ōtpalamulu* (9-279), *kalhāra-*, similar usages are found in other poets and in inscrr. Ex. *kaluhāra-gandhi* (Nadendla inscr. of 12th c.), *kaluhāra-pancakamu* (Pad. Pu.), *kalahāra-dala-nētra* (Dvi. Bhr., p. 263); mixing up a tadbhava form in a siddha samāsa, *arad-āśva-bhaṭa-tati* (5-133) (for *ratha-*), *yavvana-lakṣhmi* (Bhōja. 7-108). The dvanda cpd. *māta-pitalu* with a stem in the first member has a variant form *mātra-pitalu* recognised by the grammarians.

There is in Telugu another type of compound which will fit in with neither *siddha* nor *sādhyā*, in which the Skt. stem form directly enters into compound formation with a Telugu word without first becoming a tatsama (by taking the characteristic Telugu terminations). It is called *vairi samāsa* 'hybrid compound' and prohibited by successive grammarians from early times. Ketana gives the examples, *dinakara-koḍuku*, 'son of the Sun (God)' and *animiṣa-modavu* 'cow of the God(s)' (ĀBB. V. 132); *dinakara* and *animiṣa* are Skt. stem forms of which the tatsama renderings would be *dinakarūḍu* (in the Sg.) and *animiṣulu* (in the pl.); and the compound construction formed of their oblique stems would be *dinakarūni-koḍuku* or *dinakarū-koḍuku* and *animiṣula-modavu*. Peddana gives the examples *kṣīrārṇava-kūṭuru* 'daughter of the sea' and *saṁsārārṇava yōḍa* 'boat of the sea of life' (Kāc. 9-135). Formed of the tatsama forms *kṣīrārṇavamū* and *saṁsārārṇavamū* the compounds would be *kṣīrārṇavapū-gūṭuru* and *saṁsārārṇavapū-ṭ-ōḍa*. Similarly *alpa-daṇḍu* 'small army' and *anēka-mārulu* 'many times' (BV. Samāsa. 3) are *vairi samāsas*: *alpapu-daṇḍu* and *anēkapu-mārulu* will be the corresponding valid (*miśra*) *samāsas*.

Where the tatsama is identical with the Skt. stem, and the oblique stem identical with the nominative, no sandhi changes

(as in the above) are involved in compound formation, Ex. *ḍanti-kommu* 'elephant's tusk', *arāti-pōru* 'fight of the enemy', *panasa-panḍu* 'jack fruit', (Kāc. 9-138, 140) *kavi-palku* 'poet's expression' (Ākau.) *Nandi-kambālu* (X-510 God. 1315 A.D.), *sandhi-rāyi* (NI. I Atm. 4). Such compounds are not hybrids. Again, there are no hybrids with the Skt. form as the second member because in this environment it cannot remain in its stem form but necessarily become a tatsama, Ex. *karā-kaṅṭhūḍu*, *karā-kaṅṭha* is not possible.

Possibly there can only be objection with Sandhi features such as Ex. the *v* glide in *tiru-v ārādhanamu* (VI-1116 Vizag. 1376 A.D.) which is not recognised by the grammarians. The objection with *puḍam-īśūḍu* and *kōmat-īndrūḍu* regarding elision of final vowel in sandhi is not valid. Normally final *i* of stems is not elided before another vowel it is true, but this is not an inviolable rule. The objection with *puḍamipūḍu* (Kus. 11-44) is that *pa-* is a suffixal element in Skt. which cannot be combined with a Telugu word.

Vairi Samasa is obviously current in the spoken language and appears in classical literature from Nannaya's time, more commonly in the later texts, in dēsi literature, and in inscr. Tel. Ex. Na. *prāṇa-goḍḍamu*, *jīva garra*; Grammarians accord sanction to the usages of poets as *anindya gramyas*, which implies that no new coinings be made on the analogy of the existing ones. Nanni. *amara-lēmalu*, *nīla-kunci*, *mantra-kāṭuka*, *rāga-dīviyalu*, *vīra-maddelalu*, *sura-gajjelu*. Palkuriki Somana: *itara-vēlpulu*, *bhakta-kūṭuvalu*, *majjana-bāvi*, *sarvānga-kaccaḍamu*, *mul-lōka-vandyūḍu*; Nannicoda and Palkuriki somana belong to the Desi tradition and it is natural that we meet with in their works many Vairi-Samasas which are feature of the colloquial language. Inscr. Tel. makes a frequent use of such compounds: 11th c. *nitya-paḍi*, *divasa-paḍi*; 12th c. *nivēdya-paḍi* (X-172 Gtr. 1170 A.D., 13th c. *dīpa-gambham* (V-139), *prasāda-talyalu* (V-1188 Ganj. 1250 A.D.), *cāturmāsya-nelalu* (X-334, Gtr. 1251 A.D.), *śāsana-gambhamu* (X-472 Gtr. 1292), 14th *candana-mudda* (V-1214 Ganj. 1309 A.D.), *śilā-kambamu* (VI-919 Vizag. 1401 A.D.), *sumkya-adhikāri* (X-528 Kurn. 1320 A.D.) *prasāda-kūḍu* (V-1193 Ganj. 1331 A.D.) *vētana-kumca* (VI-989 Vizag, 1346 A.D.), *māsa-paḍi* (VI-964 Vizag. 1359), *manōhara-ladlu* (VI-923, Vizag. 1378), 15th *garuḍārōhaṇa-kambhamu* (VI-919, Vizag. 1401 A.D.), *madhyaranga-kambamu* (IV-695 Gtr. 1415 A.D.), *cāmara-*

kolupulu (VI-855, Vizag. 1420 A.D.), 16th *prathama-peṇḍli* (IV-797 Kist. 1553 A.D.), *dēva-guḍlu* (X-749 God, 1583 A.D.).

A few examples of older cpd. formations in inscrr. which are obsolete in NT.: *rāca-mangali* 'king's barber', (V-1009 Gang. 1127 A.D.), *rāca-koḍkulu* 'king's sons' (VI-639, Gtr. 1147), *rāca-marandi* 'king's brother-in-law', *rāca-dharmuvu* 'king's gift', (X-707 Vizag, 1154), *rāca-guru dēvara* 'king's religious preceptor' (VI-86 Kist. 1236), *rāca-iṅṅānu* 'in the king's house' (VI-859 Vizag, 1390); *ra-kaṁbhālu* (X-176 Gtr. 1171), *rā-guḍi*, *rā-ceruvu* (VI-81 Kist. 1292); *peṁ-dōṭa* (IV-1256 God. 1123), *peṁ-jeṛuvū* (IV-927 Gtr. 1135); *teṁgu-tōṭa* (X-176 Gtr. 1171); *kalu-kōṭa* (X-402 Gtr. (265), *kalu-tirumuṭṭamu* (X-557 Gtr. 1372), *tōṁṭa-ṣuṣpalu* (V-1240 Ganj. 1345), *doṁḍa-vanamāla* (VI-776 Vizag. 1385).

The Telugu compound is analysed and described by the grammarians on the model of Skt. grammar, but there are differences between the constructions in the two languages: (1) The initial constituent(s) assumes the stem form in Skt.; it assumes the stem form (identical with the nom.) or the oblique stem form — (identical with the genitive) in Telugu. (2) *upamāna-pūrva-pada karmadhāraya* compound occurs in Telugu Ex. *cigurū-gēlu* 'tender-shoot-like arm', *juṅṅi-mōvi* 'honey-like lip'; this type is not recognised and infrequent in Skt., Ex. *karabh-ōṛulu* (Kus. 3-48). (3) The initial member of the Skt. tatpuruṣa represents any one of the six oblique cases; it mostly represents the genitive, infrequently the locative in Telugu. (4) Six types of bahuvrīhi compounds are enumerated in Skt., the constituents being expressed in any of the six oblique cases; there is only one type in Telugu — that which properly express the oblique-genitive. (5) Recognition of *avyayībhāva* (ABB. V. 110), of varieties of tatpuruṣa in which the first member expresses the acc., the instr., the dat. and the abl. case relations (BV. 3), of *madhyama-pada-lōpi karmadhāraya samāsa*, etc., is due to imaginary rather than real correspondences between Telugu and Skt. constructions. (6) In vedic a compound generally consisted of two or three members but in classical Skt. there was no limit to the number of components. This was no doubt extremely artificial, but it was also an attempt to bypass the heavy inflection of OIA, which had already dropped out from the current MIA. speech. The Telugu compound generally consists of two or three words. Bigger constructions are not un-

common, but then, unlike in Skt., the components themselves may be compounds formed of several constituents, *paḍu-mūḍu-vēlu n-āru-nūṭa-y-aru-vadi-nālugu*// ślōkambulu 'thirteen thousand six hundred and sixty four verses' (Mhb. 1-1-38); the compound consists of a co-ordinate construction which functions as an attribute to the second member. Ex. from inscr. Tel.: *nānā tōyāla puṣpāla phalavṛkṣāla*// *tōmṭa-paṭṭu* 'garden site with many (varieties) of waters (water facilities), flowers and fruit trees' (SII. V-34 God. 1434 A.D..)

According to syntactical relation between the members compounds in Telugu may be divided into three main types: *Dvandva* or copulative, *Karmadhāraya*, *Dvigu*, *Tatpuruṣa* or determinative and *Bahuvrīhi*, dependent or possessive. *Dvandva* and *Bahuvrīhi* are generally *ācchika samāsa*s. *Karmadhāraya* *Dvigu* and *Tatpuruṣa* may belong to any one of the three types of *sādhyā samāsa*.

Dvandva:

Dv. is generally constituted of *ācchika* words, Ex. *anna-dam-mulu* 'elder brother and younger brother', *ūru-vallelu* 'village and hamlet', *rāka-vōkalu* 'coming and going'; without the neut. ending -mu in the first member *anda-candamulu* 'beauty and (good) manners' (*andamu* is the free form). Of exceptional occurrence is *miśra dvandva*, *avasaram-akkaralu* 'necessities'.

Dv. may be formed of aor. or past adj. (with the force of a part. noun in company with such form in the second member) plus aor. or past part. noun, *puṭṭu-gruṅku gaṭlu* 'mountains of the rising and setting sun'; *vinna-kannadi* 'that which is heard and seen'; or may also be formed of aor. or past part. (with the force of a verbal noun) plus a negative verbal noun derived from the same root, *au-gāmulu* 'becoming and not becoming', *vaccu-rāmulu* 'coming and not coming' (PV. 31).

Dv. generally takes the plural marker - where it properly indicates the sense of conjunction, *talli-danḍrulu* 'mother and father'; but where there are other developments of meaning, it remains in the singular, such as for instances, in the sense of 'either or', *nālugu-aidu* 'four or five'; *atta-māma* 'mother-in-law or father-in-law', *ālu-magāḍu* 'wife or husband', *koḍuku-kōḍalu* 'son or daughter-in-law' (Kāc. 9-141), cf. Mdn. Tel. *appa-cellelu* 'elder

sister or younger sister, sister (in general)'; in the sense of collectivity, aggregate, *kūḍu-guḍḍa* lit. 'cooked food and clothing', 'food, clothing and such other necessities.'

A type of Dv. which is repetitive, with the substitution of the initial syllable of the first member by *gī* expresses the idea of 'et cetera', 'and the like', *nōmulu-gīmulu* (Ba. pu.) (lady's) worship and the like.'

In Dv. compounds *gasadavadādēśa* takes place regularly, but exceptions occur, as pointed out by PV (sandhi 6), *anda-candamulu*, *rāka-pōkalu* which are from later texts. In compounds formed of *mahat* nouns the final vowel of the first member is, in some instances, lengthened — which is but a manifestation of the conjunctive suffix implied in such constructions, by analogical extension from free forms, Ex. *annā-dammulu* (*annā* < *annayu* by elision of final syllable and compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel), *tallī-daṇḍrulu*, *appā-celleṇḍru* (Nirva. 3-96).

Ex. of Dv. compounds in Inscr. Tel.: *dāna dharmmuvulu* (X-64 Gtr. 1108 A.D.), *mātā-pitāḷḷu* (VI-205 Gtr. 1228), *calvi-sampadalu* in some occurrences *salvi-sampadalu*), *jīta-bhuktulu* (V-1188 Ganj. 1250 A.D.) *divā-rātrillu* (V-1166 Ganj. 1276 A.D.), *pituru-pitāmahulu* (X-442 Gtr. 1277 A.D.) *atithi-abhyāgatikin* (IV-784 Kist. 1278 A.D.), *dēvi-dēvaralu* (X-479 Kurn. 1295), *pūjanaiṅvēdyālu* (XVI-36 Cudd. 1477 A.D.).

Karmadhāraya, Dvigu and Tatpuruṣa

These are called determinative compounds because in these the first member determines the content of the second. Karm. is a descriptive determinative, the first member being an adjective qualifying the substantive in the second member. Dvi. is a form of Karm. in which the first member is a numeral. Where the first member represents a particular oblique case governed by the second member, the compound is called Tatpuruṣa.

Karmadhāraya.

In Karm. the attributive word normally precedes the substantive Ex. *cali-gāḍpu* 'cool breeze', *nalla-galuva* 'black lily', *tella-dammi* 'white lotus'; but there are also constructions in which the

substantive precedes its attribute, *tammũ-gurralu* 'small younger brothers, *ciluka-mokari* 'chattering parrot'.

The adj. as the first member of the Karm. may be any of the following categories: (i) the demons. adj. *ã* (remote), *ĩ* (proximate), or the interr. *ẽ*. The short vowel occurs before a geminate consonant, the long vowel before a non-geminate; *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h*, *r*, *ṛ* and *kh*, *ch*, *ṭh*, *th*, *ph* never occur geminate, Ex. *ã-kāmini* 'that lady', *a-k-kāmini*; *ĩ-yūru* 'this village' *i-y-yūru*, *ẽ-kāryambu* 'which work, *e-k-kāryambu*. (2) An *ācchika* word without the gender suffix, *vāḍi-māṭa* 'pungent word', *mulu-poda* 'thorny bush'. (3) A neut. noun in -mu, *sarasa(m)pu-vacanamu* 'beautiful word', with the replacement of -m by (m)p in the adj. function. The distinction of form was not original for, the neut. ending -mu (/mmu), in origin, is from -mb < P.Dr. *-mp; the non-nasal nom. b (<*p) also being attested in OT. With the addition of the adj. a to the p inflection, *kanupa-pulu* (*kamumu*). (4) Participial adjective, *vaccina-vāḍu* 'he who came', *vaccu-vāḍu* 'he who comes, will come', but this type is not referred to in the earlier grammars, probably because it is not a nominal stem.

Sandhi changes observed in Karm. compounds are: (1) nasal augment after a nominal stem with or without the adj. p, when this is followed by a surd consonant k, c, ṭ, t, p in the second member, *ciguru-n-gayiduvu* 'a weapon that is sprout' *siṅgapu-n-godama* 'a lion cub', *unnatampu-n-godugu* 'a big umbrella'. (2) ṭ augment after u in the first member when it is followed by a vowel, *pēru-ṭ-uramu* 'big (wide) chest', optionally *pēr-uramu*, forms without the augment being common in Na. and the early texts; ṭ is analogical extension from compounds where it develops from stem final ḍ or ṛ *ēṭi-gaṭṭu* 'bank a river (ēṛu). (3) -r- augment in fem. derivative nouns with *ālu* as second member, *pēda-r-ālu* 'poor woman', *dhīru-r-ālu* 'courageous woman', (inscr. Tel. -ṛ-) (4) dropping of adj. i in qualitative adj. before a surd consonant, in some cases, *kamman- dēne* (*kammani*) (PV. 13). (5) lengthening of final of a disyllabic word in the first member where the second is a title word, *Rāmāśāstri*, *Errāpregaḍa*, optionally *Errapreggaḍa* but *Kṛṣṇa Śāstri* (without the length); i appears in some cases, *Subbi nāyūḍu* (PV. 2).

Instances of adj. compounds with nasal augment in Inscr. Tel.: *velugaḍum-guṁṭa*, *puvvum-tōmṭa* (X-2118, Kist. 1146 A.D.)

nallam-jervu (X-248 Gtr. 1290), *pūm-dōmṭa* (IV-939 Gtr. 1261), *gorrem-gadupulu* (IV-679 Gtr. 1269), *uppuṁ-jēruvu* (V-125 Kist. 1269), *kaṁcum-dalupulu* (V-157 Kist. 1376), *peruvuṁ-galaśa* (VI-1117 Vizag. 1378), *niluvuṁ-gannuḷu* (X-572 Gtr. 1405), *Niḍuṁ-brōḷu* (VI-118. Gtr. 1416), *kaṁcum-bratimalu* (VI-950 Vizag. 1427 A.D.). cf. also *urpuṭuṁ-balli* (IV-1255 God. 1123), *cerukum-balli* (VI-123, Gtr. 1132) -n augment before place-name ending *palli*.

It is a peculiarity of the inscr. language that the augment is seen with non-neut. nouns as well *tantraṇāluṁ-brōḷrautu* (X-27 Gtr. 1222 A.D.), *Gaṁgamārāṇi kūturum-ciṁgāsāni* (VI-777, Vizag. 1461 A.D.).

Another peculiar feature is the dropping of the masc. ending *ndu* in the first member of adi. cpds. *alluṁ-jōḍagaṁgarāṇi* (X-690 Vizag. 1138 A.D., *Śrimān mahāmandalēśvara tannu-Maṇḍerājula* (X-124 Gtr. 1150 A.D.). It is possible that historically these are earlier forms retained in compounds. In the following instance final *i* is changed to *u* by way of adj. significance, *tallu-mahā-pātrāṇi* (V-1228 Ganj. 1503 A.D.).

Dvigu

Numeral adj. which occurs as the first member in Dvi. is of two kinds (1) short num. adj. like *iru*, *mū*, *nal*, which can function only as adjectives, and neuter nouns like *reṇḍu*, *mūḍu*, *nālugu* which function also as adjectives by virtue of their position before other nouns. Constituted of the short form of the num. adj. plus an *ācchika* word, a compound generally remains in the singular. Ex. *muyyēḍu*, *mucciccu*; or it may also take the plural marker, Ex. *mukkārulu* (beside *mukkāru*), *mupproddulu* (beside *mupproddu*). With a tatsama word the compound generally takes the pl. marker, Ex. *muvvidhamulu*, *mujjagamulu*; exceptionally it remains in the Sg., Ex. *naldikku*, *mumuhūrtamu*, *mullōkamu* (PV. 20). The singular Dvi. denotes an aggregate, Ex. *mullōkamu* 'the three worlds (taken collectively) *mullōkamu dana yēlu gati* (Pāri. 1-79) cf. Skt. *tribhuvanam*, *trayāṇām bhuvanānām samāhārah tribhuvanam*. Possibly the Skt. Sg. Dvi. indicating the idea of *samāhāra* has set the psychological model for Telugu.

Compounds with the num. noun as the first member are mostly plural, Ex. *mūḍu-jagamulu*, *nālugu-dikkulu*, but forms in

Sg. do occur, *padi āku, mūḍu vandala gaḍapa* when speaking of the aggregate in view.

Tatpuruṣa

The most usual one in Telugu is the gen. Tatp., formed of the obl.-gen. stem in the first member, Ex. *āvu-pālu* 'cow's milk', *Rāmu-bāṇamu* Rama's arrow, *Rāmuni-bāṇamu, rāju-n-ājña* 'king's order', *ēti-gaṭṭu* 'river bank', *nūti-nīru* 'well-water', *janupa-nāra* 'jute fibre', *pāpa-rēḍu* 'king of snakes' (with the *ādēśa* of pa and mpa (as in karm.) which however, does not occur in Na. (HTL.) but is found increasingly in the later centuries; *vēlpu-t-āvu* 'the cow of the gods', *Sītā-Rāmula-vivāhamu* 'the marriage of Sita and Rama.

The loc. Tatp. occurs, though infrequent, Ex. *māṭa-nērpari* 'adept in speech', *vāraṇāvataṁṁuna-vāru* (Bhr. 1-2-24) 'those residing in Vāraṇāvataṁṁu' (regarded as *aluk* of the loc. PV. 37). This compound with -na (of the loc.) is capable of expressing the gen. meaning, *elajavvanambuna-vilasanambu* (Bhr. 1-3-27) 'the bloom in the vouth or the bloom of the youth, the transition from the loc. to the gen. signification being quite natural; as Caldwell points out 'the fish in the pond' may be said to be 'the fish of the pond.'

Examples given by the grammarians for Tatp. compounds expressing the other obl. case relations are more properly to be interpreted otherwise. Those given for Acc. Tatp. *nelatālpu* (BV. 3) lit. 'wearing of the Moon', and *pōru-diṇḍi* lit. 'eating of strife' (ABS. 50) are really BV with *anya-padārtha-prādhānya*, for they mean 'he (the God) who bears the moon (as ornament), i.e., Śiva, and 'he (the sage) whose food is strife, i.e., Nārada. The others (BV. 3, ĀBŚ. 50) are attributive/gen. compounds, and the Telugu idiom is to regard them as such; Instr. Tatp. *uli-tunaka* 'a piece of iron' (AK.), *nela-takkuva-vāḍu*, 'he who is younger by a month'; Dat. Tatp. *dēvara-mēlu* 'good (intended) for God', *dūḍa-aḍḍi* 'grass (intended) for calf'; Abl. Tatp. *doṅga-bhayamu* 'fear from thief', *kalimigarvamu* 'pride from riches', *pāḍi-verapu* 'fear from justice'. One can easily see how the compounds and their *vicraha vākvaś* are modelled on Skt.: *śankulayā khaṇḍah=śankula-khaṇḍah, māsēna avarah=māsāvarah; dēvāya hitam=dēva-hitam, cōrāt bhayam=cōra-bhayam*. A tatsama samāsa like *amburu-hambu samambu* may be dissolved as *amburuhambutō samambu*

or *amburuhambunaku samambu*, *tō-* is post-position in decension, *-ku* is an inflection expressive of practically all oblique case relations.

Bahuvrīhi

BV. is comparatively rare in Telugu. The appositional use of groups of words characterised by a substantive is the origin of the BV. compound. The Sanskritic model is also certainly a contributing factor, *cali-velugu* lit. 'cool light', by semantic development, 'he of the cool light, Moon' (Skt. *śīt-āṁśu*); *vēḍi-velugu* lit. 'hot light', 'he of the hot light i.e. Sun' (Skt. *uṣṇ-āṁśu*); *nalu-va* lit. 'four-faced' 'he of the four faces, i.e., Brahma' (*Catur-mukha*). Examples may be multiplied, *cuṭṭu-kaiduvu-tāḷpu* lit. 'bearing the disc. as weapon', 'he who holds the disc as weapon', *alarũ-bōḍi* lit. 'flower-like beauty', 'lady with flower-like beauty. Compounds like this with *pōḍi* as second member do not occur in Na. The following example with the oblique-stem form formally different from the nom. assuming the substantival function in the possessive sense is a telling one, *mukkanti* obl. stem of *mukkannu* 'three eyes', 'he who has three eyes'; similarly *vālu-ganti*, *macce-kanti*. There is no overt mark of the BV. (*samāsānta kārya* of the grammarians) in these compounds; there are a few types with such a marker, the masc. *-ṇḍu* as in *kara-kaṇṭhūḍu* 'he of the black neck, śiva', where otherwise the adj. compound would have the neut. ending *-mu*; similarly *tammi-dālpūḍu*; with the inflectional increment intervening before the masc. suffix as in *alaru-vil-t-ūḍu* 'he of the flower-bow', confined to a small class of compounds with the same form in the second member, *pū-viltūḍu*.

NEW TELUGU

The tendency among educated speakers is, as before, to use siddha samasas, or tatsama samasas rather than ācchikas. Thus, Ex. *prajā-nāyakūḍu*, *śānti-ahimsā-siddhānta-tatvajñūḍu*, *sphuradrūpi*, *ni garvi*. There are a number of compounds from Hindustani and English in Mdn. Telugu, Ex. *munasabukacēri*, *pōṣṭāfīsu*; and miśra samasas like *grāma-munasabu*, *jillā-pariṣattu*, *gavarnameṇṭ-udyōgasthūḍu*, *rēḍiyo-pāṭalu*, *Telugu lekcararu*, etc. Vairi samasas of the kind prohibited in the kāvyabhāsa are quite common in the spoken language, *anēkamārḷu* 'many times', *bahu kōḍi*

'very little', *śuddha-tappu* 'complete mistake', *panca-rangulu* 'technicolour'. New compound formations are like *prathama vōṭarlistu* 'first voter's list', *dakṣina-railvē* 'Southern Railway', *cīkaṭi-bajāru* 'black market'.

A type of dvandva which has become very productive in NT. is the intensive and inclusive compound,—that which conveys an intensive meaning or the sense of collectivity, *et cetera*, and things similar to or connected with. These compounds are constituted of two synonymous words, or words of near-similar meaning. (For details see Intensive and Inclusive compounds in Telugu IL. XI).

Reduplicatives like *karnā-karṇi*, *hōrā-hōri*, *mukhā-mukhi* like the Skt. *bāha-bāhi*, *kacā-kaci* etc. are now idiomatic in the language.

The general tendency in the determinative compound is for the formal characterisation of the adj./gen., but there are instances of reverse development, Ex. *pāmu paḍaga* 'hood of snake' as against MT. *pāpa paḍaga*.

Bahuvrihi compounds are mostly either from Skt., Ex. *abj. āsanūḍu*, *Pīt-āambarūḍu*, or modelled on the Skt. BV. *mukkaṇṭi* (Skt. *triṇētra*).

GENDER

Native stems do not generally possess any mark of gender, but some add gender suffixes, *Nḍu* of the masc. and *mbu*, *mmu*, *mu* of the neut. The fem. suffixes are limited in their distribution to derivative nouns. Loan words are treated like native words in this respect though it should be remembered that among tatsamas those taking gender suffixes form the larger group. Grammatically there is only a two-way distinction of gender—called *mahat* and *amahat*, as appears in the demonstrative pronoun, the personal verb and certain derivative nouns. There is no special form for the feminine in them; the fem. is comprehended in the *amahat* category in the singular and *mahat* category in the plural:

	Sg.	Pl.
<i>mahat</i>	male person	male and female persons
<i>amahat</i>	female person, animals and in- animates	animals and inanimates

The following gender suffixes are found in OT.

Masc. 7th *nru*; 8th *an*, *nru*, *nru*, *ṇḍu*; 9th *nru*, *ṇḍu*; 10th *ṇḍu*.
It is noteworthy that *i* stems do not take the gender suffix.

Fem. 7th *ālu*:

Neut. 7th *bu*, *mbu*; 8th *bu*, *mbu*; 9th *bu*, *mbu*, *m(m)u*; 10th *mbu*, *m(m)u*.

Examples:

Stem without gender suffix:

Masc. *Asivanuvu* (7-8), *Erikalla mutturāju* (12-1), *koḍuku* (16-17), *pancamahapataku* (6-7), an aberrant form, elsewhere this word takes the gender suffix regularly, *pāra* (7-4), *kammari* (13-21), *koṭṭali* (24-30), *Paṇḍaramgu* (35-6), *perggeḍa* (31-6), *maṇḍaruju* (40-1) *manisi* (44-60), *dāsu* (50-12).

Fem. 6th *kuntur* (5-2), 8th *amma* (28-10).

Neut. *āṇḍu* (13-7), *ceruvu* (10-7), *cēnu* (10-8), *tūrpu* (20-11), *datti* (21-2), *diṣa* (14-16), *nēla* (2-4), *paṇi* (3-2), *uru* (25-4), *kaṭṭu* (28-17), *daṇḍu* (25-3), *Penna* (26-10), *Pudali* (29-2), *sarvabada* – *pariyāruvu* (25-3), *icca* (38-27), *ēṇḍu* (35-3), *guḍi* (39-12), *cōṭu* (38-24), *cēnu* (34-4), *dharmuvu* (38-45), *nīti* (38-35), *vennu* (39-6), *āṇati* (48-7), *nēla* (47-7), *parikṣa* (50-15), (50-15), *sarvva-parihāruvu* (47-18).

Stem with gender suffix:

Masc. 7th *nru*: *uttamōttamunru* (12-4), *puṇyakumārurru* (8-1); *nru* written as *mru*: *dakṣiṇabhujāyamānurru* (18-6), *Ujēnīpiśāca nāmadhēyurru* (18-7); 8th *an*: *Mahēndran* (29-1) UD. *Vikrama Rāmana Maluvakka dhūrtan* (77-5), *nru*: *Arivarajamunru* (29-3), *tabunru* (27-5), *maganru* (29-2), *ṇḍu*: (Sri jaṣṭi *Pendaṭṭarra*) *gaṇḍāṇḍu* (25-18); 9th *nru*: *maganru* (34-1), *ṇḍu*: *tammunḍu* (39-1), *guṇakenallunḍu* (39-10), *acalitunḍu* (39-9); 10th *ṇḍu*: *Kusumāyudhunḍu* (44-6), *tanayunḍu* (44-2).

Fem. 7th *ālu*: *manmarālu* (5-1).

Neut. 7th *bu*: *nivabu* (2-3), *mbu*: *ahitambu* (11-5), *pandumbu* (21-3), *stānambu* (5-3); 8th *bu*: *uttarabu* (28-16), *vagrabu* (27-8),

mbu: *pallambu* (30-5) (= *phalambu*), *paṭṭambu* (33-14), *valambu* (31-4); 9th bu: *kalaśabu* (38-41), mbu: *palambu* (35-12), *durggambu* (35-7), m(m)u: *binkamu* (39-7), *kiranapuramu* (39-7), *udyōgammu* (37-6); 10th mbu: *pratyupakārambu* (44-29), *vāyurādityambu* (50-5) m(m)u: *vēṅgi dēsamu* (44-14).

The words *ayya aya* (< Skt. *ārya*), *aṇṇa/anna/aṇa/ana*, (< *aṇṇa* 'brother'), *apa* (< *appa* 'father') and *avva/ava* 'venerable lady', *ama* (< *amma* 'mother'), *amba* (< Skt. *ambā*) *pōri* '(young) lady' are used as honorific appellatives in the proper names of males and females.

Masc. *ayya, aya*: 8th *Īsaraya* (27-3), *Bādaya* (27-4), *Vetan-dala caruvayya* (25-11); 9th *Ayyapayya* (37-4), *Muṭlamale Dōcayya* (41-4); 10th *Koravi Nalla mereya* (44-24), *Pulvēri Sirāmayya* (50-8); *ayya, on a* form ending in *ama*; 7th *Viddamayya* (15-4), 10th *Guṇḍamayya* (El. XVIII-226); *ayya on a* form ending in *apa*: 9th *Ayyapayya* (39-7), *aṇṇa, anna, aṇa, ana* 7th *vinīyaṇa* (13-21), *Dēvana* (21-6); 10th *Kēsiyaṇṇa* (50-9), *Koraviyanna* (44-36), *Cēlakāl Āytanna* (50-7), *Dēsarati Bhīmana* (48-7), *Ped-dana* (48-25), *Mēlikurṭi Candiyaṇṇa* (50-7) the retroflex here is probably due to Kan. influence; the suffix appears in female names as well *Bētonākhyāya, tadbhāryāya Kūcenākhyāya* (El. XVIII-226); *apa*: 9th *Ayyaparāju* (39-11), *Ciḍḍapēna* (El. XXXI-187), 10th *Cattapākhyēna* (45-6).

Fem. *amma, ama*: 6th *Lōkama* (5-2); 8th *Māramma Caḷki raṭṭagudi* (32-11), *Kurrimma vallava raṭṭagudi* (33-12). Sex of the person is not clear from the context. 9th *Bolama* (El. V-118) *ama* appears in masc. noun, *Erama* (24-28). *avva, ava*: 10th *Bācavariki* (48-6), *Pemmava* (El. V-138). *amba*: 10th *Melāmba* (El. V-134); *amba on a* form ending in *ama*: *Mācemāmbāyām* (El. XXXI-37). *pōri*: occurs in proper names of females in the 7th and 8th c. inscr. cf. Kan. *pōri* 'young girl'. The terms *pōri* 'young girl; *pōraḍu* 'young man' are current dialectally in Mdn. Tel. in the Telangana area. A certain *pōrirāju* is referred to in an OT. inscr. 7th *Goyindapōrēri* (5-1), *Vasantipōri Cōla mahādēvuḷu* (13-7), *Maṅkhiporriyāru* (23-11); 8th *Kūcapōriki* (28-12), *Kūcapōriyāri* (28-3).

As regards the other endings of personal names incidentally indicative of *mahat* gender we may note the following title words occurring in OT.

bhaṭāra (< *bhartr*-‘Lord’) used with names of Gods, Kings, and generally with the names of the upper class and learned persons. With name of Gods: *Āditya bhaṭāraniki*, *Sannimitra Lōkēśvara bhaṭārulaku*; with names of kings: *Vikramāditya paramēśvara bhaṭāralu*, *Śrī Prithivīvillabha mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara bhaṭāralaku*, *Śrī Vallabha mahārājādhirāja Paramahēśvara bhaṭṭārala*; with name of donee: *Mayaṅkadaḷa bhaṭāralu*; with name of donor: *Gōvṛṣāṇa bhaṭṭārahō. śarma*: (from Skt.) with names *Rēvaśarma*, *Pālaśarmāriki*, *katti śarma*; *Maṇaya samaṇa*, *Gaṇaya sammaṇa* *Vṛiddha sammaṇa*, *Cēdi śarma*, *Caruva śarma*, *raṭṭaguḍi*, or its variants *raṭṭakuṭṭa raṭṭaguḍlu*, etc. used mostly as honorific (Skt. *rāṣṭrakūṭa*) ‘Chieftain’. *Kurṛimma Vallavat raṭṭaguḍi*, *Atiśaya raṭṭakuṭṭa*, *Aniganga raṭṭaguḍla mārpiḍugu raṭṭaguḷlu* (a descriptive compound meaning a ‘thunderbolt to enemy (kings)’, *Tolpakāmi raṭṭaguḷlu*, *Cōliya raṭṭaguḷlu. bōya*, Pl. *bōlu*, used mostly as honorific (< Skt *bhōjaka*) in the sense of a village officer, or resident. *Samati bōlu*, *Kāpibōḷa mutturāju*, *Viṣaya bōla*, *Cāmyeya bōyundū*, *ōja* (< Skt. *upādhyāya*) *Vēṇavōjanru*, name of a witness, *Dantiyōvaja*, engraver of inscr.; *acārlu* (< Skt. *ācārya*-) in the names *Vēḷugunṭha acārlu*, *Kuruvadi acarla* in the Bhairavakonda inscr. Both names are of artisans. *gāmuṇḍu* (< Skt. *grāmakūṭa*) occurs in a few names of witnesses in the Kalakada inscr. Chittoor dist. of the Vaidumba king *Irugeya mahārāja*, in which Kannada influence is very clear. *Veppari Sirivutti gāmuṇḍu*, *Mlāmpalli Kommana gāmuṇḍu*. The term *gāmuṇḍa* is a common title in the Kannada speaking area.

MIDDLE TELUGU

In the scheme of gender as represented in the III pers. pronoun and the personal verb, Telugu with its alignment of the fem. with the neut. in the Sg. and with the masc. in the pl. occupies a midway position between the S. Dr. and the C.-N. Dr. For, in Tam. and other S. Dr. languages there is a three way contrast in the Sg. with a separate fem. gender; in Gondi and other C. and N- Dr. the fem. joins with the neut. not only in the Sg. (as in Telugu) but equally in the Pl., so that the two-way contrast in these speeches between the masc. and the non-masc. is absolute. There are differences of opinion as to which of these three types represent the situation in PDr (TVB. P. 256). P. S. Subrahmanyam argues in favour of Telugu being nearest to the original

Dr.: (1) In the aorist and the past verbs the number- gender differentiation is only between masc. fem. neut. Sg., neut. pl. and masc. fem. pl. (2) Except for the epicene pl., no other third person suffix can be uniformly reconstructed for the PDr. (3) Number distinction in the neut. pl. is not obligatory in the Dr. languages. So the PDr. gender-number distinction in the 3 pers. finite verbs may have been originally masc. fem. neut. Sg. and neut. pl. : masc. fem. pl. (CSTV).

Gender suffixes: Masc. Nḍu, Neut. mbu m (m) u. mbu is not common in the spoken language, but preserved in the literary dialect. The elision of the final vowel in the -mu suffix as in *vanam*, *dhanam*, is a colloquial feature in MT, often met with in inscriptional writings, and has gradually becomes established by the NT. stage.

Fem. formatives in derivative nouns are: (i) *ālu* 'woman', 'wife', *pēda-r-ālu*, *gunavantu-r-ālu*, or in older forms *alu kōḍ-alu* 'daughter-in-law', *celi-y-alu* 'younger sister', *marad-alu* 'wife's younger sister (masc. *maridi* 'husband's younger brother') etc. (ii) *di* (< *adi* amahat Sg.) *āḍa-di*, *manci-di* 'good-woman', 'good thing'. (iii) *i* *vagal-āḍi* 'a coquettish woman' (masc. *vagal-āḍu*) *oyār-i* (neut. stem *oyāramu*) cf. Tam. *kilav-an* 'old man' *kilā-vi* 'old woman' (iv) *ti/te/ta* (explained from Pkt. *itthi*, Skt. *strī*) Ex. *bōya-ta* 'a woman of bōya tribe'; *muṭṭu-ta* 'a woman in periods', *okar-ti* 'one woman' (v) *kat-t-iya/kat-te* Ex. *ātā-kattiya/katte* 'dancing girl'.

In the person and the animal categories the fem. is also distinguished from the masc. by the use of appropriate gender denoting words, Ex. *āḍa pilla* 'female child', *maqa pilla* 'male child'; *āḍa gurramu* 'mare'. *maga gurramu* 'horse'; *kōḍi-peṭṭa* 'hen', *kōḍi-punju* 'cock' or *peṭṭa-kōḍi*, *punju-kōḍi*.

Relationship terms used with personal names as honorific appellatives or in endearment often become reduced to gender markers, Ex. *anna*; *Mallanna*, *Tikkana*, *appa*: *Tailapa*, *avva*: *Sūrann-avva* (SII. VI-1182 1207 A.D.) etc.

NEW TELUGU

Gender suffixes: Masc. Nḍu, Ex. *Rāmūḍu*, *mogūḍu*, 'husband'; Neut. *mu*, *m* Ex. *samudramu*, *samudram*. *mu* and *mmu* ending is preserved in tact in monosyllabic words, Ex. *pā-mu*, *ko-mmu* (Tam.

ko-mpu), *mbu* is obsolete. Fem. suffixes of MT. are all active *alu*, *di*, *i*, *ti/te*, *katte*, Ex. *anda-gatte*.

The use of relationship words and title words as honorific appellatives/as gender markers, is also a feature of NT. Ex. *Rāmayya*, *Rāmanna*, *Rāmappa*, *Rāmamma*, *Rāmakka*, *Sītayya*, *Sītanna*, *Sītappa*, *Sītamma*, *Sītakka*, *Sītavva*. And title words are masc. *ceṭṭi*, *nāyāḍu/nāyūḍu*, *reḍḍi*, *śarma*, Fe. *kumāri*, etc. Ex. *Kriṣṇa kumāri*.

In proper nouns of the masc. gender the ending *-am* commonly occurs in Mdn. Tel., Ex. *Rāmam*, *Gōpālam*, *Viśwanātham*. It is probably a variant of *-an* (as in Tam. *Rāman*) preserved dialectally. Some names are used without any gender-marker, Ex. *Rāma-kriṣṇa*, *Venkaṭaramaṇa*, *Sūryanārāyaṇa*.

NUMBER

There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The stem with or without the gender suffix is used in the singular, whereas the plural is formed by adding the pluralising suffixes to the stem.

Pluralising suffixes in OT

7th *ḷ(u)*, *l(u)*, *ru*, *ṛu*; 8th and 9th *ḷ(u)*, *l(u)*, *ru*; 10th *l(u)*, *ru*.

ru, *ṛu* occur as epicene plural suffixes, the latter only with native words. *ḷu*, *lu* are used with all nouns without distinction of gender or origin.

āru, *gāru*, and *kālu* are used for the honorific plural, besides the above mentioned pl. suffixes.

The earliest occurrence of the pl. inflection is in the form *Vijayarājya samvatsarambuḷ* in a Skt. inscr. of early 6th c., with retroflex *ḷ*, which is original. The change of *ḷ* > *l* appears already in the oldest Tel. inscr.; it gradually gains ground and by the 10th c. *ḷ* was fully superseded by *l*. The latest occurrence is in the 11th c., fortuitously preserved again in this very compound *Vijayarājya samvatsarambuḷ*.

South Dr. has a velar in the pl. suffix, Tam. *kaḷ*, Kan. *kaḷu/gaḷu*, which may also be recognised in some pl. forms in Telugu, as in

the Ahadanakara inscr. which is a good sample of archaic Telugu, *konḍu-kal* (25-10, 16), *konḍu-kal-u* (25-14) 'sons', > *koḍu-kul* (27-6) by vowel harmony. The Sg. form *koḍuku* is explained as a back formation or as an old pl. in -k which has lost its original signification.

SINGULAR

Simple stem in the singular:

Masc. *koḍuku* (13-21), *pāra* (24-13), *mahārāju* (40-1), *mānisi*, *dāsu* (50-12). Fem. *kuntur* (5-2), *amma* (28-10), Neut. *ūru* (25-4), *ceruvu* (10-7), *datti* (21-2), *nēla* (2-4), *parīkṣa* (50-15).

Stem with gender suffix:

Masc. *Mahēndran* (29-1), *Puṇyakumāruru* (8-1), (*Ujēnīpiśāca nāmadhēyuru* (18-6), *pañcamahāpātaka saṁyukturu* (26-8), *tammunḍu* (39-1). Fem. *manmarāḷu* (5-1), Neut. *kalaśabu* (38-41), *lōhāsanambu* (39-5), *pāpambu* (16-21), *kiranaḥpuramu* (39-8), *Dharmmāvurammu* (39-3).

PLURAL

Ēpicene Plural

ru

7th *vēvuru* (13-19); 9th *malinuru* (38-15), *tāru* (38-12) reflexive pronoun, pl. with -ru suffix beside the regular one in mu. In the compound *mārurā-piḍugu* (29-1) 'thunderbolt to enemy kings' r in the final of first member is the pl. sign; the same compound occurs with the spelling *marunra-piḍuku* (12-13) where r may be regarded as nothing more than orthographic, coming after n; -nr-cluster, but not -nr-, occurs in OT.

The use of this suffix in neut. pl. *marutru* (14-18) quite often in OT. is peculiar.

ru

7th *indoru* (17-4) 'all these persons', UD. *padunrru* (81-12) 'ten persons', rru spelling for ḍru, cf. later Tel. *padunḍru*.

ḷ(u)

7th *Uttamāditya sāmantakamuḷ* (22-6), *koḍukuḷ* (14-5), *mutḷu* (10-4); 8th *Aniganga raṭṭaguḍḷu* (33-10), *konḍukaḷ* (25-10), *cōla-*

rājūḷ (28-3), *perddaḷ* (25-11), *Śrī Pōrmukharāmuḷ* (26-9); 9th *kāmpuḷu* (34-6); 10th No example.

l(u)

7th *Erikal muturājūḷ* (8-1), *cōlamahārājūḷ* (7-2), *Dujayarājūḷa mutturājūḷu* (2-5), *Srī Vēḷugunṭha ācāḷu* (3-1); 8th *Bāṇarājūḷ* (28-6), *koṇḍukalu* (25-14), *paṣiṇḍi muḍḷu* (25-11), *tāmbul* (28-9); 9th *Pedaru Rerayjurājūḷ* (34-4), *goragalu* (38-10), *dammuvulu* (35-11), *peda Paṇḍaramṅulu* (37-4); 10th *Arahanandi bhaṭāralu* (46-2), *Isānasivulu* (47-32), *peggeḍḷu* (49-7).

Use of the Sg. form for Pl. is exceptional in *vēvuru parānu* (20-8) 8th c.

ḷ(u)

7th (*Vijayarājya saṁvatsarambuḷ* (10-2), *paṁnuḷ* (11-15), *pra-sādambuḷ* (10-24), *ceruvuḷu* (14-21), *tōṭaḷu* (13-11), *puṭḷu* (10-7), *vēvānr-urḷu* (14-22), *vēseruvuḷu* (14-27), *vēgavilāḷu* (20-14); 8th *panikoḷu* (25-9), *cavaccarambuḷ* (28-5); 10th *ciru-deral* (50-5).

l(u)

7th *guḍḷu* (10-22), *puṭḷu* (10-30), (*ēḷu-*)*vēla* (14-7); 8th *vēgu-ḷūḷu* (31-3); 9th *kottāmbul* (35-5); 10th *anēka vastu vāhanōtsa-vambuḷ* (44-44), *iṣṭaviṣaya kāmōpabhōgambuḷ* (44-21), *Kāṭiceru-vulu* (48-4), *ciru-deral* (50-5), *dharmmuvulu* (44-47), *vrālu* (48-7) (MT. Sg. *vrāyi*). *Kaluceruvulu* (IA. XIII. 50).

Honorific plural

ru

Masc. 8th *Śrī Baṇḍayaru* (33-2); UD. *Rēyammayyaru* (60-6).

Fem. 10th *Bācavvariki* (48-6). The use of the pl. suffix on a form ending in -avva is exceptional, and not seen in the later language.

ru

Masc. 7th *Dhanamjayuru* (1-3).

ḷ(u)

Masc. 7th *Uttamāditya sāmantakamuḷ* (22-6); 8th *koṇḍukaḷ* (25-10), *Cōlarājūḷ* (28-3); *Śrī Pōrmukharāmuḷ* (26-9).

Fem. 7th *Cōlamahādēvuḷ* (22-4), *Cōlamahādēvuḷu* (13-8).

1(u)

Masc. 7th *Erikal muturājul* (8-1), *Śrī Vēḷugunṭha ācārlu* (3-1) 8th *Bāṇarājul* (28-6), *konḍukalu* (25-14); 9th *Pedaru Rereyurājul* (34-4), *peda Paṇḍaramṅulu* (37-4); 10th *Arahanandi bhaṭāralu* (46-2), *Isānaśivulu* (47-32).

r-1 (double plural)

7th *Cōlamahārājurl-a* (6-1) *Erigal tugarājurl-a* (6-2).

1 with an appellative noun of number ending in -vuru, *muva-rul* (25-5) which is exceptional.

The following honorifics occur with personal names.

ār

Masc. 7th *Pālaśarmmāriki* (8-5), *Rēvasarmmārikin* (7-4); 8th *Aggisarmāriki* (28-18).

Fem. 7th *Maṅkhi porriyāru* (23-11); 8th *Kūcapōriyāri* (28-12).

gāru

Masc. 9th *Kaḍeyagāri* (37-6).

kālu

Occurs in personal names in 7th and 8th c. inscr. It is explained as a literal Telugu rendering of the Skt. honorific form *pāda-* (EI-XXVII - 224) Ex. *Rēvaṇapādāḥ* - Tel. *Rēvaṇakālu*. *kāḷu*, the plural of -kālu, is also used in some instances.

Masc.

7th *Cāmaṇakāl-a* (12-11) (gen. case), *Puddaṇakālu* (9-2), *Rēvaṇakālu* (1-7, 9-2); *Kuṇḍikāḷu* (2-3); 8th *Urupenakālu* (30-3), *korukālu* (28-18), *Cemgālu* (26-17), *Penrukōlu* (31-3), may be a mistake for -kālu, *Raccakālu* (30-3).

Assimilative and other changes in stems with the plural suffixes.

1. i in the stem final changes to u: *Cōlamahādēvuḷ* (22-4), *Cōlamahādēvuḷu* (13-8), *tēvuḷ* (23-10) (Sg. *dēvi*). Loss of stem final a in *eḷū-pārḷa* (22-9).

2. ḍi in the stem final combines with ḷu/lu to ḍlu which is sometimes assimilated to ḷḷu.

ḍlu

7th *guḍlu* (10-22) Gtr. dst.
vēḍlumu (20-24) (probably
mistake for *vēguḍlumu*) Gtr.
dst.
8th *raṭṭaguḍlu* (33-10), *Kūviya*
raṭoḍla (32-9), Cuddapah dst.

ḷlu

7th *vēguḷḷuvu* (14-21) Cudda-
pah dst.
raṭṭaguḷḷa (11-13, 17, Gtr.
13-13, 22-15, 17; Cuddapah dst.)

3. ṛ in the stem combines with ḷu/lu to ḍlu in some cases.

ṛḷu, rlu

7th *āṛḷapaṭṭu* (11-12),
āṛḷapaṭṭu (10-7, 16-10)
9th *āṛḷapaṭṭu* (34-4)

ḍlu

7th *āḍḷapaṭṭu* (10-29, 30),
āḍḷupaṭṭu (20-8).
9th *āḍḷupaṭṭu* (35-10).

4. lu in the stem final combines with ḷu/lu to ḷḷu

7th *Kuṇḍikāḷḷu* (2-3).

The plural form *vrituḍlu* (60-11) is irregular, for *vrittulu*.

MIDDLE TELUGU

In regard to the gender system in Dr. it has been pointed out that fundamentally the distinction is between mahat and amahat. For the plural number, of nouns and demonstratives, again, two different suffixes, one for the mahat and another for the amahat is reconstructed for PDr. — that which consists of an r for the mahat, and a k or ḷ or a combination of these two for the amahat (TVB. p. 257). Telugu employs the r for epicene but has also another in ṛ in a few plurals; ḷ for amahat regularly, and -kalu, > -kulu in a small number of old plural forms.

Tolkappiyam the earliest Tamil grammar (round about beginning of the Christian era) refers to kaḷ as neut. pl. suffix which could be used for the epicene as well. The same thing has happened in Telugu; ḷ was generalised and used with all nouns irrespective of gender already by the historical period and entered into competition with the mahat pl. r. The retroflex ḷ was preserved in OT. but by the end of this period it had changed into the dental l by a regular phonological change operative at the time.

The pl. suffixes in MT. are: Epicene: ru, ṛu, Epicene and neut.: ra, lu. kalu/kulu-. r plurals, particularly those in ṛa are very limited. The a vowel in ṛa may be connected with the neut. pl. suffix in Tam. as in *a-v-ai*, they (neut.) *vanda-n-a* 'they came'.

vāru and gāru are used as honorifics; āru found in OT. is not attested in the later language.

ru

1. Some masc. nouns ending with ṅḍu in the Sg. take ru in the pl. (BV. acc. 5), eg. *alluru*, sons-in-law (Mhb. ādi. 8-53, KuS. 2-6), (sg. *allūḍu*); *neyyuru* 'friends'; *pagaturu mārturu* 'foes'; *okaru*, 'one person'; *aṭṭiru* 'such those persons'; tatsamas with l or ḷ in the stem final, (ĀBB. v. 70) *bāluru* 'boys' (sg. *bālūḍu*); *nṛpāluru* 'kings'; *kṛpāluru*, *dayāluru* 'compassionate persons'; also *malluru* 'wrestlers' (sg. *mallūḍu*).

2. Some masc. nouns with ṅḍu add the pl. suffix ru to ṅḍru. These must be later formations compared with the above type where the pl. marker is substituted for that of the sg., *alluṅḍru*, sons-in-law (sg. *alluṅḍu*); *okkaṅḍru*, *aṭṭiṅḍru*, *iṭṭiṅḍru*, *vāṅḍru* 'they' *vēṭakāṅḍru* 'bowmen'.

3. The sequence ṅḍ-ru appears in numeral appellative nouns, added to the oblique stem, *enama-ṅḍru* 'eight persons', *tonma-ṅḍru* 'nine persons', *padu-ṅḍru* 'ten persons', *iruva-ṅḍru* 'twenty persons', *muppa-ṅḍru* 'thirty persons'; rarely on the nominative stem form, *iruvadu-ṅḍru*, *muppadu-ṅḍru* (with the change of stem final vowel i to u).

4. Rational nouns with lu, li, in the final syllable combine with ru to ṅḍru (BV. ācch. 6, 11), eg. *āṅḍru* 'women', also *āṅḍuru* (Kus. 8-157), (sg. *ālu*); *kōḍaṅḍru* 'daughters-in-law' *maradaṅḍru* 'sisters-in-law', *mudusaṅḍru* 'old men' (sg. *mudusali* 'old man') ṅḍru as an addition on masc. noun with gender suffix: . The suffixes *vuru*, *guru* of appellative nouns are constituted of this suffix -ru. With numeral adjectives, *muvvuru*, *mugguru*, *mūguru*, *ēvuru*, *aiduguru*, *vēvuru*, *vēguru*; with other adjectives *paluvuru*, *paluguru* 'many persons'.

ru

Among the plural forms with ru are (1) collective nouns formed from the demonstrative adjectives, like *andarū*, *indarū*, *endarū*, and *kondarū*, (2) the plural form of the secondary derivative *kāḍu* viz., *kārū*, *vēṭakārū* 'hunters' (sg. *vēṭakāḍu*), *vilukārū* 'bowmen' (Sg. *vilukāḍu*), and (3) a very small number of other plurals like *cūparū* 'onlookers' (Mhb. ādi 4-207, Kus. 3-76), and

pagaru, enemies; and *ceyuvuru* (BV. ācch. 10) which is an isolated instance of a ntr. with ru. These forms have no corresponding singulars.

ra

Plurals with ra are again a small number. epicene: *pagara* 'enemies' (Kus. 6-141), Neut. *ampara* 'arrows' (MhB. ādi. 4-202), *ciccura* 'fires' as in *ciccura-piḍugu*.

lu

1. Some nouns have double forms of the plural one of which is formed from primitive nominal base, and the other from the base extended by a suffix, eg. *ālu* 'cows' (Sg.* *ā*), *āvulu*; *pūlu* 'flowers' (Sg.* *pū*), *pūvulu*. cf. also *vrālu* 'letters' 'signature' (Sg. *vrāyi* 'letter', writing') beside *vrātalū*, writings (*vrāta* 'writing').

2. nu in the final syllable of some native words is dropped in the plural (ĀBB. v. 75) eg. *cēlu* 'fields' (sg. *cēnu*), *pēlu* 'lice' (*pēnu*); but *mālu*, fishes (sg. *mānu*) has also besides *mīnulu*, a later formation.

3. The plural of *kūturu/kūturu* is *kūtulu* (ĀBB. v. 99), i.e. ru in the final syllable is dropped as in Na. and Nanni, but in the later period ru of the stem final is retained, and the pl. suffix added to it, (with mahat ru, *kūtunḍru*), with lu, *kūturulu*, *kūtunḍlu*, *kūtuluḷu*.

4. yi in the final syllable of native words is substituted by tu in the plural. *cētulu* 'hands' (sg. *cēyi*), *vātulu* 'mouths' (sg. *vāyi*), — *nētulu* 'ghees' (sg. *nēyi*) — *nūtulu* 'wells' (*nūyi*). Similar pl. formations, (with -til), are found in Parji and Ollari (TVB. p. 258).

5. Some masc. nouns ending with ṇḍu in the Sg. add lu to the base without, this ending. eg. *magalu* husbands (Sg. *magāḍu*); *vrēlu* 'cowherds' (*vrēḍu*), *mallulu* 'wrestlers', *dhanavantulu* rich men', *bhūsurulu* 'Gods of the earth', *asurulu* 'demons'; *brāhmalu* 'brahmins.' In comparatively later formations lu is added to native stems ending with ṇḍu, eg. *magaṇḍlu*, *alluṇḍlu*, *celikāṇḍlu*, *jīta-gāṇḍlu*.

6. The vu ending in tatsama nouns is optionally dropped in some cases. OT. *gōlu* 'cows', in *gōlakōti*, MT *śatru-lu*, *śatruvu-lu* 'enemies'; *taru-lu*, *taruvu-lu*, trees; *Rāhu-lu*, *Rāhuvu-lu* 'Rahus';

bāhu-lu, *bāhuvu-lu* 'arms'; but *vadhuvu* 'bride' does not drop the -*vu* ending, *vadhuvulu*. Some of these plurals from stem without the *vu* ending may be older ones.

7. *eddu* 'ox' forms the plural *eddulu*, *edḍulu*, *edlu* (PV. śabda 50).

The following classes of nouns show ṅḍ-*l* (>ḷḷu) in the pl., resulting from the Sandhi of stem final with *lu*.

(1) Nouns with *nnu* in the final syllable, *kaṅḍlu* 'eyes' (*kannu*), *caṅḍlu* 'breasts' (*cannu*).

(2) *aupavibhaktika* śabdas ending with *li*, *llu* (BV. ācch. 16), *koḍavaṅḍlu* 'sickles' (Sg. *koḍavali*), *rōkaṅḍlu* 'large wooden pestles' (*rōkali*), *vākiṅḍlu* 'doorways' (*vākili*); -*llu* endings: eg. *iṅḍlu* 'houses' (*illu*), *muṅḍlu* 'thorns' (*mullu*), *paṅḍlu* 'teeth' (*pallu*), from which develops a back form of the singular with *nnu*, *pannu* (cf. above *kaṅḍlu*: *kannu*). Feminine nouns ending in *lu*: eg. *kōḍaṅḍlu* 'daughters-in-law', *maradaṅḍlu* 'sisters-in-law', *celleṅḍlu* 'sisters'.

TV. gives some examples of plurals in *mḷḷu* beside *ṅḍlu*, eg. *paṅḍlu* 'fruits' *paṁḷḷu*; *guṅḍlu*, *guṁḷḷu*; *iṅḍlu*, *iṁḷḷu*. It represents a variant pronunciation of *ṅḍlu* and a stage in the development of *ṅḍlu* to *ḷḷu*. *ṅḍlu* > *ḷḷu*: *koḍavaḷḷu*, *rōkaḷḷu*, *vākiḷḷu*, *iḷḷu*, *muḷḷu*, *paḷḷu*; *kōḍaḷḷu*, *maradaḷḷu*, *celleḷḷu*.

(3) The consonants *ḍ*, *r*, *ṛ*, *l* in the stem final change to *ḷ* in some cases (ĀBŚ. śabda. 71), eg. sg. *trāḍu* 'thread'— Pl. *trāḷulu*, *gummaḍi* 'pumpkin plant'— *gummaḷulu*; *civuru* 'sprout'— *civuḷulu* (KuS. 5-139); *gōru* 'nail'— *gōḷulu*; *vūru* 'village'— *vūḷulu*; *ēru*, 'river'— *ēḷulu*; *kālu* 'leg'— *kāḷulu* (KuS. 6-37); *modalu* beginning— *modaḷulu* (Mhb. ādi. 5-166); *vrēlu*, finger— *vrēḷulu*. The change is absent in some, Ex. *tēru* 'chariots', *kāru*, 'clouds', *gālu* 'winds'.

(4) *r*, *ṛ* or *l* in the stem final combines with *lu* to *ḍlu* (>ḷḷu). *ḍlu* plurals: Ex. *r* + *lu* : *nīḍlu*, water (SII. IV — 1015), *vīḍlu*, villages (SII. V — 1296). The forms are peculiar to inscriptional Telugu and do not occur in literature, but *vaḍlu* 'paddy' (*vari*) is found. *ṛ* + *lu* : *āḍlu*, a variety of paddy. *l* + *lu* : *kāḍlu*, legs (TI. 32) (*kālu*), *engiḍlu* 'leavings of food' (IV — 664, 1015)

(*engili*); these forms are peculiar to inscriptional Telugu and do not occur in literature which prefers *ḷu*.

ḷu plurals exist beside those in *ḍu* in most cases: *guḷḷu*, temples (Eduvadalapalam ins. A.D. 1018) (Rajarajanaremdra Sancika), *nanjuḷḷu*, *nāḷḷu*, *ūḷḷu* (but *vaḍḷu* has not become *vaḷḷu*) *āḷḷu*, *kāḷḷu*, *eṅgiḷḷu*.

ḷu and not *ḍu* are attested in some cases: *ḍ + lu* : *lēḷḷu* 'deer' *r + lu* : *gōḷḷu* 'nails' (*gōru*), *pandiḷḷu* 'thatched sheds' (*pandiri*); *ṛ + lu* *ēḷḷu* 'rivers'; *l + lu* *konavēḷḷu* 'finger tips' (*-vēlu*): *kundēḷḷu*, rabbits (*kundēlu*).

(5) Other sandhi changes involved in the addition of the *-lu* suffix to the stem: stem *i > u*, by vowel harmony, *dāḍulu* 'attacks' (*dāḍi*) *gummaḍulu* 'pumpkins' (*gummaḍi*), *girulu* 'mountains' (*giri*); *i* in the penultimate syllable may also be affected, *mulukulu* 'arrows' (*muliki*).

Stems in *ṭu*, *ṭi*, *ḍu*, *ḍi*, *ru*, *lu* drop the vowel optionally in some cases (ĀBS. śabda. 70), eg. *pāṭlu*, *pāṭulu* 'difficulties', *kōmaṭlu* 'merchants', *tūṅṭlu* 'holes'; also *kōṭlu* crores (sg. *kōṭi*), cf. *iṣṭlaku* 'for the desired persons', (SPM. 9 A.D. 1128) (*iṣṭulu*), *baṅḍlu*, *baṅḍulu*, 'carts'; *guṅḍlu*, *guṅḍulu*, 'bullets'. *ḍ + lu* *guḍlaku* (SPM. 9), *guḍlu* (SII. IV-749), *namjuḍlu* (SII. IV-1015). *pērlu*, *pērulu* 'names'; *bārlu*, *bārulu* 'rows', *mosaḷḷu*, *mosaḷulu*, 'crocodiles'; *mogiḷḷu*, *mogiḷulu*, 'clouds'.

(6) *-lu* is added to nouns ending in *mu*. In inscriptional Telugu of the 11th c. we observe the tendency for the dropping of *-mu* in plural forms, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel *a*, eg. *kumcālu* (SII. IV-1014, 1.5. A.D. 1038), *aṅgaramgabhogālu* (X-58 1.23. AD. 1080), *śakavarṣālu* (X-60, 1.1 AD. 1091). Such examples are numerous in the inscriptions from 13th c. onwards. They do not occur, in the literary dialect, in Nannaya's Mhb. but are found, rarely in the older texts and more commonly in the later ones, from the time of Tikkana, *kaḷyālan* (< *kaḷyamulan*) (Bh. virāṭa 1) (PV. śabda. 49). *Vikṛtau kvacicca lōpō mōr-dīrghaścāta ādimasya bhavēt* (ĀŚC.). Thus, eg. Śrīnātha, used *mutyālu* (< *mutyamulu*) and Peddana *jālu* (< *jāmulu*). Eg. in NT. regularly, *gurrālu* 'horses', *paḷḷālu*, 'plates', *kaḍiyālu* 'anklets'.

Sometimes the long vowel which is a secondary development due to the loss of -mu appears short – in MT. Eg. in inscr.: *cuṭṭalan* (SII. VI-123) *kumcalu*, *mōḍalu*. Literature: *cuṭṭalu* (Bh. śalya. 11-134, virāṭa. 1-49), *mīsalu* (Bhag. 6-92, 318 – HTL. p. 890).

Double plurals

ṅḍru-ru: *pekkāṅḍruru* ‘many persons’ (Bhr. ādi. 4), *kōḍāṅḍruru* (sabha. 2), *āṅḍruru* (virata. 3); ṅḍru-lu, *illāṅḍrulu* ‘housewives’ (ĀBŚ. Śabda. 83); ru-lu *vēḍukakārulu* (Bhr. śānti 3), *cūparulu* (Kalā. 7); ṅḍlu-lu, ḷḷulu: *koḍavaṅḍlulu*, *koḍavaḷḷulu*.

Some words are always used in the singular – (PV. śabda. 28-33), *vari* ‘paddy-crop’, *pesara*, ‘green-gram crop’; *uppu*, ‘salt’, *pasupu*, ‘turmeric’; *ittāḍi*, ‘brass’, *baṅgāru*, ‘gold’ etc., and some words are always used in the plural – (PV. 35-38), names of varieties of corn like *āḷḷu*, *cōḷḷu*, *vaḍḷu*, *kandulu*, *pesalu*, names of games *ōmanaguṅṭalu*, *dāguḍumūtalū*, *gobbilḷu*, *gaccakāyalu*; names of ornaments *kuṭṭupōgulu*, *cempasarulu* etc.

Some times there is development of meaning as between the sg. and pl. forms: *āḍaṅgi*, a man of womanish manners’; *āḍaṅgulu* ‘females’, *pedda* ‘big’ *peddalu* ‘elders’; *pacca* ‘green’, *kempu* ‘red’, *nīlamu* ‘blue’. *paccalu*, *kempulu*, *nīlālu*, precious stones of the respective colours.

Honorific plural

In the pronouns: *mīru*, *mīra-lu* and *tāmu*, *tama-ru* for II. sg.; *vāru*, *vāra-lu* for III. Sg. *mahādēvulu* is the honorific plural of *mahādēvi* ‘queen’ in inscr. Tel. (SII. V-1347, VI-135, 228, 607 etc.); *gāru*: *ammagāru*, *nāyāḍugāru*; *gāru* is often preceded by a nasal eg. *mahārājulungāru*, *pāduṣāṅgāru* (inscr. Tel.); *vāru*: *ayyavāru*, *svāmivāru*; on plural oblique base in Ia: *Śrī Rāmula-vāru*, *ayyagarlamvāru*.

NEW TELUGU

Of the plural suffixes *ra* is obsolete; it was of limited occurrence even in MT. *ru* > *ru*, Ex. *āṅḍaru*, *kondaru*. *ru* (also *ru*) was mostly superseded by *lu*, Ex. *vēṭagāḷḷu* (MT. *vēṭakāru*, *vēṭakāṅḍru*), *alluḷḷu*, *okkaḷḷu*, *āḍavaḷḷu*, dial. *āṅḍa vāṅḍlu*. *ṅḍlu* plurals are preserved in the Rayalasima dialect whereas in the coastal

area we see the forward development to *l̥lu*, thus *kaṇḍlu* – *kaḷlu*, *iṇḍlu* – *iḷlu*, etc. Old plurals like *ālu* ‘cows’, *rālu* ‘stones’, and *lu-lu* forms like *trālu-lu* (sg. *trāḍu*), *civulu-lu* (*civuru*), *mosalu-lu* (*mosali*) are obsolete.

CASE

Nominal stems ending in a, i, u, e, o and the consonants m, r, ṛ and l are found in the OT. inscrr.

There are seven cases, the nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative, and there is only one declension for all stems in all genders.

The Nominative Case

There is no special termination for the nom. case. The stem with or without the gender suffix forms the nominative singular; the stem with the pluralising suffix, the nominative plural.

Vowel stems:

a stems

Masc. *pāra* (7-4), *Erama* (24-28), *tata* (38-39), *perggeḍa* (37-6), *Kēsiyanna* (50-8), *Koraviyanna* (44-36). Fem. *Lōkama* (5-2), *amma* (28-10). Neut. *koṇḍa-kārṭṭiya* (12-8), *diśa* (14-14), *nēla* (2-14), *parīkṣa* (26-10) *alipuṭa* (38-35), *icca* (38-27), *bāṇa* (35-7), *curiya* (44-77).

i stems

Masc. *kammari* (13-21), *Kāḍuvatti* (15-3), *koṭṭali* (24-30), *naksanāti* (36-11), *mānisi* (41-5). Fem. *Govindaporēri* (5-1), *Vasantipōri* (13-7). Neut. *puṭṭi* (10-29), *datti* (15-3), *paṇi* (3-2), *ari* (35-3), *pudali* (29-2), *aḍavi* (39-5), *ā-jevi* (43-4), *guḍi* (39-12), *nīti* (38-35), *paṇi* (40-4), *aṣṭami* (47-11), *āṇati* (48-7).

u stems

Masc. *koḍuku* (16-7), *pañcamahāpāṭaku* (6-7), *kāmpu* (44-73), *dāsu* (50-12). Neut. *ceṛuvu* (10-7), *cēnu* (10-8), *nivabu* (2-3), *pandumbu* (21-3), *kaṭṭu* (28-17), *ḍagu* (25-3), *daṇḍu* (25-3), *cōṭu* (38-24), *daṇḍuvu* (50-13).

Telugu grammarians consider -vu, *inter alia*, as nom. sg. case ending, however it is no more than an euphonic accretion. The

following are the -vu, stems in OT.: Masc. 7th c. *Asivairuvu* (7-8, 9-5) name of engraver of inscr. Neut. 8th *sarvva bāda pariyāruvu* (25-4), *accaruvu* (29-3); 9th *dammuvulu* (35-11), *mogamāḍuvu* (38-42); 10th *ceruvulu* (44-54), *sarvva parihāruvu*. (47-18), *dharmmavu* (48-7), *daṇḍuvu* (50-15); UD. *dharmmuvu-na* (76-1), *Kurrumaḍuvu* (82-5), *ceruvu* (86-2), *dharmavu* (94-7).

e stem

Masc. 8th *Ālubāpasinḍi mire* (23-25).

ō stem

Neut. 9th *rō* (43-5).

Consonantal stems:

m stems

Neut. 7th *dvitīya varṣam* (18-5), 8th *prithivi rājyam* (24-5, 31-1), 10th *dharmam* (47-22).

r stem

Neut. 9th *Kandukur* (35-8) (in verse inscr.). Fem. 7th *kuntur* (5-2) (MT. *kūturu*. Telugu grammarians consider ru here as the nominative singular termination, for it is dropped in the nom. plural and in the oblique cases, nom. pl. *kūtulu*, obl. Sg. *kūtu-*, pl. *kūtula-*. See Middle Telugu).

l stem

in compound formations as first member, *Erikal-* (1-2), *Erigal-* (6-2).

Nominative with gender suffixes: Masc.

an

8th *Mahēndran* (29-1), UD. *Vikramarāmana maluvakka dhūrtan* (77-5).

nru, mru

7th *uttamōttamunru* (12-4), *Puṇyakumārunru* (8-1), *dakṣiṇa-bhujāyamānumru* (18-6), *Ujēnīpiśāca nāmadhēyūmru* (18-7), 8th *Asivarajamunru* (29-3), *tabunru* (27-5) *maganru* (29-2), 9th *maganru* (34-1), UD. *candrādityunru* (76-2).

nru

8th *vakrambuvaccuvānru* (26-25), *laccinavānru* (26-28).

ṇḍu

9th *tammunḍu* (39-1), *acalituṇḍu* (39-9), 10th *Kusumāyudhunḍu* (44-6), *tanayunḍu* (44-2). *ṇḍu* in the Ahadanakara inscr. is nothing more than a variant spelling for *ṇḍu*, *ganḍānḍu* (25-18).

Fem.

ālū

7th *manmarālū* (5-1)

Neut.

bu

7th *nivabu* (2-3), 8th *uttarabu* (28-16), *vagrabu* (27-8), 9th *kalaśabu* (38-41).

mbu

7th *ahitambu* (11-5), *pandumbu* (21-3), *stānambu* (5-3), 8th *paṭṭambu* (33-14), 9th *durggambu* (35-7), 10th *pratyupakārambu* (44-34), *vāyurādityambu* (50-5).

m(m)u

9th *binkamu* (39-7), *Kiranapuramu* (39-7), *udyōgammu* (37-6), 10th *Veṅgidēsamu* (44-14).

m

8th *Meṭṭapariti pulam karusu* (Dinakadu plates of Vijayaditya I, JAHRS. V-56).

Plural.

ru

malinuru (38-15), in the numeral appell. noun *vēvuru* (13-19).

ru

7th *indoru* (17-4).

ḷ(u)

Masc. 7th *Uttamāditya sāmantakamuḷ* (22-6) (hon. pl.), *kodukuḷ* (14-5), *muḷḷu* (10-4), 8th *tāmbuḷ* (28-9) (hon. pl.), *perddaḷ* (25-11) (hon. pl.) 9th *kāmpuḷu* (34-6).

Fem. 7th *cōlamahādēvuḷ* (22-4) (hon. pl.) *cōlamahādēvuḷu* (13-8) (hon. pl.) 8th *tēvuḷ* (23-10) hon. pl.).

Neut. 7th *paṁnuḷ* (11-15), *Vijayarājyasamvatsarambuḷ* (10-2); *ceruvuḷu* (14-21), *tōṭaḷu* (13-11), 8th *panikoḷu*.

1(u)

Masc. 7th *Cōlamahārājul* (7-2) (hon. pl.), *Śrī Vēḷugunṭha ācārḷu* (3-1) (hon. pl.) 8th *konḍukatu* (25-14), *paṣiṇḍi muḍḷu* (25-11), 9th *goragalu* (38-10), *ḍammuvulu* (35-11), *Isānaśivulu* (47-32) (hon. pl.), *peggeḍḷu* (49-7).

Neut. 7th *guḍḷu* (10-22), *puṭḷu* (10-30), 8th *vēgulūḷu* (31-3), 9th *koṭṭambul* (35-5), 10th *vastu-vāhan-ōtsavambul* (44-44).

The Oblique base

The oblique base, to which the case terminations of the oblique cases are added, may be (1) the same as the nominative singular, (2) the stem with the dropping of the masc. sg. termination, or (3) constituted of the inflectional increments, a, i, ti (with its variants ṭi, ṇṭi). The oblique base is identical with the genitive case.

1. Nominative singular form as the oblique base:

a stems

Masc. *Anuvaya-n* (15-4), *Kattiśarmma-ku* (12-7), *pāra-ku* (2-10), *bōḷaja-ku* (20-5), *Mattiśa-ku* (27-5), Neut. 9th *paḍuva-tō* (35-3), *Bejavāḍa-n* (38-7); 10th *kaṇṭhiya-n* (44-10), *nēla-ku* (47-16).

i stems

Masc. *Komarasvāmi-ki* (38-7), *Raccayirri-ki* (34-2), *Noḷambitōḷi* (40-3), Fem. *Śrīsati-ki* (21-2), *Kūcapōri-ki* (28-12), Neut. 8th *pani-n-a* (25-8), 9th *bhūmi-lōna* (37-15), 10th *guḍi-yi-ni*, *Bāranāsiyi-n*. The *yi* as glide in these forms is exceptional. gen. *raṭṭōḍi (cēnu)* (EI. V-139).

u stems

Masc. 8th *Dantiyamma maṁgu-tōḷan* (29-4), Neut. *cīku-na* (12-8), *pulombu-na* (10-6), *Mlāvinḍīśvarambu-na* (10-9), *rācamānambu-nan* (6-4), *rājyampu-nan* (15-1), *lōkambu-n* (14-29), *nidugaṭambu-na* (31-3), *Purranūrḷ-a* (32-6), *Marralūr-a* (26-14), *kayyambu-na* (10-3), *kolpu-nan* (39-6), *cēbrōḷ-an-unḍi* (38-22), *maṭhambu-n* (38-28); *aṁgambu-nan* (50-13), *ciṭṭadi pempu-n-*

aṁdu (47-10), *tūrpu-na* (46-2), *nimittamu-nan* (48-3), *Bhīmīsva-rambu-nu* (44-63), *rājyaśrī-ki* (44-51).

2. Stem with the dropping of the masc. sg. termination as the obl. base:

10th *Viṣṇuvarddhanu-tōn* (44-14) Genitive forms: 8th *Śakavaiśravanu* (*koḍukul*) (27-6), 9th *vallabhu* (*kolpunan*) (39-6), 10th *Kusumāyudhu* (*pedda koḍuku*) (44-16).

The stem *bōya* occurs without the masc. gender suffix; even so the mode of gen. formation here is the change of stem final *a* to *u*:

10th *Korabōyu taṭākaśca* (EI. IX-47).

3. Stem with the inflectional increment as the obl. base:

a in plural form: Masc. 7th *Cōlamahārājula-ku* (13-4), *bhaṭāruḷa-ku* (19-1); *muvvura-n* (17-2) acc., gen *Somayājula* (*Vellakki bōl*) (personal name, EI. XVIII-1); 8th *Karuveṁggala Nalucāmuḷa-ku* (30-3), *vēvura-n* (23-24); 9th *bōyala-n* (39-5); 10th *kāpula-ku* (50-3). Neut. 7th *ūḍl-andu* (10-29), with the elision of the oblique marker which is a colloquial feature. UD. *kavilala-n* (62-17).

The occurrence of *a* in the Sg. as in *rāvi-y-a* 'of the *rāvi* tree' in *rāviya periya ceruvu* (IA. IX-47, 10th c), and on an oblique already ending with *i* as in *ēṭi-y-a-* (*kariti*) (EI. XVIII-226, 10th c.) is exceptional.

i occurs in the singular and plurals other than those in 1:

Singular

Masc. 10th *Kuruva bhaṭari-ki* (47-12). *ni* substitutes the masc. sg. ending. Historically it is the obl. base of the old masc. stem with *-n*. *Iśerēni-kin* (9-3), *Kāśyapa gōtrini-ki* (14-11) *Āditya bhaṭārani-ki* (35-9), *Rāmanibhuni-tōlan* (39-5), *Kannaraballahuni-ki* (44-6), *Bhaṭṭadēvani-ki* (46-1), *magani-n* (50-13). Neut. 8th *kāmpu-na-ku* (33-8), 9th *udyōgammu-na-ku* (37-5).

With the augment *na* on the obl. base before *kun*: *Īśvaru-nā-ku* (26-13), *Īśvaru-na-kun* (37-3), *Kārttikēyu-na-ku* (38-29), *Cālukya Bhīmu-na-ku* (44-2).

ṭ replaces final syllables in ḍ and ṛ of inanimate nouns, and ṇṭ replaces *-llu*:

ḍ stems:

7th *ēṅṭ-an* (11-5), 10th *Kaḍapa paṅṅenti-lōni* (48-4), genitive forms: 7th *Paḷḷināṁṭi* (11-5); 10th *Pākanāṁṭi* (48-3) gen. 7th *Kaṇḍēruvāṭi viṣayē* (EI. XIX-258 cf. also *Gaṇḍēruvāṭyām* EI. XVIII-55), but without the substitution of ṭ for ḍ in *Kaṇḍēruvāḍi viṣaya-* (EI. V-118, 9th c.).

r stem

gen. *paḍumaṭi (kaṭṭa)* (IA. XIII-50), (*paścimataḥ*) *ēṭiya (kariti)* (EI. XVIII-226, 10th c.), without the substitution of ṭ, in the same inscr. in the same form, *guṅṭēriya kariti; paḍumāri kōṭan* (10-7).

llu stem

10th. gen. *ummarakanṭhi (bōl)* (EI. V-127).

ti replaces -ṛu in *parṛu, kurṛu*:

7th *Viripariti* (13-20), *Vitparti* (10-6) 10th *peddha Kalucuvubariti* (46-1); *Mēlikurṭi Candiyanna* (50-73).

The accusative case

The terminations of the acc. case are

7th -n, -nu; 9th -n, -ni, 10th -n, -ni, -nin.

The sign of the acc. is essentially n, which with the euphonic u appears as nu; after i stems nu > ni by vowel harmony. The termination ending in a vowel is sometimes further extended by n, thus nin.

n

Masc. 7th *Anuvayan* (15-4); 9th *Cōlanin* (39-8), *paivāralan* (38-18), *paḍālvēlan* (40-4), *bōyalan, Rāhanun* (39-6): 10th *maganin* (50-13); Neut. 10th *kaṅṭhiyan* (44-10) *liṅgambulan* (47-29). With i stem *Bāranāsiyin* (50-6).

nu

7th *pāranu* (10-33) (*vēvuru*) *parānu* (20-16), UD. *gavilālanu brāhmanulanu* (52-23) (*vēvura*) *brāhmaṇulanu vēgavilālanu vēgudḷulanu* (54-6) *vēvurānu* (74-20).

ni

Masc. 9th i stem, *Cantamāna daḍini* (40-4); Fem. 10th u stem, *āḷini* (50-13).

nin

Neut. 10th i stem: *guḍiyinin* (50-6).

In the following instances the nasal may be construed as having been dropped in sandhi: 8th *Paldambu vēṇḍikoni* (32-3), 10th *Peddana rāvimci* (44-25).

The instrumental case

The terminations of the instr. case are: 7th-nan, -cētan; 8th-nan; 9th -n, -nan; 10th -nan.

n occurs with a base ending in i and nan with a base in u, of the neuter gender.

n

Neut. 9th *arttin* (38-7), *nīrupamamāti-n* (38-9).

nan

Neut. 7th *rācamānambunan* (-6-4), 8th *rācamānambunan* (28-14), 9th *ātmānmatambunan* (37-7), *vallabhu kolpunan* (39-6), 10th *aṅgambunan* (50-13), (*tana paṭṭambu gaṭṭina*) *santōsanbuna* (50-3), *bala parākramambunan* (44-8), *nimittamunan* (48-3).

cēta (n)

Masc. 7th *okāḍu bōla cēta śavaṇa goṇiri* (17-2), UD. *Vaidum-buḷa cētam baṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍi* (91-4); *vōri cēta paṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍina-vānru* (83-4).

The terminations of the Sociative are:

9th -tō, -tōlan, -tōli (with i which is the obl- gen. inflectiona)
10th -tōn, UD. -tōḍa.

tō

Neut. 9th *ramaṇatō* (38-37), *paḍuvatō* (35-5).

tōn

Masc. 10th *Viṣṇuvarddhanutōn* (44-14).

tōlan

Masc. 9th *Rāmanibhunitōlan* (39-5).

tōli

Masc. 9th *Noḷambitōli kayyambuna* (40-3).

tōḍa

Masc. UD. *Cōḍuḷatōḍa* (80-4).

The Dative Case

The terminations of the dative case are: 7th-10th -kun, -kin, 10th -poṅṭhe.

kin occurs on a base ending with i, kun on a base ending with a, and, with the augment na on a base ending with u. poṅṭhe is used with a neut. noun. The appearance of aspiration in the form as poṅṭhe is sporadic and spontaneous.

kun

on a base ending with a, Masc. 7th *Kattiśarmma*ku (12-7), *mahārājula*ku (13-4), *pāraku* (2-10), *bōḷajaku* (20-5), *Śrīsalaku* (10-20), 8th *Karuveṅṅala Nalucāmuḷaku*, *Muṭṭaku*, (30-2), *bhaṭāraḷaku* (26-6), *Vinnaśarmmaḷaku*, 9th *Īśvarunaku*n (37-3); 10th *kāmpula*ku (50-3), *bhaṭāraḷaku*n (48-4), *Bhīmarājuna*ku Neut. 9th *Bejavāḍaku* (38-37).

With the augment na, on a base ending with u. Masc. 8th *kāmpuna*ku (33-8); 9th *Kārttikēyuna*ku (38-29); 10th *Cāḷukya Bhīmunaku*, *Vēgīśvarunaku*, *śaucakandarpuna*ku (44-2); Neut. 10th *upakāraṁbuna*ku (44-28), *dōsaṁbunaku* (44-81), *Bhīmarājuna*ku (48-6).

There are about ten examples where the vowel a of the obl. base preceding the suffix -kun is lengthened. The reason for the lengthening of the vowel is not known. Has this any symbolism, like expressing an intensive meaning? Masc. 7th *bhaṭāraḷāku* (11-10), *bhaṭāraḷāku*n (18-3), *mahārājulāku* (11-2); 8th *Īśvaruna*ku (26-13), *Mōrayāku* (30-2); UD. *lōṅkuḷāku* (91-6); Neut. 7th *dāyanāṁbuna*ku (16-12), *rakṣaṇāku* (10-5), *Vasantīśvaraṁbuna*ku (13-15).

kin

Masc. 7th *Īśērēnikin* (9-3), *Kāśyapa gōtriniki* (14-11), *Pālaśarmmaṛiki* (8-5), *pūllavaṭṭaṁbunavāriki* (13-9), 9th *Āditya-bhaṭāraniki* (39-5), *Komarasaṁvāriki* (38-7), *Bhaṭṭadēvaniki* (35-9), *rēnikin* (40-5); 10th *Kuruvabhaṭariki* (47-12); Fem. 7th *Śrīsatiki* (21-2); 8th *Kūcapōriki* (28-12); 10th *Bācavvariki* (48-6); Neut. 7th *mūṭiki* (10-6).

ponṭhe

Neut. 10th *parōpakārambu ponṭhē* (44-35).

The ablative case

The termination of the abl. case is 9th *uṇḍi*.

The postposition is added to a form ending in loc. -an, *cēbrōlan-uṇḍi*, (noun. *cēbrōlu*) (38-22).

The genitive case

The genitive or possessive case which expresses *sambandhārtha* may be formed variously. (1) It may be identical with the oblique base which is the same as the nominative (gen. meaning, then, is indicated by word order), or formed by the dropping of the masc. Sg. suffix or constituted of the inflectional increments a, i, ti, ṭi/ṇṭi; (2) It may be expressed by the case sign -kun, added to the oblique base; (3) It may be formed by the gen. inflection p-u substituting mbu/m(m)u of the nom.

A noun placed before another noun stands in the genitive or possessive relationship to the latter. Ex. 7th *Kāḍuvaṭṭi datti* (15-3); *bhūmidānambu palambu* (8-6); 8th *Druggādēvi nēlayu* (20-9), *Vēṅgi pāra* (26-13); 9th *Ayyaparāju tammunḍu* (39-11); *asvamēdhambu phaiambu* (38-19); *Kannarābhūpati vennu* (39-6); *bōya kottambul* (35-5); 10th *Koravi nalla mēleya koḍuku* (44-25); *tamayanna rājyaśrīki* (44-52); *guruvadoṅka lōpali nēla* (14-17).

Genitives formed by dropping the masc. sg. suffix: 8th *Śakavaiśravanu (koḍukul)* (27-6); 9th *vallabhu (kolpunan)* (39-6); 10th *Kusumāyudhu (pedda koḍuku)* (44-16).

Genitive formed of the inflectional increments:

a

Masc. 7th *Erikal mutturājulla (Kunḍikāllu)* (2-2); *Kunḍikāllula (iccina pannasa)* (2-11); *Kuruvadi ācarla* (4-1); *Cōlamahārājula (tēvuḷ)* (23-9); *Tloṁrūri raṭṭaguḷla anvayāmbunavāru* (11-13); 8th *Kūviya raṭṭola (patti)* (32-9); *Bāṇarājula (pāla)* (26-10); 9th *nūṭayenubonrra (iḍḍa samayambu)* (43-4). Neut. 7th *Erikalla (mutturāiu)* (12-1); 8th *Karigalla (vaḍavariki)* (25-1); *Vaṁganūrla (caruvaśarmma)* (31-2); 10th *Artirēvula*

(*Sannimitra Lōkēśvara bhaṭāralaku*) (48-3); UD. *indūla* (*tapa-sulaku*) (66-10); *Turummanūḍla* (*Bādeyya raṭṭoḍlu*) (65-13).

i
Masc. 7th *Paḷḷeyari* (*dāyanambunāku*) (16-12); 9th *Kāḍeya-gāri* (*koḍuku*) (37-6); Fem. 8th *Kūcapōriyāri* (*tāmbuḷ*) (28-8); Neut. 7th *Inpuḷōli* (*aṇapotulu*) (9-1); *Uruvutūri* (*bōḷa*) (20-10); *Cirumbūri* (*Rēvaṇakālu*) (1-6); *paḍumāri* (*kōṭan*) (10-7); 8th *ūri* (*svāmūḷ*) (25-1); 9th *Inmaḷūri* (*raṭōḍi kām̐pūḷu*) (34-6); *oṇḍu sōṭi* (*goragalu*); 10th *Kaḍapa paṇṇentilōni* (*Kāṭiceruvulu*) (48-4).

ti
In the place name ending with *parru*: 7th *Viripariti* (*kammari*) (13-20), *Vitparti uttarambuna* (10-6); 10th *peddha kalucuvu bariti* (*śāsanambu*) (46-1); in the place name ending with *kurru*; 10th *Mēlikur̐ti candiyanna* (50-7).

ṭi
With stems in *ḍ*, 7th *ēṇṭi* (10-3), *ēṭi* (19-6), *Paḷḷināṁṭi* (11-5); 9th *ēṇṭhi* (39-2); *Sōremaṭi* (*kayyambuna*) (41-8), (cf. *Sōravāḍi kayyambuna* 82-6); 10th *ēṇṭi* (47-10), *Pākanāṁṭi* (48-3). With a stem in *r* 8th *vayyēṭi* (*Mahānabhiḷ*) (25-9) (may be connected with *Vayyēru*, *ēru* 'river' is a place name ending).

ṇṭi
10th *Kariyakam̐ti* (*Vaidumba raṭṭoḍiyu*) (50-11) *kallu*, 'stone, rock' is a place name ending.

Genitive with *kun/kin* suffix

7th *vāriki* (*muṭḷu*) (11-9); 8th *Mattiśaku* (*tabunru*) (27-5), 8th *bhaṭāralaku* (*prathama saṁvatsarambu pravartilla*) (26-7).

Genitive with *pu* inflection

Miriyampu (*bōḷajaku*) (20-5), *kaṭṭepu durgambu* (35-7).

The locative case

The terminations of the loc. case are

7th-10th -an, -nan, -n, also 10th, ni; 7th andu; 9th lōn, lōnan.

The first one with its variants is always found with neut. nouns, -an after a consonant, and n, nan after a vowel. lōn may be connected with *uḷ* attested in Tam.; the retroflex is preserved in an undated inscr. in the form *kayyambuḷōna*.

an

7th *ūra* (22-8), *Tirpalūra* (22-8), *paḍumāri kōṭan* (10-6); 8th *Nayorra* (33-9), *Marralūra* (26-14); 9th *prōla (gala)* (38-15), *Bejavāḍan* (38-7), *Pottepi vīṭa* (48-3); 10th *paḍumaṭan* (47-15); UD. *ervvōka punnaman* (62-20), *Vaṇavrōla* (86-1); with the lengthening of a of the suffix *Muttukūrānu* (71-3); *Paḷaparāna* (71-5).

na (n)

7th *uttarambuna* (10-6), *puloṃbuna* (10-6), *Mlāvīṃḍīśvarambuna* (10-9), *rājyampunan* (15-2), *Vasantīśvarambuna* (13-8); 8th *Nidugaṭambuna* (31-3), *paṭṭanabuna* (25-1); 9th *īśānambuna* (39-12), *kayyambuna* (40-3), *Mudumaḍuvuna* (40-3), *pōṭuna* (40-4); 10th *uttarambuna* (47-16);

n

7th *lōkambun* (14-29); 8th *panin-a* (25-8) (a is emphatic particle); 10th *Śrīparvvatambun* (48-5). Occurrence of n with u stems is noteworthy; it may be a colloquial feature.

ni

10th *Bāraṅsini* (48-5); UD. *Kummarkuṅṭha nūyini* (62-14).

The form *Ujjayini* (*iccina pannavīsa* (in the loc.) is left without the loc. termination probably due to contamination of the stem final with the loc. ending.

andu

7th *ūḍlandu* (10-29).

lōn

9th *ājilōn* (39-7).

lōna, lōna

9th *bhūmilōna* (37-15), *kayyambuḷōna* (77-7).

FUNCTIONAL SYNCRETISM

The nominative is used instead of the accusative, the instrumental, the genitive and the locative in the OT. inscrr. There is an instance of the use of the loc. for the abl.

Nom. for acc. in regard to neut. nouns (which is usual in the language throughout).

Ex. 7th *Cirumbūru ēlan* (22-7); 8th *ūri stiti dappinavāru* (25-4); 9th (*Kaṭṭepu durggaṁbu gaḍu bayal sēsi Kaṇḍukur*) *Bejavāḍa gāviṅce* (35-7); *mogamāḍuv-amaraṅga Śrī yuddhamalluṇḍ ettiṁcen* (38-42); *dēvasvaṁbu laṅcāmbu goṅṅavānru* (42-1).

Nom. for instr.

7th *Asivairuvu likhitam* (7-8, 9-5), *Jontācaryya likhitam* (JAHRS XI-8). The passive form *likhitam* requires the agent in the instrumental cf. *Akṣaraḷalitācaryēṇa likhitam* (IA. XX-414). *pandumbu aḍrabatṭu rācamānambu Haṁguṅuvula Dēvaṇa yice* (21-3) *Bādirāj-ēnvānru rājamānambu mūnru vuṭṭu ārlapaṭṭu kṣētrambru paḷasi* (16-8) (= *rācamānambunan*, cf. 6-4, 28-14).

Nom. for loc.

7th (*vakrapalkinavāru*) *pancamahāpātakāmbu paḍu* (8-7); 9th *Bejeyēśvarāmbu galasanirvvahanambu sēsi* (37-10); *Acalapuramu soccen* (39-9).

Loc. for abl.

10th *Bhīmasalukiya-and-anēka vastu vāhanōtsavambul vaḍayucu* (44-54 to 56) (*Bhīmasalukiya-and-uṇḍi*).

Gen. *kāraka* peculiarities connected with the inflection -kun: Absence of the inflection where later language shows it regularly/optionally: 8th *Kāpibōḷa mutturāju acceruvuganu* (29-2); 9th *sēna paṭṭāmbu gaṭṭiṅci* (35-4), (= *sēnaku*); 9th *tana dharmmuv-oḍabaḍi* (38-45), (= *dharmmuvunaku*); UD. *amaralōkāmb-ēṅge* (78-3), *vīralōkāmb-ēge* (80-5, 85-10), *suralōkāmb-ēṅge* (90-10, 93-7). In the following example the use of the gen. kun is idiomatic, UD. *candrādityunru pasulaku poḍici* (76-3) 'candrāditya having fought for the sake of cattle', UD. *gaṇḍara Mutrāju . . . Kumulu kayyāmbuna boḍici paḍiye lōṅkuḷāku* (91-6) 'Gaṇḍara Mutrāju fell for (=fighting against) the lōṅkuḷas in the battle at -Kumulu'.

MIDDLE TELUGU

THE NOMINATIVE CASE

The nom. case is the stem itself with or without the gender suffix in the singular, with the pl. suffix in the plural.

We may recognise a nom. sg. case sign in *kūtu-ru* because *-ru* is dropped in nom. pl., *kūtu-lu* and the obl. case *kūtu-*, *kutu-la*. But this is the only instance of this kind that there must be some other explanation for the *r* element; and even here the regular Dr. principle shows itself when in later MT. (from 13th c.) the *r* persisted in the nom. pl. *kūtuṅḍru*, *kūturu-lu* and the obl. *kūturi-ni*, etc. Telugu grammarians beginning with ĀŚC. declare that *Nḍu*, *mu*, *vu*, *lu* are nom. case terminations, the first three of the nom. sg., and *lu* of the nom. pl. *ḍumulavaḥ prathamā syāt*. This description is obviously influenced by Skt. model. As explained above, *Nḍu* and *mu* are gender markers, *lu* is the pl. suffix, and *vu* is of glidic origin. ĀBB. gives illustrative forms of the nom. ending in *Nḍu* and *mu*, but not *vu* (V. 89, 91). Kāc. expressly states *Nḍu*, *mu* as the nom. endings; there is no mention of *vu* (9-97). Probably it is a later addition to the list of nom. endings recognised by grammarians.

THE OBLIQUE CASE

The case terminations in the oblique cases are added to the oblique base which is formed in the following manner.

The oblique base

1. The nom. itself, without any modification, serves as the obl. case by virtue of its position before another noun, Ex. *anna-nu*, *talli-ki*, *talli-pālu* 'mother's milk'. (2) The masc. sg. termination may be dropped *Rāmu-* (*Rāmūḍu*), *ballidu-* (*ballidūḍu*), but native words of the class of *magāḍu* (with *a* in stem final) do not form their obl. in this manner. (3) The obl. is formed of the inflectional increments *a*, *i*, *t* (attested in other Dr. languages, Tam. *mar-att-in*, *ad-an Kan. mara-d-a*. *t* in Telugu is found always with *i* i.e. *ti* and is restricted in its use to ntr. nouns; *ti* in sandhi with stem final *ḍ*, *r*, *l*, *n* > *ṭi*, Ex. *kāṭi-* (< **kāṭ-ti*, nom. *kāḍu*) *ēṭi-* (< **ēr-ti*, *ēru*), *paṅṭi* (< **pal-ti*), *kaṅṭi* (**kaṅ-ti*). Analogical extension of *ṭ* or *ṅṭi* is seen in large number of forms: *tolli-ṅṭi* beside *ton-ṭi*, *modali-ṅṭi* beside *modal-i*, *mada-ṭi*, *anni-ṭi*, *proddu-ṭi*, etc.

Telugu grammarians called *i*, (*ṅ*) *ṭi* and *ti* as *aupavibhaktika pratyayas* (inflectional increments), *-ni* and *-a* as *āgamas* in the obl. sg. and pl. respectively. But actually *a* is also an oblique

formative like *i*, and occurs in pl. nouns, Ex. *Rāmul-a*, *ceṭl-a*, very rarely in sg. as in the reflex pron. *tan-a*, (Pl. *tam-a*); *ni* is a complex of two suffixes, the old masc. ending *n+i*, as in *Rāma-n+i* > *Raman-i* > *Rāmun-i* analogically after nom. *Rāmunru* (< *Rāmanru*); *ni* comes to be secreted with the formation of the gender suffix *ṇḍu* in the nom. Thus nom. *Rāmu-ṇḍu*: acc. *Rāmu-ni*.

i: *cellel-i*, *kūtur-i* (from 13th c.) *cēn-i*, *kolan-i*, but a class of nouns *ḍōlu*, *tēlu*, *bōnu*, *mīnu* etc. do not take the inflection; in masc. nouns with gender suffix, *Rāmun-i* (< *Rāman-i*, from the old stem form *Rāman*, which subsequently developed into *Rāmaṇḍu* > *Rāmuṇḍu*).

ti: with *yi* stems, *nūti-* (*nūyi*), *gōti-* (*goyyi*), but some words like *kūyi*, *vrāyi* do not take the inflection; with *rru* stems: *ariti-* (*arru*), *koriti-* (*korru*).

For special devices of obl. base formation of the pronoun see section on Pronouns.

There have been changes in the historical period in the use of the inflectional increments *i* and (*ṇ*)*ṭi* while usage in regard to *ti* is fairly constant. Some words that did not take an inflection at an earlier period took one at a later period; or some which took an inflection formerly did not take it later on; in some instances the same stem took different inflections at different periods.

1. Words which were *an-aupavibhaktikas* in the older texts used as *aupavibhaktikas* in later ones, Ex. *mannu*: Ex. *vinayamuna drōṇu rūpu mannunan-amarci*, *minnu*: *minnunan-unḍi*; *sēpu*: *kondoka sēpunaku*; thus *akkada*, *ikkada*, *proddu*, *anta*, *inta*, *enta*. (ĀBŚ. śabda, 128-129).

2. Words which were *aupavibhaktikas* in the older texts used as *an-aupavibhaktikas* in later ones: Ex. *paṇṭi-* (*paṇḍu*): *āllō nērēṭipaṇṭi yākrṭi cūpen* (Kavika), *mārēṭipaṇṭikai*; *punṭi* (*punḍu*); *punṭipain-uppu*; *nērēti-* (*nērēḍu*): *nērēṭēti yasal* (Vasu). *venṭ-* (*vennu*); *venṭan* (Bhr.), now used as an indeclinable, 'in the wake'; *pātaṭi-* (*pātara*): *parigalan- ērinan goluṇḍu pātaṭikin galadē talam-pāgan* (U. Hari).

3. The same stems with either inflection: *nīri-* (*nīru*) (Bhr. 1-5-1966 *nīṭi-* also shown in two examples in Bhr. 3-3-46, 1-3-201);

(Kus. 1-95) *modal-i* (Bhr. 2-2-144) (SII. V, 1090, Ganj. 1123 A.D.), *modaliṭi* (2-2-202), *modaliṇṭi* (1-5-86). Thus double forms of the obl. exist for a good number in the literary dialect. Mdn. Tel. prefers forms with *ṭi*.

Sometimes an oblique genitive case form comes to be used as the stem in the nominative Ex. *vrēkaṭi*, pregnancy (*vrēgu* 'heaviness'); *okaṭi* 'one' (*okaṇḍu*); *kurti*, *cerla* (< *ceruvula*) in place names, Ex. *Gangalakurti*, *Mācerla*, *Cējerla*.

Case Terminations

The case terminations of the oblique cases fall into two classes: inflections — those which have no independent use in the language, and post-positions which are lexical items used in the meanings of the particular cases. Some of them have indeed become in course of time semi-inflectional in character.

The inflections are: acc. N, nuN: dat. kuN; gen. a, i, ti, ṭi, ṇṭi (identical with the obl. base formatives); loc. aN, naN, N. The instrumental and the ablative have no inflectional endings of their own. They are served by those of the locative.

The postpositions are: acc. *kūr̄ci/gur̄i(n)ci*; instr. *cētan̄/cēn̄, tōḍan̄/tōn̄, meyi-n, cēsi*; dat. *k-ayi, kora-ku, poṇṭe*; abl. *valan-an (> valla), k-aṇṭen, paṭṭi, n-uṇḍi n-unci*; gen. *yokka*; loc. *andu, lō-n, lōpal-an*.

Ketana's list of case endings consists of acc. N, instr. *cēta*, dat. *kai*, abl. *valana*, dat.-gen. *kiN/kuN*, gen. *yokka* and loc. *andu*; Peddana's list is expanded by the instr. *tōḍa*, dat. *koraku*, abl. *paṭṭi, uṇḍi, kaṇṭe*, and loc. *na*. It is significant that in *udāharana kāvya* (a type of devotional literature in which the *iṣṭadaiva* is eulogised in the seven cases, the case endings employed tally with those given in *ĀBB*. (see *Tripurāntakōdāharanam*, intro. p. 22). It is probable that in early grammatical tradition *tōḍa, koraku, paṭṭi, uṇḍi, kaṇṭe* and the loc. *na* — these had not received formal recognition as case markers.

ĀŚC's list agrees with that of *Kāc.* except for the addition of the variant *cē, tō*, in the instr. and *indu* in the loc., and the absence of *undi*. *Atharvaṇa* and *Ahōbala* expanded the list of postpositions further, but *Sūri* eschews all of them and keeps faithful to *ĀŚC*; it is evident he was trying to give the essentials of the structure

of Telugu grammar without going into details. PV. which is expressly a detailed treatment over BV. supplied gurīci, cēsi, tōḍuta, poṅṭe, unḍi.

ON THE INFLECTIONAL TERMINATIONS

ACCUSATIVE

N, nuN:

The latter is but an extended form of N, cf. the acc. pronoun: *nan*, *nan-nu*, *nan-nuN*. Corresponding terminations in other Dr. are Tam. ai, Mal. e. Kan. annu; other languages show mostly a nasal. Traditional grammarians assigning N to the acc. point out its use in the instr. abl. and loc. under functional syncretism. Here one could see that the acc. N in its distribution and meaningful situation is different from that of N in the other three cases — N is used with all nouns irrespective of gender or stem ending in the acc. Ex. *aḡaja-nu*, *guruvu-nu*, *Harini*; it is used only with inanimates, with i stems, in the instr. abl. loc. *aḍavi-n*. These three cases viz. instr. abl. loc. are closely related in meaning (recognised by Peddana Kāc. 9-45) such as is not seen between the three on the one hand and the accusative on the other. For these reasons N is shown twice in the list of suffixes — for the acc. and for the loc. separately as probably having different origins. There is no doubt that N along with aN, naN primarily belong to the loc. and that its usage in the instr. and the abl. is secondary.

DATIVE

kuN is one of the few case signs which appears in substantially the same form in a number of Dr. languages: Ta. ku kku; Old Kan. ke/ge, Mod. Kan. kke/ge; Tulu ku/gu; Tuda. k/g; Kurukh. ge; Brahui ki. Note that the Telugu form ends in (druta) nasal which is not found in any of the other languages. Ketana in the 13th c. gives kun as the dat.-gen. suffix (ĀBB. V. 85) but subsequent grammarians including Peddana assigned it to the genitive. perhaps cause the post-positions kai (-ku+avi) and koraku (kora+ku), reinforced by ku to express *sampradānārtha* had come to be recognised by their time leaving kun to be appropriated to the gen. But kuN occurs mostly as a *kāraka vibhakti* and rarely in *sambandhārtha*. For instance the frequency of occurrence of kuN in Kus. is over 900, its use in Sambandhārtha is

just in about 11 — (1-53, 53, 54, 69, 2-27, 7-11, 129, 129, 135, 135, 10-157). This must be borne in mind while treating *ku* as the gen. sign. Another peculiarity with it is that it is capable of expressing the meanings of all the other obl. cases as well — the acc. instr. dat. abl. and loc. The situation is about the same in Tamil. (see under functional syncretism). It thus carries the heaviest burden of syntactical relationship. *na* comes in as augment after *u*, Ex. *Rāmu-na-ku*, *vidhātr-na-ku* (= *vidhātru-*), but exceptions occur by way of absence of this augment, more commonly after the *kavitraya*, *utsavamuk-ēgedu kriya* (U. Hari. 6-140), *nisadhēndru baccukun* (Nais. 6-115), *nī tūpuk-ōrvaka* (Kavi-Ra.). There are also Ex. in *Na* and *Ti*. rarely, *madhyamu mahōgra śarambulu tākuk-ōrvaka* (Bhr. 3-4-12, but with a variant reading), *nā vikramamuku vēla peṭṭed-ēri* (Nir. Rā.).

LOCATIVE

aN, naN, N:

These suffixes occur with inanimate nouns, the first after a consonant, the others after a vowel, naN on *u* stems and N on *a* and *i* stems. These forms, with identical distribution, occur in the inscr. and the abl. It is suggested that aN, the primary form of these three variants may be derived from 'al' a word denoting place (AOR. VI-2, p. 30). In compound formations, the loc. marker is *na* (without the druta of the loc. case ending), Ex. *vāraṇāvata munavāru* 'those in vāraṇāvata'. It has also the genitival and the adjectival signification; in such cases the gen. meaning flows from that of the loc. (See p. 57)

The use of *kai*, *koraku* has become so common that *kuN* without these help-words appears to us now weak to express the dat. meaning; observe the following usages in Bhr. *nīv-Arjunu pālikaruḡumu nākun* (drōṇa. 3-296), *tammūḍu nāk-etti pōye* (Bhr. 1-13) (= *nākoraku*).

ON THE POST-POSITIONS

Acc. *kūrci* and *guri(n)ci* are the past. part. forms respectively of the verbs *kūḍu* 'to join together' and *guri(n)cu* 'to aim', noun *guri* 'aim', Tam. *kurittu*. These post-positions are added to forms already ending in the accusative. Nannaya used *gurīci* (HTL. 1385) and Nanni. neither.

Instr. *cētan/cēn*, *tōḍan/tōn* and *meyin* are the loc. case forms respectively of *cēyi* 'hand', *tōḍu* 'company' and *meyi* 'body'. *cēsi* is the past. part. of *cēyu* 'to do'; it is added to a form already ending in the instr.

Dat. *kai* (*ku+ayi*), *ayi* is the past. part. of *agu* 'to become' added to a form ending in the dative *-ku*. The sound complex *k-ayi* in course of time came to be regarded as the case-ending. *Rāmunik-ayi* > *Rāmuni-kayi/Ramunikai*. Nannaya was conscious of the composite structure of the form, for he used *kai* in *svara-yati* taking only the vowel into account, Ex. *anagha mā māma Śakuni nāk-ai kaḍangi* (Bhr. 2-2-14). *koraku* the dat. case form of *koṛa* 'use' does not occur in Na. and Nanni, but occurs in texts belonging to 13th C. onwards. *poṇṭe* 'for the sake of', 'on account of' may be connected with Tam. *poruṭṭu* 'for the sake of', *poruḷ* 'thing, matter', Kan. *puruḷ* 'fitness'. This post-position is not used in *sampradānārtha*. We say *vānik-iccenu*, *vānikoṛak-iccenu*, but not *vānipōṇṭe-y-iccenu*.

Abl. *valanan* is the loc. of *valanu* 'direction, side'. *kaṇṭen* = *-ku+añṭi-ēn* 'if you (sg.) said', (2 sg. past verb of *anu* to say, and the conditional suffix); *kannan* = *ku+annan*, conditional for of *anu*, 'if said'; *paṭṭi* is the past. part. of *paṭṭu* 'to hold'. It is added to a word already ending in the loc. case forms of stems in the older texts, (ĀBŚ. *kāraka*. 43), to the acc. case forms in later ones. *uṇḍi* is the past part. of *uṇḍu* 'to be, to remain'; it is added to a word already ending in the loc., *dānān-uṇḍi*, *ceṭṭun-uṇḍi* by wrong analysis *nuṇḍi* came to be regarded as the post-position and extended to other forms ending in the oblique, *dāni-nuṇḍi*, *ceṭṭu-nuṇḍi* 'from the tree' and *uṇḍi* comes to be regarded as added to acc. forms, *dānin-uṇḍi*, thus *nin-n-uṇḍi*, *nin-nuṇḍi vīni rūpamu ganṇulā jūḍangā galige* (Ani. 2-137) (cf. Mdn. Tel. *nunci* with a similar development, *n+unci*, past. part. of *uncu* (trans. of *uṇḍu*) 'to cause to remain'). *kōlen* is used with words denoting time and distance.

Gen. *yokka*, may be connected with *okka* 'single', *okk-ummaḍi* 'all on a sudden', Ma. *okkuka* 'to be together'. Initial *y* developed as glide in sandhi and incorporated in the word. It is referred to by ĀBB (V. 83) and ĀŚC. (*ajanta-2*), though extremely rare in literature Ex. *nī yokka sangati* (Pan. Ca.). It is used more commonly in the *vigraha vākya* (ĀBŚ. *kāraka*. 44).

Loc. andu is a word meaning 'in that place, place'. ĀŚC. considers indu along with andu as loc. suffix but this is not tenable. lōN, lōpalaN are the loc. case forms of lō and lōpal- 'in, inside'. ĀŚC. and other grammars of this tradition consider these as the genitive terminations because they are used in *nīrdhāraṇārtha* which is one of the meanings in which the genitive case is used in Sanskrit, Ex. *gōvulalō kapila bahukṣīra*. ĀBB. does not mention this post position. Kāc. gives it under gen. (9-97).

The post positions are thus originally independent words and have been used as such in the older texts; they are reduced to mere case markers in course of time by the force of usage in the meanings of the respective cases. The abl. paṭṭi and the loc. andu, lōN, lōpalaN, however, preserve their identity and remain as free forms while doing duty for the cases, even till the modern period.

Use of post-positional forms as independent words Ex. acc. *gurici*, separated from the acc. word with which it is connected: *abjāsanūdu tannun-arthitō gurici yajincuṭa gōri sṛjince surala* (Hari. pū. 1); *tōḍa: stambhagata-ratnaputrika tanadu bōṭi yani vilōkinci tōḍa māṭāḍakuniki nalugaḍalu cūci telisi yacceluva bedari* (Rāmā. 4) (PV. Kāraka 7); *valanaN: -cūḍan ī mudita valanā gāma bhōgābhilāṣaya kaliginadiya* (Kus. 7-15); *andu: atithivai vacci nīvu māyandu guḍici* (Bhr. ara.), *māyandu kṛta-bhōjanuṇḍavai pommū* (sabhā).

One must remember that grammars only give an indication of the more common post-positions, and that there may be more of them in usage at any time, unlike the inflectional terminations, Ex. in the instr. *kēkaya sutānucārikala-baḍin* (Bhr. virā. 1-306) (=tō), *nīnu kanugonā-baḍasi* (Udyō, 4-306) (*kanugonuṭa cēta*); in the dat. *kān - infin. of the auxiliary agu* with *kuN: aḍugumu nīkūgān-ani sēyut-okkaṭi dakkanga* (Bhīṣ. 1-157), *nī tadarthambulai nikhila vēḍambulu vardhillu* (2?1-275); in the abi. *nī kṛtamuna (=nī valana) gauravānvayam-akilbiṣakīrti brakāśitambagun* (3-1-51), *nī katamuna (=nī valana) nā dāsyamu prākāṭamugā bāyun* (1-2-50); the loc. post positions *lōn. lōplan* are words denoting place, and there is no reason why similar words (with shades of meaning like *krindan, mīdan, velupalan, bayātan, daggaran, prakkan, pain, oddan*, should not be regarded as loc. post-positions. Caldwell has rightly pointed out that 'the imitation of Sanskrit in this particular was certainly an error, for whilst in Sanskrit there are eight cases only, the number of cases in

Tamil, Telugu etc., is almost indefinite. Every postposition annexed to a noun constitutes, properly speaking, a new case; and therefore the number of cases depends upon the requirements of the speaker and the different shades of meaning he wishes to express' (CGD. p. 254).

Use of the inflections: Examples

Acc. N: *rājya bhāramb-antayu Bharatum-būnci* (Bhr. 1-4-109) *Dhūrjati nīḷḷun mōpince*, *Viṣṇū basulā gāpincenu* (Kuś. 4-25), *bhakta sabhābhayantarālamuna ninnū jeppanga vini* (Ba. Pu.) *gurici: ambuja sambhavugurici bhaktitōḍa ghōratapamu sēyucunna* (Bhr. 1-7-23).

Instr. N: with neut. i stems *dānaguṇābhīratin*; aN: *paṇṭan*, naN. *āśritapōṣanambunan*, also with animate-irrational noun *ēnūgunan-ērūgu vaicucu* (Bhās. Rā. yuddha. 977), (PV. kār. 17), an isolated instance *cēsi*; *ēka-vipra sambōdhanā-jēsi* (Bhr.); *cētan*, cēn: *Brahmacētan-anujnātunḍai*, *paramātmunicēn*; *tōḍan*, tōn: *kōlacōḍan-gūlan-ēse* (*karaṇārtha*), *rāju sēnalotōḍa vacce* (*sahārtha*), *caitrunitōḍa Maitrunḍu tulyunḍu* (*tulyārtha*), *Rāmakṛṣṇulu Sāndīpuni tōḍa vēdambulā jadiviri* (*upayōgārtha* i.e. study with a guru, BV. kār. 7) *tōḍutan: pagatura cētilō baḍaka prāṇamu tōḍutan- unnavāḍavē* (Bhag. 10) (*sahārtha*) *bāhubalambutō gaḍāgi pārthuni dākeḍu buddhi* (Bhr. virā. 5-218) (*hētvartha*), *surasiddha tapaścaryalu nā tapamutōḍa sarigāv-aṅṭin* (1-3-216). *meyin*, main: *andarū gūḍi mōsalakun-arthi meyin janudenci* (Ni. Ra. 2), *muktikunmukhamu vahimpāgā valayu mōhamu bāyagā drōci bhaktimain* (PV. kāra.)

Dat. kai: *baḍarunakai navayan-ēmipraḷayamu vaccen* (Kus. 7-39), *koraku: cēyukoraku, gurunaku, guruniki*, *poṇṭen: kārya samprayōgamupoṇṭen* (Bhr. 2-1-27).

Abl. N: *Khāṇḍavambun veluvaḍa nēraka* (Bhr. 1-8-290), *gṛhamunu veḍalenu*, aN: *oḍalan veluvaḍi* (Bhr. 3-2-179), *Vipraśāpanimittambunan* (Bhr. 1-1-48), *garuḍani vinatanu banulu gonucunna* (Bhr. 1-2-48). The forms may be construed as abl. with the loc. (rather than the acc.) suffix. *valana*N: occurs in connection with words denoting meanings as (BV. kāraka. 9) *apāyarājyambuvalana bhraṣṭūḍayye*, *bhaya - cāruni-valana bhayapāḍiye*, *jugupsa - pāpambuvalanan ēvagince*; *parājaya - adhyayanamu valana ḍasse*; *pramāda - pāḍivalanan barāku vaḍiye*; *grahaṇa - Maitruni valana dhanambu goniye*; *bhavana - Manuvu valanan*

*orajalu paṭṭiri; trāṇa - cōrunivalanan gāce; virāma - bhōgambula-
vaiana vramance; antardhi: Kṛṣṇuṇḍu tallivalana ḍāge; vāraṇa:
sokamuvaiuna varince. valla (< valana): puṇyapāpamulu sēṣa-
muvaiyan (Bhag. V-1-161) calimala vallan-ullasilu calladanambu
(Manu. 2-10), kaṇṭen: ella dharmambula kaṇṭen gulambu nilu-
puṭa mikkili dharmambu (Bhr.), with the augment na: tatkratu
śatambunakaṇṭe sutuṇḍu mēlu (Bhr. 1-4-93; kannan: prāṇambu
nilupu kannā dharmambu galadē (Pāṇḍu 4-160); paṭṭi: with loc.
forms of nouns: pedda kālambunam baṭṭi; with acc. jnānamumbatti
mōkṣamu, nīvu vaccuṭam baṭṭi dhanyūdan-ayitini. It is also used
with infin. verb in hētvartha, Ex. eṭṭu samakūru vīrikin-ī prabhā-
vam-īvu galugangabaṭṭ kāk-induvadana (Kāśī. 3); uṇḍi: ākāśambu-
nan-uṇḍi, Himagirin-uṇḍi Himagiriy-and-uṇḍi, Himagirilōn-uṇḍi
nīri-lōnan-uṇḍi (Bhr. 3-3-122), with obl. stem, nann-uṇḍi yī vetal-
andavalase (Rādhikā. 3-70); unci: kānci yammantri yaccōṭan-unci
vacce (Kṛ. vija. 4-26) (See, BKS. p. 194); kōlen: nāṭan-gōle (Bhr.
1-2-20), yōjanambunan gōle (1-3-41).*

Loc. N: with neut. stems, and a in *i aḍavi-n ēmi rōsed aniri; mātangamul-abhirāmam-ayye tad vanabhūmin* (Kus. 1-83); *ceṛa-n
beṭṭu*, with other vowel stems: *andu-n* 'in that place', *lō-n* 'inside';
with the force of the dat. *valasinapani bampumu* (Bhāsk. bāla. 416,
HTL. p. 1106).

aN: occurs with *aupavibhaktika śabdās, ūr-an-, iṇṭ-an, vāt-an*,
and with 1 plurals *jalambul-an*.

naN: occurs after a vowel *Tenungunan* (*mahābhārata samhitā
racana bandhurūdayye*) (Bhr. 1-1-26).

THE VOCATIVE CASE

The voc. is formed in the following manner. (1) Lengthening
of the stem final vowel, Ex. *Vidhātā, Sītā, Harī; Śambhū*; also with-
out vl. length in the literary dialect, *Vidhāta, Sīta*, etc. (2) Some
u endings including those with the masc. suffix add a *Rāmūḍā;*
mahārājā, daivamā also without vl. length in the lit. dia. *Rāmūḍa*
etc. *māya daivama yēn-ēmi sēyudāna* (Bhr. virā. 2-62). (3) Masc. a
stems from Skt. lengthen the final vowel of the stem form without
adding the gender suffix, *Rāmā*, optionally in the lit. dial. *Rāma*.

The voc. forms may add some suffixial elements: (1) with
nouns in the plural *ārā*, optionally *āra* without vowel length or
even without the voc. suffix sometimes, Ex. *rakkasulu manujula
dinak-uṇḍūḍu* (Bhr. 1-4-304) *vinūḍu prasiddhulaina pṛthivīpatul*

andaru (1-4-185). (2) With Sg. nouns. Fem. *kāna*: *tallikāna* (Naiṣa. 7) *mā sāmānikāna* (Sā. 1), rarely with *tatsama*, *pāpajātikāna*, *kā* in the sense of *kāna* in Ba. pu. *pāpikā* (3) *rō*: *kamala dalāksirō vinavugā kalayokkaṭi gaṇṭi vēkuvan* (Prabhā. 1), *rama-ṇirō! bhṛtyul-andun-aparādhamu galgina nāyakul svapakṣamu dalapōsi yugratarā śāsanamum degi cēyaru* (Bhāg. 4). The suffix is also found used with masc. nouns in the works of Palkuriki Somanatha, *Basavarō*, *Vīrabhadrayyarō*, *dēvarō*, *vīr-evvarayyarō*, and in more recent ones as *annarō* (Acc. Rā V. 25, 90); (4) *ala*, with masc. and fem. nouns. *selavula lālalu doragangan-annalā-yani yoralun* (V. Hari. 4-30), *akkala kanyakātvaṃ-iṭul āraḍivōvan-akāraṇamba nīk-ekkaḍi cūlu vacce* (Nir Rā. 2-24).

The following forms are used before the noun in the voc. both the Sg. and the Pl. *ō Rāma*, *o Rāmūḍa*, *o Rāmulāra*. This may be separated from the noun with which it is connected by an intervening word/words, *ō vinuvīdhin-unna khacarōttamulāra* (Vira. 2-125). *o tōyajunētru gāmcina vadhūmaṇi* (vi. vi. 3-125) (2) *ōri*, *ōyi* - with masc. nouns towards inferiors and inmate persons, *ōri dustūḍa*, *ōri cinnikṛṣṇa*, *ōri duṣṭaniśātulāra*, *ōyi Rāmūḍa*, *ōyi vivra-kulāvataṃsa*; (3) *ōsi* with fem. sg. nouns *ōsi duṣṭurāla*, *ōsi muḍḍu-hāla*.

FUNCTIONAL SYNCRETISM

THE NOMINATIVE

Nom. for acc.: -in regard to inanimate nouns (BV. Kār. 24), *vāḍu pūvulu deccē* 'he brought flowers' (= *pūvulanu decce*); in regard to animate nouns - irrationals, (P.V. kār. 19), *anilajavaṃ bunam baracun-a-mmada-nāgam-edirci* (Bhr. 1-4-207) (= *ammada-nāgamun-edirci*); *tana vāraṇēndram-akkuru-kula-vīru mīdan-esakolpina* (Bhr. āra. 6-228) (= *tana vāraṇēndramunu*); *tat kratu hayōttamam-okkeḍa gaṭṭābampucun* (Jai. Bhr. 5-173) (= *kratu-hayōttamamunu*).

For instr.: in regard to inanimates, (BV. kār. 21) *vāru sukham unnāru*, (= *sukhamutōn unnāru*), *vigata-rōṣūḍavai sukham-unḍum-inka* (Bhr. 1-7-129).

For dat. (HTL. p. 1106) *narapati kāryam-ēgeda* (Bhās. Rā. Sund. 50) (= *kāryamunakai*), *kālambu vēcedanu jayamunakun* (Bhr. udyō. 1-175) cf. *bhavad-āgamanambu vārci niyatavṛttin-unna-vāḍa* (Bhr. śān. 6).

For abl. *tēru diggi* (Nirv. Rā. 9-69) (HTL. p. 1106).

For gen. (-kun) *duṣṭōraga saṁhāramippuḍ-odābaḍavalasen* (Bhr. 1-2-137) (= *saṁhāramunaku*), *prāṇam-āsapadaka yōpinantayu benāguduru* (udyō. 4-264).

For loc., in regard to inanimates, (PV. kār. 20), *janayitri ciccūrikina*. (Jai. Bhr. 8-36), *ciccunand-urikina*) *līla pērōlagam bunna nīlavaru* (U. Hari. 4-141) (*pērōlagambunan-unna*); *bhūti sarvāṅgamul pūyucō* (Ba. pu.) *sarvāṅgambula-yandu*, *korula beṭṭiti nīvu nī ciruta -kālamu*, *tatphalam-ippuḍ-anubhavinciti* (1-4-270) (*cirutakālamu-nan*).

Comment: The nominative is used for the accusative in the case of inanimate nouns. And no confusion in meaning will arise because a neuter noun cannot act of itself; it is acted upon by others. The use of the nom. for the acc. is found also with animate nouns—of the category of irrational beings. Examples are rare in the literary dialect, but nevertheless they do occur, similarly in Mdn. Tel. *gurrām kaṭṭ-ēy* 'tie the horse (as to a pole)' (= *gurrānni kaṭṭ-ēy*). Here context helps out the meaning.

The use of the nom. for loc. is also common enough.

The examples given under nom. for instr. may more properly be construed as adverbial usages, *vāru sukham unnāru* is the older usage; the Tel. idiom is to say *sukhamugān unnāru*, not *sukhamutōn-unnāru* which is a translation from Skt. *sukhēna vartantē*. Instances given under the other cases are actually idiomatically used verb compounds.

ACCUSATIVE

For nom. (PV. 4) *ivvidhamun-ānanamul* (Nir. Ra. 4-87).

(= *ivvidhamu*) sanction for this usage is said to be contained in the ĀSC. sutra *itaratra-ca dvitīyā*.

Comment: Here n is not the acc. sign, but an augment—by contamination with aor. adj.; note that this is an isolated example of its kind—significantly enough.

For instr., abl., loc. (BV. 21, 22, PV. 11, 18).

Comment: ACC. N occurs, with all nouns animate and inanimate without reservation. Loc. suffix variants N, naN and

N occur with inanimate nouns only—N, naN after a vowel (N on a and i stems and naN on u stems) and aN after a consonant (with aupaviḥaktika śabdās in the Sg. with l suffix in the pl.) The distribution of these suffixes, then, results, in identical forms in the acc, loc, in (1) ntr. singular of a and i stems, (2) ntr. plurals in l; it results in distinctive forms in (1) Sg. aupaviḥaktika śabdās (cf. BV. āch. 38, PV. sab. 106) Ex. loc. *ūr-aN*, *iṅṭ-aN*, *arut-aN*: acc. *ūri-N*, *iṅṭi-N*, *ariti-N*, (2) Sg. neut. u stems, Ex. loc. *gṛhamu-naN*: acc. *gṛhamu-N*.

naN and aN which derived distinctive loc. forms in the Sg. were recognised by the grammarians as loc. suffixes, whereas N locatives in Sg. and aN locatives in the pl. (Ex. *manujul-aN*, cf. acc. *manujula-N*) were regarded as ending in the acc. So there is said to be a syncretism of cases in these instances.

In Na. the loc. of u stems seems to be regularly formed with the suffix naN, (forms like *vanambu-n-unḍi* (1-4-61) *śākhāgramu-n-unḍi* (1-6-118) *garbhamu-n-unḍi* (1-7-126) in the concordance, have alternative readings in some other editions of the printed text as *vanambu-nan-unḍi*, *śākhāgramu-nan-unḍi*, and *garbhamunan-unḍi*), but in later texts N came to be used with u stems as well, and the area of syncretism of cases became extended. So we get forms like *vanamun-unḍi vaccenu* for the older *vanamunan-unḍi vaccenu*, and still later with the secretion of *nunḍi*, it is regarded as added to the nom. form, *vanamu-nunḍi vaccenu*. cf. *parēṣ-unḍyādi śabdēsu saptam-ādyē vibhaktayaḥ, kvacin-nityāḥ kvacidvā-syur-ahō tāsām prakāritā* (Akā. ajanta. 82).

GENITIVE — KUN

For Acc.: *ciramuga Brahmakun dapamu cēsi* (Bhr. 1-2-138) (= *Brahmanu gūrci*).

For Acc.: *ciramuga Brahmakun dapamu cēsi* (Bhr. 1-2-138) (1-3-135) (= *nīcēn-ārādhyanu*); *nīku viṣam-āṅgi mukhambuna mārkonanga n-ōparu narul-evvarun Harik-ibhambulu mārkonun-ayya* (3-4-88) (*nītō mārkonan-ōparu, haritō mārkonun-ayya*).

For abl.: *viluviḍyan-orulu nīk-aggalamuga lēkunḍan* (1-5-239) (*nīkanṭen-aggalamuga*); *sakala duritambulaku dolagintu ninnu* (Bhīṣ. 1-224) (*duritambulan-unḍi*).

For loc.: *kōmali nīk- anurakta* (3-2-216) (= *nīyand-anurakta*),
i pāndityamu nīku dakka mari yendē gaṅṅimē (Manu. 2-6)
 (= *nīyandu dakka-*).

The use of *kun* in dat. *sampradānārtha* is common and its use in the gen. *sambandhārtha* (Ex. *Hima-nagādhiśvarunakun-uttama caritra Mēnakakū butri* (Kus. 7-11) is referred to already.

Comment: The corresponding suffix in Tam. is capable of being used similarly in the different obl. cases, Ex. instr. *vāyāl takkatu, vāycku-t-takkatu*; abl. *avanin ivan periyān, avanukku ivan periyān*; gen. *yānai-atu kōṭu kuritu, yānaikku k-kōṭu kuritu*; loc. *māriyul vantān, mārikku vantān* (DBP. p. 474).

Usage in regard to the suffix *kuN* has undergone substantial change in course of time:

(1) Some verbs which governed the gen. in the older texts (as Ex. of Na. and Nanni.) govern the acc. in the later language
 Ex. *anugrahincu: Paṣyunaḥ - anugrahinci* (Bhr. 1-1-101),
eduru: sura-nara-phāṇi-divij-ādhipatulu nāk-edurudarē (Kus. 4-46);
karuṇincu: giripatikin-ammunipati garuṇinci (3-83),
parivēṣṭincu: dāksāyaṇikin...śivagaṇikā sahasrambu parivēṣṭinci
 (2-16),
pratighaṭincu: dhananāthunḍu danujanāyakunakum bratighaṭinci nilcina (12-19),
mārkonu: harik-ibhamulu mārkonun-ayya yeyyeḍan (Bhr. 3-4-88).

(2) Some verbs governed the gen. and the acc. optionally in the early texts whereas they governed mostly the acc. in the later language.
 Ex. *ākṣēpincu: gen. tad-gīrvāṇa-nadī-jalaughamulak-ākṣēpinci* (Kus. 8-107),
acc. Gaurin-ākṣēpincucu (7-42);
ūrū: gen. Rudrunak-ūraka (4-67),
acc. Haru-lōcan-āgnin-urāḍu (10-162);
eyidu: gen. Paramēśun-eyidanēramikin (6-145),
acc. ugrun-eyida dāḍav-eddi (5-88);
pāyu: and-iccina biḍḍa manaku bāsenani- yunḍūḍu (2-4),
acc. ninnun bāsi jīvintunē nimusamaina (5-63);
balayu: maḍagandhamunakun dummeda piṇḍu sūrela balasi (1-80)
acc. karam-arthitō dannu balasi kolici naḍava (7-36);
meccu: nijajanaku mahatva-vibhutvambulaku meccucu (2-18),
acc. ā himavannaḡambu kāncanādrīndru meccadu (3-9).

In Mdn. Telugu in such contexts where either the gen. or the acc. may be used there is a shade of difference in meaning. In the acc. construction the object gains importance; in the gen., the verbal sense. Ex. *dāniki sahinci ūrukunnāḍu, dānini sahinci*

ūrukunnāḍu. Possibly this difference in meaning existed as between the two constructions even in MT., cf. *avvibhun gaṭṭeda paṭṭamu* (Bhr. virā. 1-27) where the emphasis is on the object word.

(3) Words that were used without *-kun* in Na. are used in the later language with this inflection, Ex. *aṭa, iṭa, eṭa: rājul-iṭa-yevvaru vaccinavāru lēru* (Bhr. 3-2-184), *eṭayēniyun bōyeda* (3-2-77). Similarly *ekkaḍa; ekkadaṁ gadalanērak-unnavāḍa* (3-2-125), *ikkada: nīv-ikkada yētencuṭa viṇṭi* (Karna. 3-46) *nēḍu mūnnāḷan-uṇḍi* (Manu).

Sometimes the reason for the *kāraka* in the early text appearing strangely different from that of the later language is (1) what were principal verbs at one time later came to be reduced to mere auxiliaries. Ex. *canu: nīk-iṭlu pō-janne bhāvajanma* (Kus. 5-65) (= *iṭlu pōn nīku-canne*) *valayu: saptavyasana vyāpāramul-uḍuga valayu vasudhēśunakun* (10-84) (= *-uḍugan vasudhēśunaku valayu*). (2) What were capable of trans. use at one time later came to be only intrans. verbs, Ex. **kal: adi vaḍi galadu manasukante gāḍpukante* (later Tel. *dāniki vaḍi kaladu*). (3) Verbal roots were sometimes used in the reflexive without an overt marker in the early texts, Ex. *vēḷḷatōḍuta kalpavṛkṣamul verikincukonipōyi tanak-upavanamu sēse* (4-11) (later Tel. *tanak-upavanamu cēsikonīye*).

Sometimes the *kāraka* is modelled on Skt., and one can see it clearly comparing the Skt. originals (See Nannaya Telugu, Bharati). Ex. *rājyambunandu samarpincina* (Bhr. 2-2-267) (Skt. *rājyē nivēśya*); *idi nāku dolli variyimpambadina bhārya* (1-1-131) (cf. Skt. *madartham kanyām vṛṇādhvam*—the *kāraka* has an allusion to the ancient practice of choosing a bride through an intermediary).

NEW TELUGU

The case endings

The case endings in the different cases are: Nom. Ø; Inflections: Acc. *nu* (variant *ni*), Dat. *ku* (variant *ki*), Gen. *a, i, ti, ṭi, ṇti*, Loc. *na, ā* (< *aN*); post-positions: *gurinci, cēta, cē, tōḍa, tō, kōsamu* (variant *kōsaramu*), *kai* and *koraku* (dial.) *valana* (variants *valna, valla*), *kaṇṭe, kannu, paṭṭi, n-uṇḍi, n-unci, yokka, lō, lōpala, andu*; and there are many others which one could add,

like *pai*, *mīda dvārā*, *guṇḍā* etc. used in the various oblique case meanings.

The oblique base

The oblique base may be identical with the nom. or constituted of the inflections *a*, *i*, *ti*, *ṭi*, *ṇṭi*. Formation of the oblique base by the dropping of the masc. gender suffix as *Rāmu-ceta*, *valana* etc. is not an active principle in NT. The inflection *a* regularly occurs with plural nouns, *Rāmul-a*, *vāḷḷ-a*; *i* occurs with singular nouns, and plurals in *r*, *Rāmūḍi*, *kūtur-i*, *vār-i*; *ti*, *ṭi* and *ṇṭi* with singulars, *nū-ti* (*nuyi*), *ē-ṭi* (*ēru*), *kaṇ-ṭi* (*kannu*), *anni-ṭi/anni-ṇṭi* (*anni*). There are instances in late Middle Telugu for obl. base forms in masc.-ḍi, Ex. *Janārdanuḍini pratiṣṭa cēsi* (NI. I-Darsi, 37, 1533 A.D.).

The oblique cases

Acc. *ni* with *i* stems, *Hari-ni*, *strī-ni*; *nu*, *ni* with other stems *vāḷḷa-ni*, *vāḷḷa-nu*, *vāṇḍla-nu* (dial.), Dat. *ku* and *ki* have a similar distribution, loc. *mārgā-na* 'in the way', *dāri-poḍugunā* 'throughout in the way' (<nan) *dānā*, *dīnā* 'in that manner and in this'.

The post-positions are used with the obl. stem except *paṭṭi* which is added to the acc. case form of the noun *dānini paṭṭi* 'by/from that', or to the verbal noun *ceyyaḍam paṭṭi* 'by doing', 'depending on the work', or with the infinitive which has the force of a verbal noun *ceyya paṭṭi* 'because of doing'. *yokka* is infrequent and is used in emphatic statements.

Some typical noun stems by way of illustration: Nom. *Rāmūḍu* - obl.-gen. *Rāmūḍi*, -Acc. *Rāmuṇṇi*: *gurram - gurram - gurrānni*; *illu- iṇṭi - iṇṭini*; *neyyi - nēti - nētini*; *anni- anniṭi/anniṇṭi - anniṭini/anniṇṭini*.

The vocative case

It is formed by lengthening the stem final vowel, *Sītā*, *Rāmūḍū*, *Harī*, or by adding *a* to tats. -masc. nouns *Rāmūḍ-ā*, *mahārāj-ā*, by the dropping of the final syllable *ḍu* of *-gāḍu* as in *Gōpigā*; by the addition of suffixes - *kānā* in fem. sg. -endearment, *lanjakāna*, *dongakānā*; *ārā* in the plural, *sabhāsadul-ārā*. *ō* is used as a prefixal element *ō Ramūḍu*, *ō Ramūḍā*, *ō pillalu*. In addressing inferiors and intimate persons the following forms are used: masc. *ēy*, *ōri*, or-*ēy*; fem. *ēy*, *ōsi*, (intimately, within family circles) *os-ēy*, *os-ēv*.

PRONOUNS

There are four main classes of pronouns in the language: (1) Personal, (2) Reflexive, (3) Demonstrative and (4) Interrogative. The personal pronouns consist of the first and second persons. The remote demonstrative pronoun is used as the pronoun of the third person.

The pronouns of the first and second persons and reflexive pronoun do not vary for gender. The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns which are formed by the addition of gender suffixes to the demonstrative and interrogative bases show gender distinction.

The demonstrative bases are *ā* the remote, *ī* the proximate and *ū* the intermediate. The interrogative base is *ē*. The vowels occur short before a geminate consonant. The intermediate demonstrative—of the *u* type—is preserved only in a few relic forms in early literature: *ulla*, an adverb of place (patterning with *alla* and *illa*), which occurs but once in Nannaya, *ulla tellani turag-ōttamu valambu* (Bhr. 1-2-34) (another reading is *oḍalu tellani turag-ōttamu vālabu*), and in a few places in Errapregada's Bhr., *ulla kāncana rathamupain-unnavāḍu* (āra. 6-153); *ulla padmākaramu-pontan-unḍi* (āra. 6-154) *ulla mahāgajambu* (āra. 6-183).

The following pronominal forms occur in OT.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

First Person.

		sg.	pl.
10th	dat.	<i>nāku</i> (44-38)	—
	gen.	<i>nā</i> (44-31)	—

Second Person.

10th	nom.	<i>nīvu</i> (44-31)	—
	gen.	<i>nī</i> (44-32)	

Third Person.

(Forms marked with an asterisk occur in participial nouns).

Masc. (i)

7th	nom.	<i>vānru</i> (6-6*)	<i>vāru</i> (3-7*)
	dat.	<i>vāniki</i> (14-20*)	<i>vāriki</i> (11-9)
	gen.	<i>vāni</i> (14-28*)	—
8th	nom.	<i>vānru</i> (24-31*)	<i>vāru</i> (25-4*)
		<i>vānru</i> (26-28)	
	gen.	—	<i>vāri</i> (27-4)

		sg.	pl.
9th	nom.	<i>vānru</i> (42-2*)	<i>vāru</i> (34-7)
	dat.	—	<i>vāriki</i> (35-11*)
10th	nom.	<i>vāṇḍu</i> (6-6*)	<i>vāru</i> (50-6*)
	gen.	<i>vāni</i> (44-81)	—
Fem. No examples.			
Neut.			
9th	dat.	<i>dāniki</i> (38-14)	—
10th	gen.	<i>dāni</i> (44-31)	—

REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

7th	gen.	<i>tana</i> (15-2)	—
9th	nom.	<i>tānum</i> (38-40) = (<i>tānu</i> + conj. <i>un</i>)	—
	dat.	<i>tanaku</i> (37-2)	<i>tamaku</i> (38-21)
	gen.	<i>tana</i> (38-44)	<i>tama</i> (38-39)
10th	nom.	<i>tāna</i> (44-42) = (<i>tānu</i> + emphatic <i>a</i>)	—
	gen.	<i>tana</i> (50-2)	<i>tama</i> (44-41)

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Remote: Same as Third person pronoun (see above).
From the base *tan*:

9th	nom.	<i>ātāṇḍu</i> (39-11)	—
	gen.	<i>ātāni</i> (36-11)	—
10th	gen.	<i>ātāni</i> (44-53)	—
Proximate:			
Neut.			
7th	acc.	<i>dāni</i> (8-6)	—
	dat.	<i>dāniki</i> (10-32)	—
8th	dat.	<i>dāniki</i> (25-4)	—
9th	acc.	<i>dānin</i> (38-29)	<i>vīni</i> (35-11)
10th	dat.	<i>dānikin</i> (48-4)	—

THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

Masc.			
7th	nom.	—	<i>evvar-</i> (11-14)
Neut.			
7th	acc.	<i>dēni</i> (11-13)	—
		<i>tēni</i> (7-5, 9-3, 22-21)	—
	dat.	<i>dēniki</i> (6-6)	—
8th	acc.	<i>dēn-</i> (33-3)	—
		<i>tēni</i> (23-16, 21, 30-5)	—
	dat.	<i>dēniki</i> (24-21)	—
10th	nom.	—	<i>evvi</i> (44-54)

The neut. interr. pronoun 'what' is *ēmi*, (*nik-ēmi valayu*, 44-35, 10th c.).

MIDDLE TELUGU

THE NOMINATIVE

Personal Pronouns: Singular

I. pers. *ēnu*, *nēnu*. Frequency of occurrence in Na.: *ēnu* (245), *nēnu* (5, but all these are doubtful instances with alternative readings or occurring after a *drutānta*) (DAN, p. 68); Nanni. *nēnu* (11), *ēnu* (9); *nēnu* gradually gains greater currency and *ēnu* drops out by the NT.

II. Pers. *īvu*, *nīvu*. Frequency of occurrence in Na. *īvu* (64), *nīvu* (21) (DAN. p. 70); Nanni. *nīvu* (27), *īvu* (16). *nīvu* gradually gains greater currency, and *īvu* drops out by the NT. stage.

Plural

I. Pers. Excl. *ēmu*, *nēmu*, *mēmu*. The first two are preserved in classical literature and inscr. Na. *ēmu* (43), *mēmu* (5) (DAN. p. 68); Nanni. *ēmu* (6), no occurrence of *mēmu*; *ēmu* in inscr.: Ex. SII. IV-1269-71, 1273, 1275. *nēmu* (cf. Tam. *nām*, Mal. *ñām*) which is a survival of an old form in the language, Bhr. 3-5-200, *nēmu bhavanniyōga saraṇin jariyincucu* (Śrīranga Māhātmyamu, 3-591) (DBP. p. 626), inscr. SII. IV-1186 (12th c.), IV-801 (1509 A.D.), VI-280 (1556 A.D.) X-774 (1697 A.D.), *mēmu* is the regular form in MT. Incl. *manamu*.

II. Pers. *īru*, *mīru*, Na. *īru* (3), *mīru* (57), Nanni. *mīru* (23), no occurrence of *īru*. *mīru* is the regular form in LMT. Tam. has *nīm* (corresponding to I. *nām*) and *nīr*. *īralu*, *mīralu* are double plurals, attested from Na. onwards.

Thus, of the two sets of pronominal forms in the I and II persons, that which begins with the vowel (*ēnu*, *ēmu*, *īvu*, *īru*) becomes obsolete, and that which begins with the consonant (n in the Sg. and m in the pl.) is generalised in course of time. I. *ēnu*, *ēmu* may be compared with Tam. *yān*, *yām* (PDr. **yān*, **yām*), *nēnu*, *nēmu* corresponds to Tam. *nān*, *nām*, Mal. *ñān*, *ñām* (PDr. **ñān*, *ñām*). The plurals with m- instead of n, I. *mēmu*, *manamu* *mīru* call for explanation. The m- may be explained as an extension to the nom. from the oblique base in which it had developed secondarily to keep up the contrast with the obl. Sg. for, accord-

ing to the principle of obl. base formation of the personal pronoun, the dropping of the final consonant of the nom. would result in the identical form *nā-* in both and effacement of the number distinction, nom. sg. *nē-n-u*, obl. *nā-*, nom. pl. *nē-m-u*, obl. **nā-*. So in the pl. obl. the final *m* spread to the initial position, *mā-* and from these analogically to the nom., *mēmu* (beside *nēmu*). A similar development appears in C. Dr. speeches.

Reflexive Pronoun

Sg. *tānu*, pl. *tāmu*, *tāru*, *tamaru*; *tāmu* is the older form; it fits into the pattern of the personal pronouns. *tamaru* which is a double Pl. is a comparatively later formation. It is suggested that *tan-* *tam* were originally III pers. pronouns which later came to be used as reflexives (T. P. Meenakshi Sundaran, collected papers, Annamalainagar, 1965, p. 4). The reflex Pl. is often used as the honorific in II Sg. (PV. śabda. 45) and also in the I and III persons Sg. in the literary dialect (PV. Śabda 78) Ex. *tannu bampu dēva* (Kus. 4-45) (= *nannu*); *tanaku mari tāne cuttambu*, *tāne tanaku gatiyu dann-iccucō dāna karta* (*tanaku*=*strīki*). The use of the reflex. pronoun in III person is very common in Mdn. Telugu.

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demon. bases are *ā* for the remote and *ī* for the proximate. The remote pronoun is used as the pronoun of the III pers.

Remote Demonstrative

Singular: Masc. *vāḍu* (< OT. *avanru* < **avan-t*). The elision of the nasal after long vowel is indicated by metre in the literary dialect of Na. and the *Kavitraya* tradition, and by spellings without the nasal, in the inscriptional writings, (Ex. TI, 10, 11 39, 40). *vāḍu*, with the nasal, in Nanni, and some others. Non-masc. *adi*. The pronoun is often used in liter. for rhetorical effect (cf. PV. śabda 63), *Hastipuramb-adi rājadhānigān* (Bhr.) lit, 'Hastipura, that as the capital'; *mari bāvulu nūriṭi kaṇṭen-oka satkratuṅ adi mēlu* (Bhr.).

Plural Epicene: *vāru* (**avar*, cf. Tam. *avar*), *vāḍ-ru*, *vāḍ-lu*, > *vāllu*, *vāralu* double plural. Non-person: *avi* (cf. Tam. *avai*).

Proximate Demonstrative: Shows a parallel development,

SINGULAR Masc. *vīḍu*, *vīṇḍu* dialectal usage represented in Kus. 12-68. Non-masc. *idi*. PLURAL Epicene: *vīru* (< **ivar*, cf. Tam. *ivar*), *vīṇḍ-ru*, *vīṇḍ-lu*, > *vīḷlu*, *vīralu* double plural. Non-Person: *ivi* (cf. Tam. *ivai*).

There are other pronouns formed of the remote and prox. bases *a* and *i*: Masc. Sg. *a-tā-ḍu*, (cf. Kan. *ātam*), *ā-y-ana*; Fem. Sg. — *ā-y-ama*, > *āme*, *ā-y-apa*, > *āpe*, *ā-y-aka*, > *āke*, *ā-biḍa*, > *āviḍa*; Ntr. Sg. *addi*, *ā-y-adi*, *a-yy-adi*, pl. *avvi*, *ā-y-avi*, *ayy-avi*. Parallel formations in the prox., Masc. *itāḍu* (cf. Kan. *ītam*), *ī-y-ana*; Fem. Sg. *ī-y-ama*, > *īme*, *ī-y-apa*, > *īpe*, *ī-y-aka*, > *īke*, *ī-y-apa*, > *īpe*, *ībiḍa*, > *īviḍa*, Ntr. Sg. *iddi*, *ī-y-adi*, *iyyadi*, Pl. *ivvi*, *ī-y-avi*, *iyyavi*. In the above forms those in masc. *tan-* may be connected with the reflex. pronoun, those in *ana* from *anna* 'brother' and similarly in the fem. forms are the relationship words *ama* < *amma*, *apa* < *appa*, *aka* < *akka*, and *biḍa* < *biḍḍa* 'child'.

Interrogative Pronoun

The interr. base *ē* (corresponds to *yā* in old Tam. > *e*, *yāvan*, *evan* 'who (masc.)').

SINGULAR Masc. *ev(v)āḍu*, *evvāḍu*, *evāḍu*, *ēḍu* (BV. ācch. 24) *vīrilōmukhyal-evvaru vēḍu Rāmūḍ yanujanmūḍ-ettivāḍu* (Rama. PV. śabd. 53) and *vēḍu* (PV. śabda 53, by metathesis < *evāḍu*), *ayya vēḍi* (Bhr. āśra. 2-31).

Fem. (i) formed by the addition of variant forms of the fem. suffix as *ti*, *te*, *ta*, *t-uka* (diminutive), to the interr. base *ev(v)a-*, *ev(v)ar-* (identical with the Pl. noun.), or *ev(v)ari-* (identical with the Pl. obl.). *-tuka*, however, does not enter into the base *ev(v)ari-*. Thus there are 22 forms of the pronoun (BV.): *evate*, *evvate*, *evvarita*, *evvarta*, *evvata*, *evata*, *evvariti*, *evvarti*, *evvati*, *evvarti*, *evarti*, *evati*, *evvarite*, *evvarte*, *evvarite*, *evarte*, *evvartuka*, *evvatuka*, *evartuka*, *evatuka*, *evarita*, *evarta*. None of these forms occur in Na. or Nanni. These diverse forms do not seem to be attested even in the subsequent classical texts. So one is suspicious that a number of them may have come into existence by the grammarians' tendency for systematisation, (cf. fem. num. appellative nouns similarly with a number of variants).

(ii) Formed by the addition of fem. relationship terms: *ēyama*, *ēme*, *ēyapa*, *ēpe*, *ēyaka*, *ēke* etc. (ĀBŚ).

Non-masc. *ēdi*, *eddi*, *ēyadi*, *eyyadi*, The neut. pronoun 'what' is *ēmi*, *ēmiti*.

PLURAL Epicene: *ev(v)aru*, *ēvāru*, *evvāru*, *ev(v)aṇḍru*, *evvāṇḍru*, *ēvāṇḍru* *ev(v)aṇḍlu*, > *evaḷḷu*, *ēru*, *vēru* (by metathesis < *evaru*) *ī kṣōṇin ninūbōlu satkavulu vēri nēṭikālabunān* (Kāśi. 1. HTL. P. 1166). Double plurals are *evvāralu*, *ēvāralu*.

Neuter: *ēvi*, *evvi*, *evi*, *ēyavi*, *eyyavi*. Note the *i* vowel in in the non-pers. Sg. 'adi', (Tam. *atu*), and neut. pl. *avi*. (Tam. *avaī*, Kan. *avu*).

THE ACCUSATIVE

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns have two oblique stems — one in which the included vowel of the nom. is shortened, which serves in the acc. case, and another stem in which the final consonant of the nom. (with the enunciative final *u* vowel) is dropped, which serves in the other oblique cases. Tamil and Kannada have only one obl. stem which serves in all cases including the acc.

	nom.	acc.	obl. base in the other cases
Sg. I.	<i>nēnu</i> (cf. Tam. <i>nān</i>)	<i>nan</i> , > <i>nan-n-u</i>	<i>nā-</i>
II.	<i>nīvu</i> (cf. Tam. <i>nīn</i>)	<i>nin</i> , > <i>nin-n-u</i>	<i>nī-</i>
Pl. I.	<i>mēmu</i> (Excl) (cf. Tam. <i>mām</i>)	<i>mam-m-u</i>	<i>mā-</i>
II.	<i>mīru</i> (cf. Tam. <i>mīm</i>)	<i>mim-m-u</i>	<i>mī-</i>

Ex. of acc. nin. nan: *nin nammina vārik-ennaḍunu nāśamu lēdu gadamma yīśvarī* (Bhāg. 10) *nan niluvam beṭṭiti* (Bhag. 10) (PV. śabda 73). *nan* and *nin*, must have been the old accusatives, distinctive in themselves; with the euphonic *u*, *nannu*, *ninnu*. These forms with the acc. inflection > *nannuN*, *ninnuN*. In the pl. *mammūN*, *mimmūN* are the only forms attested (not *mam*, *mim* as may be expected). In the poetic dialect, due to exigencies of metre we find sometimes the double consonant was simplified, *nanuN*, *ninuN*, *mamuN*, *mimuN*. We thus get the following variants of the acc. case form of the personal pronouns: Sg. I. *nan*, *nannuN*, *nanuN*; II. *nin*, *ninnuN*, *ninuN*. Pl. I. *mammūN*, *mamuN*; II. *mimmūN*, *mimuN*.

Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive, like the personal pronouns, shortens the included long vowel of the nom. in the acc. case; but unlike them the short vowel appears in the inflection of all other oblique cases also.

Nom.	acc.
Sg. <i>tān-u</i>	<i>tan, tannuN, tanuN</i>
Pl. <i>tām-u</i>	<i>tammūN, tamūN</i>

Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns

The demons. and interr. pronouns form their acc. regularly by adding the acc. inflection N to the obl. base, in common with the other obl. cases.

FORMATION OF THE OBLIQUE BASE

Three principles are at work in the formation of the oblique base of the pronouns: (1) the dropping of the final consonant of the nominative which is a gender maker - Personal Pronouns, (2) the shortening of the radical long vowel of the nominative and the addition of the obl. marker - Reflexive pronoun, (3) the addition of the Obl-marker(s) to the nominative - Demons. and interr. pronouns.

Personal Pronouns: Dropping of final consonant with the euphonic vowel.

Sg. I. nom. *nēnu*, obl. *nā*; II. *nīvu*, *nī-*; Pl. I. Excl. *mēmu*, *mā-*, Incl. *manamu*, *mana*; II *māru*, *mā-*. There are special forms of the gen. Sg. *nādu* 'my', *nīdu* 'your'.

Reflexive Pronoun: Shortening of the long vowel of the nom. + the addition of the gen. a, Sg. nom. *tānu*, obl. *tan-a*, Pl. *tāmu*, obl. *tam-a*; *tamaru*, a later formation forms the obl. with i, *tamar-i*; *tāru* does not have an obl. base corresponding to it. Special form of the gen. sg. is *tanadu*.

The oblique forms of the personal pronouns and the reflexive are the same throughout the historical period.

Demons. and Interr. pronouns: These two pronouns form the obl. in identical manner, viz., by the addition of one or more of the inflectional increments i, a, an, aṭ (<*arr). *Demons:*

Formed with i: masc. sg. *vān-i* (<*avan-i*, *avan* being the older nom. form *avanru* which later became *vāṇḍu* cf. Tam. *avan*); *vīn-* (<*ivan-i*, cf. Tam. *ivan*); Ep. pl. *vār-i* (<**avar-i*, cf. Tam. *avar*)
 With a: Ep. pl. *vāṇḍr-a*, *vīṇḍr-a*, *vāṇḍl-a*, *vīṇḍl-a* > *vāḷḷa*, *vīḷḷa*.
 double pl. forms *vāral-a* *vīral-a*.

with an + i: non-masc. sg. *dāni* (<**ad-an-i*, cf. Tam. obl. *at-an-*); non-pers. pl. *vāni* (<**av-an-i*, compare this development resulting in the homophonous form with that of the masc. sg. obl. above). Thus *dīni* (<**id-in-i*, cf. Tam. *idan.*). The regular development in the metathesised form, to *dēni* is inhibited by the homophonous interr. obl. *dēni* (<*ed-an-i*). What is more, i in the II pers. is too characteristic a vowel to suffer a change. non-pers. pl. *vīni* (<**iv-an-i*). Loc. forms, Non-pers. *dān-aN* (<*dāni* + *aN*); *vān-aN* (*vāni* + *aN*). Similarly *dīn-aN*, *vīn-aN* (PV. *śabda*. 62).

With aṭ + i: non-person pl. *vāṭi* (<*av-arṛ-i*, cf. Tam. acc. *avarṛ-ai*), *vīṭi* (<**iv-arṛ-i*, cf. Tam. acc. *ivarṛ-ai*) Ketana refers to *vāṭi* (ĀBB. V. 26) as *grāmya*: accordingly we do not get -ṭi forms in the Kavitraya, but in later texts they occur, as also in NT. suggesting that they have come within the fold of received usage. The obsolescence of non-pers. *vāni*, *vīni* and the generalisation of *vāṭi*- *vīṭi*- must have been facilitated as the former confounded with the masc. sg. *vāni*, *vīni*.

The Interr. forms. as already pointed out, are similar. Masc. Sg. *evan-i*, with metathesis *vēni-* also occurs, though infrequent and confined to the literary dialect. and also *ēni-* (corresponding to the nom. form *ēḍu.*) acc. *vēni-N*, *ēni-N* (PV. *śabda*. 53), loc. *vēn-aN* (<*veni* + loc. *aN*.) (PV. *śabda*. 62); a comparatively later formation in MT. is *evāḍi* (regularly from the nom. base in *evāḍu*); Ep. pl. *evār-i*, *ēr-i*, *evaṇḍra*, *evaṇḍl-a*, > *evaḷḷa*, non-masc. pl. *dēni* (<**ēd-an-i* cf. Tam. *edan-*) *vēni* which may be < **ev-an-i*) loc. *vēn-aN* (*vēni* + *aN*), *vēṭi-* (<**ev-arṛ-i*). For prayogas of *vāṭi*, *vīṭi*, *vēṭi* in literature (see *vyāsāvali* p. 151-154). The fem. interr. *eva(r)te*, etc. remains the same in the obl. case.

NEW TELUGU

PERSONAL PRONOUN

Sg. I. *nēnu*, *nē*, Ex. *nē phalambu vrāsina dikkuna* (MVN. p. 7), often *nē* in Mdn. Tel.; low class dialect. *nānu*. Acc. *nannu*, obl.

base in other cases *nā-*. II. Pers, *nīvu*, *navvu*, acc. *ninnu*, obl. base in other cases, *nī-*. Pl. I. Excl. *mēmu*, acc. *mammalni*, *mammalnu* (< *mammulanu*), obl. base in other cases *mā*. Incl. *manamu*, acc. *manalni*, > *mananni*; *manalnu*, > *manannu*, *manamulaN* (TV. P. 194, not common in Mdn. Tel.); obl. base in other cases *mana-*. II. Pers. *mīru*, Acc. *mimmalni*, > *mimmanni*; *mimmalnu*, > *mimmannu*, obl. base in other cases *mī-*.

PERSONAL PRONOUN

Sg. *tānu*, acc. *tanni* (< *tanani*), *tannu* (< *tananu*), obl. base in other cases *tana-*

Pl. *tāmu*, *tamaru* (often in hon. II. Sg.) *tāru* does not survive in Mdn. Tel. Acc. *tamani*, *tamarni*; obl. base in other cases *tama-*, *tamari-*.

The use of the reflex. pron. in the I pers. does not obtain in Mdn. Tel. It is commonly used in the III Pers. and honorifically in the II Sg.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

Remote: The remote demons. pronoun is used as the III pers. pronoun. *vāḍu*, *vāṇḍu* dialectal; acc. *vāḍini*, > *vāṇṇi*. obl. base in other cases *vāḍi* (from the noun. *vāḍu*), *vāni* is a survival of the MT. form in the conservative dialect areas. Proximate: From the prox. i base: *vīḍu*, *vīṇḍu*, dialectical; acc. *vīḍini*, > *vīṇṇi*; obl. base in other cases *vīḍi-*, *vīni-*.

Other demons. pronouns are (1) *atāḍu*, acc. *atāḍini*, > *atanni*, obl. *atāḍi-* (2) *atanu*, acc. *atani-ni*, > *atanni*, ob. *atani-*, (3) *āyana*, acc. *āyana-nu* > *āyannu*, obl. *āyana-*. Similarly prox. (1) *itāḍu*, acc. *itāḍini* > *itanni* obl. *itāḍi-*, (2) *itanu*, acc. *itani-ni*, > *itanni*, obl. *itani-*, (3) *īyana*, acc. *īyananu*, > *īyannu*, obl. *īyana-*.

vāḍu, *vīḍu* are not used of persons of respectability in NT., a semantic development in the ṇḍu ending pronouns (including *atāḍu*, *evāḍu* etc.) which did not exist in early MT. Ex. Damayanti refers to her husband as *vāḍu*, *vāḍ-īta vaccuvāḍō* (Bhr. 3-2-203). *vāḍu*, *vīḍu* are now used towards inferiors and intimate persons. There is in Mdn. Tel. a regular gradation of honorific forms in III Sg. They are, in order of increasing respect: *atāḍu*, *atanu*,

āyana vāru; *vāru* is formal, *āyana* is respectful but not as formal as *vāru* and in the II pers. *itāḍu*, *itanu*, *īyana*, *vīru*. *atāḍu/itāḍu*, *atanu/itanu* are used with a verb in the Sg., Ex. *atāḍu cēsāḍu* 'he did', *atanu cēsāḍu*. *āyana/īyana* may be used with a verb in the pl. or the Sg. *āyana cēsāḍu*, *āyana cēsāḍu*; *vāru/vīru* is used always with a verb in the pl. *vāru cēsāḍu*. There is, in colloquial speech, another form *atagāḍu* which connotes a lesser degree of respect than *atāḍu*, corresponds in meaning to English 'that fellow'.

Plural

Epicene: *vāṇḍlu* in the conservative dial., > *vāḷlu* in the progressive dialect. *vāru* in formal speech; obl. *vāṇḍla-*, > *vāḷla-*. Prox. *vīṇḍlu* > *vīḷlu*, obl. *vīṇḍla-*, > *vīḷla-*. Middle Telugu forms *vāṇḍru*, *vīṇḍru* had become obsolete in competition with the lu plurals.

Non-Person: *avi*, obl. *vāṭi-*, prox. *ivi*, obl. *vīṭi-*. The old obliques *vāni-* *vīni-* had become obsolete but these are kept on by conservative writers on the authority of the grammarians.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

Sg. Masc. *evāḍu*, *evvāḍu* is often used in emphatic constructions Ex. *evvāḍu lēḍu*. 'There is nobody' MT. *ēḍu* survives in expressions like *ēḍi* 'where is he' making a question. Cf. MT. *ēḍi nā balu mānikambula koṭāru*, obl. *evāḍi-*. Fem. *evatte*, *evarte*, *evatti*, *āviḍe*, *āme*, *āpe*. Full forms like *āyama*, *āyapa* are not current.

Non-person: *ēḍi*. Variants like *eddi*, *ēyadi* are not found in Mdn. Tel. obl. *dēni-*. Pl. Epicene: *ēvaru*, *evāḷlu*, *evāṇḍlu* (dial.), sub-standard dial, *ōru* obl. *evāḷla-*, *evāṇḍla-*, *evari-*, *ēru* of MT. survives in expressions involving question *vār-ērī* 'where is he (hon.)'.

The word for 'what' is *ēmi*, *ēmiṭi*, *ēṭi* and for 'why' *enduku*, *ēla* (dial.).

The use of the pronoun in the formation of relationship terms, Ex. *nānna* (<*nā* + *anna*) 'father' and *māmma* '(<*mā* + *amma*) 'father's mother' is a feature that appears in other Dr. languages (See CGD. p. 397-400).

The pronouns at a glance

NT

MT

OT

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

I. Sg. nom.

acc.

obl.

Pl. Excl. nom.

acc.

obl.

Incl. nom.

acc.

obl.

II. Sg. nom.

acc.

obl.

Pl. nom.

acc.

obl.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

Sg. nom.

acc.

obl.

Pl. nom.

acc.

obl.

<i>ēnu, nēnu</i>	<i>nēnu, nē</i>
<i>nan, nannuN, nanuN</i>	<i>nannu</i>
<i>nā</i>	<i>nā</i>
<i>ēnu, nēnu, mēnu</i>	<i>mēnu</i>
<i>mammuN, mamuN</i>	<i>mammalni/mammalni</i>
<i>mā</i>	<i>mā</i>
<i>manamu</i>	<i>manamu</i>
<i>manalaN, manamulaN</i>	<i>manalni, manalni</i>
<i>mana</i>	<i>mana</i>
<i>īvu, nīvu</i>	<i>nīvu, nīvu</i>
<i>nin, ninnuN, ninuN</i>	<i>nīnu</i>
<i>nī</i>	<i>nī</i>
<i>īru, mīru</i>	<i>mīru</i>
<i>nimmuN, mimuN</i>	<i>nimmalni, mimalni</i>
<i>mī</i>	<i>mī</i>

<i>tānu</i>	<i>tānu</i>
<i>tan, tannuN, tanuN</i>	<i>tanni, tannu</i>
<i>tana</i>	<i>tana</i>
<i>tāru, tānu, tamaru</i>	<i>tānu, tamaru</i>
<i>tammuN</i>	<i>tamanni, tamanni</i>
<i>tana</i>	<i>tana, tamari</i>

9th & 10th	<i>tānu</i>
—	—
9th & 10th	<i>tana</i>
9th <i>tāru</i>	—
9th & 10th	<i>tana</i>

THIRD PERSON PRONOUN (Remote Demonstrative)

Sg. masc. nom.	7th—9th <i>vānru,</i> 10th <i>vānru, vāru, vāṇḍu</i>	<i>vāṇḍu, vāṇḍu</i> (dial.)
obl.	—	<i>vāni, vāḍi</i>
Non-masc. nom.	—	<i>adi</i>
obl.	9th & 10th <i>dāni</i>	<i>dāni</i>
Pl. epicene nom.	7th & 10th <i>vāru</i>	<i>vāru, vāllu</i>
obl.	7th—9th <i>vāri</i>	<i>vālla, vāṇḍla</i>
Neut. nom.	—	<i>avi</i>
obl.	—	<i>vāṭi</i>

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

Sg. masc. nom.	—	<i>ev (v) āḍu</i>
acc.	—	<i>evani</i>
obl.	—	<i>evani, evāḍi</i>
Sg. non-masc. nom.	—	<i>ēḍi</i>
acc.	7th—8th <i>tēni, dēni</i>	<i>dēni</i>
obl.	7th—8th <i>dēni</i>	<i>dēni</i>
Pl. epicene nom.	7th <i>evvar-</i>	<i>evallu, evaṇḍlu</i>
acc.	—	<i>ev (v) aru, evaṇḍru</i>
obl.	—	<i>ev (v) arini, evaṇḍranu, evaṇḍlanu evallani, evallanu</i>
Pl. Neut. nom.	10th <i>evvi</i>	<i>evari, evalla, evaṇḍla</i>
acc.	—	<i>ēvi</i>
obl.	—	<i>vētini</i>
		<i>vēṭi</i>

NUMERALS

Numeral nouns function as neuter nouns and are declined as such. They may be used as adjectives by prefixing the numeral to the noun except that in the case of the first numeral only the basal form *ok(k)a*, *ok(k)o* can be used before a substantive. The other numerals have also their basal or adjectival forms which are short when compared with the substantives, and are rightly considered to be more primitive than the latter.

The following numeral forms are found in the OT. inscr.

7th *iru(vutti)* (10-29), *reṇḍu* (13-11, 20-4, 7, 11) 2; *mūnru* *mūtiki* (10-6) 3; *ēnu* (10-30, 13-6, 14-8) 5; *āru* (11-12) 6; *eṇum-*
bodi (10-37), *eṇbodi* (11-5) 8; *pan(dumbu)* (21-3) 10; *padēn*
(dumbu) (20-8) 15; *iruvadi-yādinālku* (2-13) 24; *irubhadi eṇḍu*
(19-5) 27; *ēbadi* (6-4), *ēbhadi* (8-9), *ēmbadi* (12-11) 50; *munnūru*
(13-13) 300; *vē(guḷuvu)* (14-22), *vē(ḍlumu)* (14-14), *vē(vān-*
rurḷu) (14-22), *vē(seruvuḷu)* (14-21, 20-15), *vē(gavilālanu)* (20-
14), *vēyu* (10-33, 14-7), 1000; *embhodi* 50, [*nū*]ru 100 (53/1941-42
Unpublished inscr. in characters of 7th-8th c., kodigudlapadu, Cudd.
dist.), *nalpadi* 40 (406/1940-41 unpublished in characters of 8th c.
velpucerla, Cudd. dist.).

8th *inu(vūri)* (El. XXX-69) *reṇḍu* (25-5) 2; *nālugu* (El.
XXX-69) *iruvādireṇḍu* (28-3) 22; *muppadi* (30-2) 30; *ēmbhadi*
XXX-69) *ēbhādi* (28-15); *vē(guḷūrḷu)* 31-3) 1000; *nalvuru-*(424/
1940-41, unpublished inscr. of 8th c. Korrapadu, Cudd. dist.).

9th *ēnu* (39-2) 5; *enubodi* (35-10) 8; *pan(dumbu)* (34-3, 8)
10; *paṇḍreṇḍu* (35-6) 12; *ēḷuvēlum* (40-3) 7000; *ebhādi* 50,
vēyu(seruvuḷu) *vēyu(gudḷalānu)* 1000 (407/1940-41, unpublished
inscr. in character of 9th c. velpucerla, Cudd. dist.) *ēbadi* (149/
1945-46, unpublished inscr. in characters of 9th c. viduvagundla,
Cudd. dist.).

10th *oka(nāṇḍu)* (44-24) 1; *inu(maddi)* (JTA. II-399) *paṇreṇḍu*
(48-4) 12; *padi ēlu* (45-4) 17; *nalpādyadi yokoti* (47-9) 41; *nara-*
vādyadi eṇum(drammalu) (44-59) 45; *ēnūru* (44-65) 500; *enbha-*
nūta lebbhāduadi yenimbidi 878 (241/1937-38 unpublished inscr.
dated in Ś. 878 = 956 A.D., koduru, Kamalapuram taluk, Cudd.
dist.); *enbadi* 80 (303/1937-38, 950 A.D. Miduturu Cudd. dist.);
iruvodi(āku-), *aruvadi vēlunu muppai(yē. na)* 'six thousand
& thirty and-' (342/1934-35, unpublished inscr. in characters of 10th c.,
Peddakancerla, Gtr. dist.).

UD. *okko* (*gānugu*) (60-11) 1; *okko* (*mōdolu*) (96-6) 1; *iru* (*gaṇḍu*) (53-6) 2; *reṇḍu* (62-20) 2; *mūḍu* (54-4) 3 *mūṇḍu* (94-4) 3; *ēnu* (54-4) 5; *enu* (*rukalu*) (94-2) 5; *pan* (*dumu*) (94-5) *paṇḍ-reṇḍu* (61-11, 66-9) 12; *irubādi mūṇḍu* (51-5) 23; *irupadiyadi ēnu* (69-10) 25; *nūru* (72-4) 100; *nūṭayiruvadi* (61-9) 120; *mūnūrunū* (52-7) 300; *ēnūru* (52-7) 500; *vēyi* (74-21) 1000; Fraction: *pādika* (81-14); (*Vijayarājya samvatsarambul-*)*vadi* (13/1929-30, unpublished inscr. in archaic characters, Bikkavolu, God. dist.) *ēbadi* 149/1945-46 unpublished inscr. in archaic characters, Viduvagundla Cudd. dist.).

The following numerals are written in numbers: 7 (48-2), 893 (48-2), 894 (49-6).

ORDINALS

Ordinals are formed by adding *agu*, aor. part. of *agu* 'to become' to the cardinal numeral. Ex. 7th *ēn-angun-*(*āṇḍu*) (13-6), fifth year; *irubhadi ēṇḍu agun-*(*ēṭi*) (19-5), of the twenty seventh year; *eṇumbodi ann-*(*ēṇṭi*) (10-3) of the eighth year (*-ann* < *-angun*), *eṇbodi ann-*(*ēṇṭan*) (11-5) in the eighth year; 9th *ēn-angun-*(*ēṇṭhi*) (39-2); 10th *nalpādyadi yokoti yagun-*(*ēṇṭi*) (47-10). *avu* (< *agu*) occurs once in an undated ins. (63-7). The Skt. word *prathamambu*, is used in the Vipparla ins. *prathamambu nēṇḍu* (35-1) 'first year'.

APPELLATIVE NOUNS

These are formed by adding the personal endings *vuru* or *ru* to the num. adjective. *ru* occurs with the numerals eight and ten.

7th *vēvuru* (13-9), 8th *vēvuru* (27-9), *nalvuru* (31-3), 9th *nūṭayenubonrra* (43-1) gen., UD. *padunrru* (81-12) *nūṭenmaṇḍaku* (52-8) (mistake for *nūṭenmaṇḍraku*), *iruvuru* (96-4).

The following points concerning numerals in OT. are noteworthy:

1. Numeral forms in O.T. show closer affinities with those in the other Dr. languages than some of the later ones. *mūnru* (16-10) 3 Tam. *mūnru*, Kan. *mūru*; *nālku* (2-13) 4, Tam Kan. *nālku*; *ēlu* (14-8) 7, Tam. Kan. *ēlu*; eṇ 8 in *eṇumbodi* (10-37), *eṇbodi* (11-5), 8 Kan. *eṇṭu*, Tam. *eṭṭu*.

2. These two numerals *eṇumbodi*, *eṇbodi* look closer to MT. *enubadi* 'eighty' rather than to *enimidi* 'eight'. But as they are

mentioned as the regnal years of the reigning kings they could not possibly mean 'eighty'; nor can it be 'eighteen', for in such compound numerals the word for ten occurs as the first member and that for eight as the second member, Ex. *padun-enimidi* (10+8). So the forms are to be regarded as the OT. proto-types of *enimidi*, and may be explained as analogical formations after OT. *tombadi* 'nine', cf. num. adj. *tomba-* in *tombhanūṭanalvodi-nālugu* 'nine hundred and forty four' (Eduvadalapalem ins.), *tomba-nūrunu dombadi tommidiyunu* (Śrīnatha.) (JSVORI. XIII-2). The nasal in *eṇumbodi* can only be explained thus. If *tommidi* is derived from *tol-padi*, the intermediary step *tom-badi* should have served in two meanings, 'nine' and also 'ninety', for this is also the regular morphological construction for multiples of ten. The differentiation of meaning must have come to be formally set up with the further assimilation of the form to *tommidi*. A parallel development may be postulated for 'eight' *enubadi* 'eight, eighty,' *enimidi*, 'eight,' whence *enubadi* 'eighty'; *enubodi* in the Addanki inscr. may mean either 'eight' or 'eighty', probably the former.

3. In compound numerals denoting multiples of ten, aspiration had already appeared, *irubhadi* (19-5) 20, *ēbhadi* (8-9) 50. The aspiration which evidently started as a dialectal tendency gradually affected all such numerals so that in NT. we have *mupphai*, 30, *nalabhai*, 40, *ēbhai*, 50, *ḍebbhai* 70, *enabhai* 80, *tombhai* 90, but *iravai* 20, *aravi* 60, (with -v-, instead of -b-, -vadi by *gasadadavādēśa*, < -padi) survive now, although, *irabhadi* 20 and *arubhadi* 60 are also attested in the inscriptional language.

4. Some compound numeral forms involving addition use the Skt. word *ādi* to express the idea of addition — in OT., Ex. *iruvadi-y-ādi nālku* (2-13) 'four, beginning with twenty' $20 + 4 = 24$; *irupadi-y-adi ēnu* (69-10) 'five beginning with twenty' $20 + 5 = 25$, *iruvādireṇḍu* (28-3) 22, *irubādimūṇḍu*, (51-5) 23 have *ā* for a (suggesting *ādi*) probably due to contamination.

5. *okoṭi* the inflectional form of *okonḍu* has come to be used as the nom. even by the 10th c. as is known from the occurrence *nalpādyadiyokoṭi* (47-9). *okoṭi* ultimately becomes generalised as the cardinal num. in NT. *okoṭi* (47-9), *okkoḍu* (50-13, 14) and *okko* (60-11) with o in the second syllable occur in OT. Such forms are also attested in classical literature and in 11th and 12th c. inscriptions, besides those with a as *okaṭi*, *okkāḍu* etc.

6. The numeral five is *ēnu* in OT. *aidu* which is current in NT. seems to be Kan. borrowing and attested from 13th c.

7. *gasaḍadavādēśa* seems to be a regular feature after numeral forms e.g. *iruvuṭṭi* (10-29), *vēseruvuḷu* (14-22), *oṇḍu sōṭu* (38-24).

8. Ordinals are formed by adding *agu*, aor. participle of *agu* — to become, to the cardinal numeral; *avu* (< *agu*) is met with once in an undated inscr. (63-7). The development from *avu*, with the adj. suffix *a*, to *-ava* and *-ava* to *-ō* belongs to MT.

9. Appellative nouns in the plural take the suffix *-vuru*, *vēvuru* (27-24), *nalvuru* (31-3). *-vuru* > *-guru* in MT.

10. The appellative noun *padunrru* (8-12) is formed from the base *padun-*, whereas *enubon-r-r-a* is from the base *-pan* (the *o* vowel for *a* is due to the labial *p*). These later assume the form *enubandru*, *paduṇḍru* (cf. *nr-* > *ṇḍ-* of the masc. ending).

MIDDLE TELUGU

Numeral Roots

There are three base forms of the numeral adjective and substantive for 'one' in Telugu, *oru/ōr*, *oṇḍu* (< **onru*) and *okka/okko* with cognates in other Dr. languages so that they may be reconstructed for the proto language. Of these basal forms the primitive root is recognisable as *ōr*. Roots for the other numerals may be reconstructed as follows: two — **īr*; three — **mū*; four — **nāl*; five — **ay*; six — **ār* (< **āt*); seven — **ēl*; eight — **eṇ*; ten — **pat/*pān*. The word for nine is a compound in Dr. signifying '(the numeral) before ten', Tel. **tol-padi* > *tommidi* (cf. Tam. *tonṭu* 'nine' *ton-nūru* 'ninety', *tol-l-āyiram* 'nine hundred').

Some num. substantives are formed by the addition of formative suffixes to the roots, *oṇḍu* (< **onru* < **on + tu*) (1); *reṇḍu* (< **ir-aṇṭ-u*, Tam. *ir-aṇṭu* (2); *mūṇḍu* (OT **mūnru* < *mū-ntu* (3); *nālugu* (< *nāl-ku* attested in OT.) (4); *ayidu* (< **ay-tu*); *padi* (< **pati-*) (10) *vēyi* (< **vē-yi*). So the num. adjectives without the formative elements appear nearer the root form: *iru* (2); *mu* (3); *nal(u)* (4); *ay* (5) (rare, *aiguru* (SII. VI-1117 Vizag. 1378 A.D.), *pat/pan* (10). The other numerals have also developed differences between the adj. and subst. forms variously: adj. *ēn*, subst. *aidu* (5) borrowing from Kan. in 12th-13th c (earlier to this borrowing *ēn* served in both the functions See Na., Concordance p. 299; *ay* may be a back formation) adj. *aru*, subst. *āru* (6); adj. *ḍe-* as in *ḍebbadi* 'seventy' (cf. Tam. *elpatu*), subst. *ēḍu* (7);

adj. *enumba*, *enama-* (analogically after *tomba*, *tomma*), subst. *en(i)midi* (8) (analogically after *tommidi*) (8); adj. *tom*, *tomba* > *tomma*, subs. *tommidi* (9).

Numeral adjectives

Examples: One: *ok(k)a*, *ok(k)o*, *ō* (< *oka*) (Kāśi. 15th c 5-189), *okko* with the *o* vowel which is found in OT, is extremely rare in the literary dialect. *Okko nim-ēṣambuna* (Bhr. udyō. 4-424) (HTL, p. 1194). inscr. Tel. *oko kōṭi* (X-149, Gtr. 1161 A.D. On the semantics of *ok(k)a* see HTL 1192-1195).

Two: *iru*: *iru-pakkiyalu*, *iru-gaḍalu* (Bhr. 3-1-306) *iru-gaḍalan* 'on both the sides' (Bhr. 1-4-95), *iru-vrodduṭi* 'of the two times of the day (morning and evening)' (SII. X-334), *id-dumu* 'two tūmus', (IV-781); *inu*: *inu-maḍi* 'twice', *im-maḍi* 'twice, second', as in *im-maḍi Dēvarāya* 'Devaraya the second', *inu-māru*, twice, *inu-pjādamulu* 'two feet', (SII, VI-628 1. 50). *iru*: restricted to numeral compounds. MT. *irēnu*, *iraidu* 'two fives, ten', *ir-āru* 'two sixes, twelve', *ir-ēḍu* 'two sevens, fourteen'.

Three: *mu*: MT. *mu-k-kāru* 'three seasons', *mu-y-yēḍu* 'three years', *mu-j-jagamulu* 'three words', *mu-t-tūmu* 'three tūmus' (SII. IV—970); *mū*: *mū-vuru* (SII. VI-625) (another form is *mu-v-vuru*).

Four: *nal(u)*: *nal-dikku* 'four directions', *nalugaḍa* 'four sides'.

Five: *ē(n)*: *ēbadi*, *ēmbadi*; inscr. *ēṁḍumu* 'five tūmus' (SII. VI—1374), *ēḍumu* (V—101).

Six: *āru*: restricted to num. compounds, *aruvadi* 'sixty'.

Seven: *ḍe*: restricted to the num. compound *ḍebbadi*.

Eight: *enu*: *enubadi* 'eighty', *enubandumu* 'eighty tūmus' (SII. X—522); *enumba*: *enumbanūru* 'eight hundred' (SII IV—1087); *enama*: *enamannūru* 'eight hundred' *enamanduguru* 'eight persons'.

Nine: *tom*: *tom-badi*, ninety; *tomba*: *tomba nūṭa nalvadi* 'nine hundred and forty' (*Eduvadalapalem* inscr., Rajarajanarendra Samcika), *tomba nūrunu tombadi tommidi-yunu* (Kāśi), *tombha-nūṭa yiruvadi*, 920 (SII. VI—102); *tomma* (< *tomba*): *tomman-nūru* 'nine hundred' *tommanḍru* 'nine persons', (SII. VI—169), *tommanḍuguru*.

Ten: *pad*: *pad-āru-vēlu* 'sixteen thousand' (SPM. I. p. 63), *padēndumu* 'fifteen tumus' (SII. IV — 974); *pan*: *pañ-dumu* 'ten tumus', (SII. V — 24); *pan-n-iddaru*, twelve persons (IV — 996); *pan-dommidi* 'nineteen' *pan*: *pañ-dreṇḍu* (SII. V — 91, 1176 AD, 110, 1317 AD); *padu*: *padu-mūḍu*, thirteen, *padunālugu* 'fourteen'.

Numeral substantives

Cardinal numerals are *aupavibhaktika śabdās*, i.e. take inflectional increments.

ONE: Cardinal numeral from the base of *Ok(k)a/ ck(k)o*: *ok(k)āḍu*, *ok(k)ōḍu*, *ok(k)aṭi*, *ok(k)oṭi*. From *onṛu*: *oṇḍu* 'one (thing, neut.)', more frequently used with semantic development 'another (thing, neut.)', evidenced by the 9th c., *oṇḍu sōṭu* 'another place' (Bez. inscr.). *oṇṭi* (obl. base of *oṇḍu*) in LMT. comes to be used as an adv. *oṇṭi dirugu dānik-ōrvadu* (Bhr. virāṭa. 1-103), and as a subst. *oṇṭimeyin* (Virāṭa 2-265). Na. *Okkoṇḍu*, *amaratvam-okkoṇḍu dakka* (Bhr. 1-8-98); Nanni. *ugra bāṇa samūham-okkoṇḍu dappaka* (11-106). Inscr. Tel. shows o forms: *okkoṇḍu* (IV-1305 God. 1107 A.D.), *okkoṇṭiki* (V — 1083 Ganj. 1108 A.D.).

Inscr. show *okaṇḍu* (neut. nom.) commonly till the 14th c. and *oka(n)ṭi* (neut. nom.) from 12th c.: *ok(k)aṇḍu: diviya okkaṇḍu* (IV — 1282 God. 1114 A.D.), *tamalam-okkaṇḍunu* (V-1188 Ganj. 1250), *suvarṇa kaṇṭhābharāṇam-ōkaṇḍunu* (VI-904 Vizag 1291), *tāmarapūvu akaṇḍu* (VI-933, Vizag 1349), *dīpapruṭi okaṇḍu* (VI-1097 Vizag 1378); *oka(n)ṭi: akhaṇḍa dīpamu vokkaṭi* (V-1331 Ganj. 1170 A.D.), *marutu okaṭi* (X-73 Gtr. 1115 A.D.).

Na. used *ok(k)aṭi* (obl. base of *ok(k)āḍu*) according to the concordance in five instances; but Manuscript copies of Bharata are said to present variant readings in all these (HTL. 1416). There is one occurrence of *okkaṭi* as a neut noun in Nanni, *mānugā gūrtun-okkaṭiga* (Kus. 4-69). The noun. use of *okoṭi* had come into vogue by the 10th c. as in *nalpādyadi yokoṭi* and gradually gained ground at the expense of the regular neut. *ok(k)āḍu ok(k)ōḍu*. In the 12th *okaṭi* is attested in the following inscr. (SII. X-73 1.115, Gtr. 115-A.D., IV-685 1173 A.D.), more frequently from 13th c. onwards.

ekkaṭi is the obl. of *ekka* (< Skt. *ēka*) with the inflectional increment *ṭi*, originally adj. form. which comes to be used as an adv., and as subst.

The num. 'one' has special forms of the masc. and the fem.

Masc.

From *ok(k)a/ok(k)o*: *ok(k)āḍu*, *ok(k)ōḍu*, *ok(k)arūḍu*, *ok(k)orūḍu*, *ok(k)aruvūḍu*, *ok(k)oruvūḍu*; from *oru*: *orūḍu* 'one person (masc.)', more often with semantic development 'another person (masc.)' *oruvūḍu*; From *onru*; *ondu*. (BV.).

Na. *okkarūḍu*, concordance shows also *ok(k)āḍu*, but according to HTL (p. 1415) manuscript copies of Bhr. contain alternative readings with -r-. In Nanni, *ok(k)āḍu okkoṇḍu* is used in the neut. six times and in the masc. five times.

Fem.

Formed by the addition of the fem. suffixal variants *ti/iti*, *ta/ita*, *te/ite*, *tu*, or with the diminutive *uka*, *t-uka*, to the bases *ok(k)a/ok(k)o*, *ok(k)ar/ok(k)or* and *ōr*, as follows: (BV. ācch, 24). *okkata*, *okkati*, *okkate*, *okkartu* (Na.).

okar-ita/ta/tu/tuka/iti/ti/ite/te; *oka-ta/tuka/ti/te*; *okor-ita/ta/tu/tuka/iti/ti/ite/te*; *oko-ta/tuka/ti/te*; *okkar-ita/ta/tu/tuka/iti/ti/ite/te*; *okka-ta/tuka/ti/te*; *okkor-ita/ta/tu/tuka/iti/ti/ite/te*; *okko-ta/tuka/ti/te*; *ōr-ta/ti/tu/tuka*. Fifty two forms for 'one woman'!

According to HTL (p. 1202) *t-uka* forms are not attested in literature. *ti* is derived from PKt. *itthi* < Skt. *Strī*; the change in vowel quality in unaccented position as a suffixial element is understandable. Variants with *i*, *iti*, *ita*, *ite* are due to anaptyxis, *okarti* > *okar-i-ti*, etc. The above forms obviously belong to different chronological periods and dialects which can only be stated after detailed studies in time and space. Here one may also have to contend with forms 'created' by the grammarian's love of systematisation.

The data presented here calls for explanation in regard to (1) the alternation of the non-geminate and geminate consonants as in *oka*, *okka*, etc.; (2) the alternation of the vowels /a/ and /o/ as in *ok(k)a*, *ok(k)o*, etc.; (3) the surprising phenomenon of *ok(k)āḍu* etc. and *oṇḍu* serving both in the masculine and the neuter.

(1) If *or* is taken as the root and *ka* as suffixial element *or+ka* should lead us to *okka* and then by simplification of the double

consonant to *oka*. Then *okka* is to be regarded as an earlier form from which *oka* is derived.

(2) /o/ forms like *okōḍu*, *okorūḍu*, *okoruvūḍu*, *okoṭi*, *okoriti*, *okoru*, *okolḷu*, etc., are so regular beside the /a/ forms that their explanation as dialectal variants is not satisfying. Could it be that /o/ forms developed in compound formation as *oka* + *oṇḍu* > *okōṇḍu*, *oka* + *orūḍu* > *okorūḍu*. If it is so, then *okōḍu*, *okorūḍu* etc. must be regarded as earlier forms and *okāḍu*, *akarūḍu* later developments from them, by dissimilation of /o/. Forms like *okaruvūḍu* with -vu element are analogical after other vu stems in the language and are purely literary forms.

oṇḍu is an old neuter substantive which must have developed directly from the root, or/on, **onru* (Tam. *onru*) > *oṇḍu*, cf. OT. *mūnru* > *mūṇḍu*.

Once such compound formations became established it is easy to see how an adjectival base with the /o/ vowel came into being—on the principle of analogy, *okkaṇḍu* : *okka* *okkōṇḍu* : *okko* (as a back formation). The o forms became obsolete in course of time in MT. stage itself.

(3) *oṇḍu* and *okaṇḍu* were originally neuter, as explained above. But the ending /ṇḍu/ in these seems to have been confused by the people as the masculine denoter, as in *Rāmuṇḍu*, *vāṇḍu* etc., and *oṇḍu* and *okaṇḍu* came to be used in the masculine as well. There would then be naturally confusion between the two significations, that of the masculine and the neuter. To avoid this confusion a differentiation came to be established in course of time when the oblique base of *okaṇḍu*, namely *okaṇṭi/okaṭi* acquired use as nominative in the neuter. And *okaṇḍu* itself remained fixed for the masculine, and gradually ousted the old masculine *okoruṇḍu*, *okoruvuṇḍu* in r.

Two: *reṇḍu*. Three *mūḍu*, *mūṇḍu* (KuS); Inscr. have forms with, and without the nasal indicating that it was dropped in pronunciation, Ex. with nasal: SII. IV — 711, 771, 810, 979, 984, 1013, 1050, 1052, 1155; V — 1248, 1252, 1273; VI — 109, 136, 724, 768, 788, 800 834, 874, 904; without nasal: IV — 280, VI — 969, 1010, 1116.

Four OT. *nāl(u)ḡu*, inscriptions show also the forms *nālu*: SII. X — 690, 1139 AD, VI — 812, 1390 AD, VI — 851, 1378 AD, VI — 1022, 1396, AD, etc., *nāl(u)vu*: SII. VI — 610, 1148 AD, X — 261, 1214 AD, VI — 790, 1390 AD; *nālvu*: SII. VI — 1183, 1203, 1209.

Five *ēnu*, *aidu*, Na. used *ēnu*, not *aidu* (HTL. 1425) also in KuS. *ēnu* is represented in old compounds in 11th, 12th and in later centuries with less and less frequency; *aidu* occurs in an inscr. dated 1197 AD., commonly 13th c. onwards, 1. *aidu* A.D. 1197 — SII. VI — 228, 1262 — X — 400, 1291 — VI — 904, 1296 — X — 480, 1345 — VI — 243, 1372 — 742, 1377 — 780, 1378 — 922, 1402 — 960, 1404 — V — 5, 1406 — VI — 931, 1495 — V — 1229; *aidu* 1385 — VI — 907, 1388 — 810, 1391 — 847, 1396 — 1022; *ayidu* 13th c. X — 375, 1315 — 510, 1348 — VI — 979, 1390 — 812, 1518 VI — 981; *ayudu* 1374 — VI — 1136, 1394 — 1135. Differences in the spellings of the forms are not pertinent. Six *āru*, *āru*; *r̄* is preserved in literature and inscr., Ex. SII. VI — 812, 984 1000, 1112. *r* : V — 37; *r̄* > *r* more frequently in the later centuries of MT.

SEVEN *ēḍu*. EIGHT *en(i)midi*. The numeral root is *eṇ* (cf. Tam. *eṇ-patu* 'eighty', *eṇ-ṇūru*, eight hundred, Tulu *eṇ-ṭu*, eight. *enimidi* corresponds with *tommidi* and is analogical. Numerals are a good field for the play of analogy. NINE *tommidi*. It may be derived from **tol + padi* > **ton-padi* **tom-badi* > **tommadi* > *tommidi*. If this derivation is correct, *ton-badi* must have signified at one time nine and ninety, the assimilation of the form for nine resulting in a formal differentiation between the meanings later on. Na. *tommidi* 'nine', *tombadi* 'ninety'. Ten *padi*.

HUNDRED *nūru*, *nūru*; another word for hundred is *vanda*. THOUSAND Short form of the num. is *vē*, *vēguru* (BV.); Substantive: *vēyi*, *veyyi*.

lakṣa 'lakh' and *kōṭi* 'crore' are loan words from Skt.

Compound numerals

These are formed by multiplication or addition. Multiplication when ten, hundred or thousand is the second member of the compound'. Multiples of ten: *padi* as the second member occurs in the following forms. Literary dialect: *padi* — *muppadi*, *badi* — *ēbadi*, *vadi* — *iruvadi*. Inscriptional Telugu: *padi*: *muppadi* SII. IV — 1015, 1084 AD, or with variant forms as follows: *paī*: *nalupai* VI — 789, 1380 AD, *pai* : *naupai* V — 7, 1466 AD., *payi*: *nalpayi-yēnu* IV — 1328, *phayi*: *muphayi-remḍu* VI — 936. 1280 AD, *phai*: *naluphai-ēnu* VI — 1003, 1330 AD, *muphai-ēnu* V — 1248, 1471 AD.; *muphai vēlu* IV — 282. 1514 AD. *bhadi*: *embhadi* VI 107, 1076 AD. *ēmbhadi* V — 1395, 1323 AD, or its variant; *bhayi*: *ēmbhayi* V — 144, 1250 AD, 1152 — 1296 AD.. VI — 911, 1349

AD.; 663, 1432 AD.; *ēbhayī* V — 1220; *nalubhayī* VI — 1183, 1221 AD., with variations in spelling; *bhai*: *ēmbhai* V — 139, 1276 AD.; VI — 974, 1357 A.D., *ēbhai* V — 1227, 1341 A.D.; *ḍebhainālguyenabhai* IV — 698, 1564 A.D.; *bhai*: *ēmbhai* VI — 1035, 1394 AD.; *bai*: *ēmbai* V — 1183, 1321 AD.; *ḍebai* VI — 1068, 1368 AD.; *ēmbai* V — 1021, 1412 AD.; *baiyi*: *ēmbaiyi* V — 921, 1235 AD.; *bai*: *ēbai* V — 1174, 1422 AD. *vadi*: *iruvadi* IV — 1211, or its variant, *vayi*: *iruvayi* IV — 661, 1297 AD.; *irvayi* V — 1236, 1277 AD.; *aravayi* V — 37, 1572, with variation in spelling, *vai*: *iruvai* VI — 747, 1307, AD., 893, 1356 AD.; V — 874, 1530 A.D.

It may be noted that *v*- forms occur only in numeral compounds with two or six in the first member, whence NT. *iravai* 'twenty' and *aravai* 'sixty'.

The spontaneous aspiration in the form *-padi/-badi* appearing from the 7th c. onwards in compound numerals became more common later on, and with the elision of *-d-* resulted in *-phai, -bhai* forms, which became generalised in NT. There was no aspiration in *iruvadi* and *aruvadi*, where *p* is softened into *-v*.

Multiples of hundred

MT. *innūru, munnūru, nannūru, ēnūru, ār(u)nūru(lu), ēḍunūr(lu) enamannūru, tommannūru*. Numerals with pl. *-lu* must be comparatively later than the others. *vanda* is not used with the short form of the numeral, thus *reṇḍu vandalu, mūḍu vandalu*, etc.

Similarly *vēyi* is always used with the substantives and not with the short form of the adjective, e.g. *reṇḍu vēlu, mūḍu vēlu* etc.

Addition: 'takes place when any one of the numerals from one to nine is added to multiples of ten'. We have seen that in OT. the Skt. word *ādi* is sometimes used to express the idea of addition, like *nalpādyadi yokoti*. Such forms are not found in the later language.

The conjunctive particle *-un* is sometimes added, particularly in the literary dialect, eg. *padu-n-okanḍu, padiy-un-reṇḍu*.

In numeral compounds involving addition, *d* of *padi* sometimes appears as *ḍ* in inscr. Tel., Ex. *muppad-ēnu* (VI-123 Gtr. 1132 A.D.), *ēmbhad-ēnu* (VI-644 Gtr. 1150, VI-235 Gtr. 1158), *iruvad-ēnu* (X-318 Kurn. 1248), *ḍebbad-ēnu* (VI-1143 Vizag. 1269), *iruvad-enmidi* (V-71 U.D.). These forms in *ḍ* are obsolete in NT.

Numerals Eleven to Nineteen, *padan-okonḍu* (Na), *padun-okonḍu*, *padiyun-okonḍu* 11; *paṇḍ-reṇḍu* 12; *padu-mūḍu* 13; *padu-nālugu* 14; *padi-yēnu*, *pad-ēnu*, *padūn-aidu* 15; *padi-yāru*, *pad-āru* 16; *padi-yēḍu* 17; *padi-yenimidi*, *padun-enimidi* 18; *pan-dom-midi* 19.

Higher numerals

“When several numbers stand together, all except the last are put in the genitive case, except the word *nūru* which is put in the locative case, namely *nūṭa*. The word *veyyi* takes the affix *nni*” (Arden) of the conjunctive in NT. and *un* in MT.

Example from inscr. Numerals: 180 — *nūṁṭa yenam̐bhadi* SII. VI — 807, 300 — *munnūru* — SII. IV — 1235, 1099 AD., 500 — *ēnūru* — IV — 1203, 1168 AD., 928 — *tombhanūṭa yiruvadi yenimidi* V — 102, 1006 AD., 1070 — *vēyini ḍebbadi* — VI — 612, 1148 AD., 1298 — *sahasramunūn-innūṁṭa tombadi yenimidi* (verse ins.) SPM. I — 89, 1376 AD., 1327 — *vēyi munnūṁṭa yiruvadi* X — 573, 1405 AD., 1331 — *sahasramunu munnūṁṭa muppadi yokkaṁḍu* (verse ins.) — SPM. I — 94, 1409 AD., 1500 — *vēyin-ēnūru* — VI — 587, 1175 AD., *vēyun-ēnūru* — VI — 1200, AD., 1520 — *vēyun-ēnūṁṭa yiruvadi* (verse ins.) — SPM. I — 19, 1605 AD., 1600 — *vēyun-ārunūru* (verse ins.) — SPM. I — 113, 1678 AD., 1685 — *padāru nūrlapai enbadēnu* (verse ins.) — V — 1203, 1763 AD., 4000 — *nāluvu vēlu* — IV — 1359 — 4444 — *nālugu vēlunu nannūṭa nalupadi nālgu* VI — 598, 1163 AD., 21000 — *iruvaiyokka vēyi* VI — 935, 1269 AD., *iruvadiyokka vēyi* — VI — 628, 1224 AD.

Sometimes the conjunctive suffix with thousands unit is absent and there is mere juxtaposition: *veyi-ḍebbadaṁḍu* (V — 1013 Ganj. 1148), *veyi-ḍebbhayi-yēnavu* (X-131 Gtr. 1153), *vey-y-ēḍu-nūṭa-mupad-āru* (V — 1202 Ganj 1214), *vēyimunnūṁṭa iruvai yēḍu* (X-573 Gtr. 1407).

Ordinals

Ordinals are formed by adding *agu* to the cardinal numeral, in OT. *avu* (< *agu*) appears in one instance. In MT. we get *agu*, *avu*, *ava* (with the adjectival *a*) and *ō* (< *ava*); *ō* forms are attested in the inscr. from the 12th c. *mūṁḍō* (SII. IV — 1155, 1186 AD.) and becoming more common in the succeeding centuries. Even

by the age of *ava* its etymology seems to have been forgotten, and, with the phonetic change of *ava* to *ō*, its transformation into a mere suffix was complete. (For references to *ō* ordinals in literature see BKŚ. p. 133).

The ordinal of the numeral one is also formed from the word *modaḷu*, 'beginning': *modaliṅṅi* (Mhb. sabhā 5-86), *modaḷiṅi* (sabhā. 2-202), *modaṭi*. The regular formations from the cardinal are *okaṭava*, *okaṭō*.

Appellative Nouns

-vuru is suffixed to the short forms of the numerals to form appellative nouns Ex. MT. *iruvuru*, *muvvuru*, *nal(u)vuru*, *ēvuru*, *aivuru* (SII. VI — 200), *āruvuru*, *ēḍvuru*. From *iru* there is another form *iddaru* which is more common in the inscrr. and later literature. -guru (< -vuru) is used in the same way as -vuru, e.g. *vēguru* (SII. X — 644, 1060 AD.), *nalguru* (SII. IV — 1067), *ēḍu-guru* (VI — 785), *ēguru* (VI — 1112), *aiguru* (VI — 1117). In NT — vuru is completely ousted by -guru, e.g. *mugguru*, *naluguru* etc.

The numerals *enimidi*, *tommidi*, *padi* replace *di* by *ṅḍru*: eg.

Ex. Inscr. Tel. *enmaṅḍru* (IV-1305 God. 1107 A.D.) *muppaṅḍrakun* (IV-1248 God. 1112), *naluvaṅḍru* (VI-135 Gtr. 1144), *paduṅḍru* (X-130 Gtr. 1153) *tommaṅḍru* (VI-169 Gtr. 1167) *nūṭaibbaṅḍru* (X-264 Kist. 1221 AD.). These forms do not survive in NT, -guru being generalised as the formative of appellative nouns; it is added to the base ending in -ṅḍu : *enamaṅḍuguru*, *tommaṅḍuguru*, *padi - paduguru*, *nālugu - naluguru*; *mandi* 'collection of persons (Kan. *mandi* 'persons') is used with higher numerals, *aidu mandi* 'five persons', *padimandi* 'ten persons'; *mupparṅḍru* (*brāhmalaku*) (VI — 904) -ṅḍru evidently is written for *ṅḍru* cf. *paduṅḍru* in OT. where also *ṅḍru* may be taken to have the value of *ṅḍru*. In these cases *guru* is added to forms ending in -ṅḍu in NT. *enamaṅḍu-guru*, *tommaṅḍu-guru*, but from *padi paduguru*. *mandi* is used with higher numerals, from five onwards, *aidu mandi* five persons, *iravai mandi* twenty persons, etc.

NEW TELUGU

The following are the typical forms in Mdn. Tel. The rich variety of forms in the MT. stage is absent here.

Cardinal Numerals

okaṭi, > coll. *ohaṭi* (1) often pronounced with an initial v glide; *reṇḍu* (2), *mūḍu* (3), *nālugu* (4), *aidu* (5), *āru* (6), *ēḍu* (7), *enimidi* (8), *tommidi* (9), *padi* often heard with slight aspiration *phadi* (10). *paḍakoṇḍu* (11), *panneṇḍu* (< *paṇḍreṇḍu*) (12), *padmūḍu* (13), *padhnālugu*, n in the second syllable is pronounced unvoiced. The aspiration is analogical after the succeeding numerals, *padihēnu* (15), *padahāru* (16), *padihēḍu* (17) (-h- in these three forms is from -y-: *padi-yē-nu*, *padi-y-āru*, *padi-y-ēḍu*, *paddhenimidi* (18), *pandhommidi* (19). Aspiration in these two forms, 18 and 19, is analogical after the previous numerals. *iravai* (20), *iravaiyokaṭi* (21) etc., *mupphaṭi* (30), *nalabhai* (40), *ābhai* (by vowel assimilation < *ēbhai*) (50), *aravai* (60), *ḍeb-bhai* (70), *enabhai* (80), *tombhai* (90), *nūru* (100), *vanda* (100) more common in coastal districts, *nūṭa vokaṭi* (101), *nūṭa phadi* (110), etc. *in-nūru* (200), *munnūru* (300), *nannūru* (400), dialectally *reṇḍu vandalu* (200), *mūḍu vandalu* (300), *nālugu vandalu* (400).

1967: *pandhommidi vandala aravai yēḍu* (coastal districts) *veyyinni tomman-nūṭa aravai-yēḍu* (Rāyalasīma).

Ordinal Numerals

-ava, > -ō are the ordinal suffixes; the former survives in formal speech, and in literary composition. Ex. *okaṭ-ava*, *okaṭō*, *reṇḍ-ō*, *paḍakoṇḍ-ō*, etc. The ordinal 'first' has also another form *modaṭi*.

Appellative nouns

Masc. and Fem. forms of the num. one : Masc. *okāḍu*, *ckkāḍu* often with aspiration, in the sense of 'only one' *okkhaḍū unnāḍu* 'he is alone'.

Fem. *okatte*, *okatti*; *okkatte*, *okkatti* often with aspiration, in the sense of 'only one' *okkhattē āḍa pilla* 'only one girl'.

Epicene. *okaru*, *okaḷḷu*; *okkaru*, *okkaḷḷu* often with aspiration, in the sense of 'only one (person)' *okkhari valla kāḍu* 'it is not possible for one person'.

For the other numerals the forms are: *iddaru*, *mugguru*, *naluguru*, *aiduguru*, *aidu mandi*, *enamaṇḍuguru*, *tommaṇḍuguru*. Similarly with higher numerals -guru, mandi are used. *paduguru*, *padi-mandi*, *iravati mandi*.

VERBS

LIST OF VERBAL ROOTS FOUND IN THE OT. INSCRR.

(The asterisk indicates the occurrence of the verbal root
in the respective centuries)

INTRANSITIVE

	7th	8th	9th	10th	UD
{ <i>aku</i> , to become	*				
{ <i>agu</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>anniyambu voḍucu</i> , to act unjustly					*
<i>amaru</i> , to suit, to be agreeable			*		
<i>alayū</i> , to be weary			*		
<i>lē</i> , to be not		*	*	*	
<i>uṇḍu</i> , to be	*		*		
<i>eḍaru</i> to attack			*		
{ <i>ēgu</i> , to go			*		*
{ <i>ēṅgu</i> , <i>ēṁgu</i>					*
<i>oḍabaḍu</i> , to agree			*		
<i>oppu</i> , to be proper			*		
<i>ōḍu</i> , to be defeated					*
<i>ōpu</i> , to be able				*	
{ <i>kaḷu-gu</i> , to happen	*	*	*		
{ <i>kaḷu-gu</i>	*	*	*		*
<i>caccu</i> , to die					*
<i>canu</i> , to go, to be proper	*	*			*
<i>ceḍu</i> , to be spoiled			*		
<i>coccu</i> , to enter			*	*	*
<i>takku</i> , to remain, to be left				*	
<i>talagonu</i> , to endeavour					*
<i>naḍacu</i> , to walk					*
<i>nilcu</i> , to stand					*
<i>paḍu</i> , to fall	*	*			
<i>pai-lēcu</i> , to be elated			*		
<i>paragu</i> , to be, to shine			*		
<i>pāyu</i> , to leave	*				
<i>pūnu</i> , to undertake				*	
<i>pōvu</i> , to go			*		*
<i>pravartillu</i> , to be current	*				
<i>manu</i> , to live				*	*

	7th	8th	9th	10th	UD
<i>merayu</i> , to shine			*		
<i>raṁk-āḍu</i> , to commit adultery				*	
<i>vakra palku</i> , to speak against, to obstruct	*				
<i>vakrambu vaccu</i> , to obstruct	*	*		*	*
<i>vaccu</i> , to come		*	*		
<i>vardhillu</i> , to prosper				*	
<i>valayu</i> , to be required				*	
<i>viḍiyu</i> , to lodge			*		
<i>velayu</i> , to shine, to be known			*		
<i>brindambu gonu</i> , to congregate			*		
<i>astaprāptamb-agu</i> , to come into possession				*	

TRANSITIVE

<i>anu</i> , to say	*	*	*	*	*
<i>en</i>	*				
<i>anubhavimcu</i> , to enjoy				*	
<i>alayu</i> , to destroy			*	*	*
<i>layyu</i>			*		
<i>laccu</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>āḍu</i> , to speak		*			
<i>iccu</i> , to give	*	*	*	*	*
<i>iḍu</i> , to place, to give			*		
<i>uḍucu</i> , to remove			*		
<i>upēkṣimcu</i> , to neglect			*		
<i>ekku</i> , to ascend			*		
<i>erugu</i> , to know	*		*		
<i>erugu</i>	*		*		
<i>ēlu</i> , to rule	*	*	*		*
<i>ēlu</i>	*	*	*		*
<i>oḍucu</i> , to make to to flee, to defeat				*	*
<i>kattu</i> , to bind, to build			*	*	*
<i>kadiyu</i> , to meet					*
<i>kanu</i> , to see		*	*		
<i>kanu</i>			*		
<i>kācu</i> , to protect	*		*	*	
<i>kāviṅcu</i> , to do		*	*		
<i>kuḍucu</i> , to enjoy	*			*	

	7th	8th	9th	10th	UD
<i>kalocu</i> , to measure		*			
{ <i>kēy(u)</i> , to do	*	*			
<i>cēyu</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>kottu</i> , to strike		*			*
{ <i>konu</i> , to take			*		
<i>konu</i>			*	*	*
{ <i>koḷalcu</i> , to make hollow, to destroy			*		
<i>koḷocu</i>			*		
<i>kḷoccu</i>			*		
<i>kroccu</i>					*
<i>kroccu</i>			*		*
<i>gelcu</i>				*	
<i>campu</i> , to kill	*				
<i>cintiñcu</i> , to think	*				
<i>cūcu</i> , to see		*	*		
{ <i>cerucu</i> , to spoil				*	
<i>ceruncu</i>			*		
<i>cēkonu</i> , to take			*	*	
<i>cēnērcu</i> (= <i>cēyanērcu</i>), to be able to do		*			
<i>tappu</i> , to falter, to violate		*	*		*
<i>tāgu</i> , to give (?)	*				
<i>tānku</i> , to touch, to meet			*		*
<i>tivuru</i> , to desire			*		
<i>tīrcu</i> , to make			*		
<i>teccu</i> , to bring				*	
<i>terucu</i> , to open				*	
<i>dayasēyu</i> , to grant		*	*	*	
<i>nāpu</i> , to maintain	*	*	*		*
<i>nemiyimcu</i> , (for <i>nirmimcu</i>), to construct			*		
<i>paṭṭambu gattu</i> , to anoint	*	*	*		
<i>paṭṭamb-ettu</i> , to anoint				*	
<i>pattu</i> , to hold				*	
<i>paḍayu</i> , to obtain	*				
{ <i>pañcu</i> , to send, to empty		*			
<i>pañcu</i>			*		
<i>pancu</i>			*		

	7th	8th	9th	10th	UD
<i>peṭṭu</i> , to place				*	*
<i>peruku</i> , to pull out				*	
<i>poḍucu</i> , to strike		*	*		*
<i>pratiṣṭhim̄cu</i> , to establish				*	
{ <i>prasāda cēyu</i> , to grant	*				
{ <i>prasādañ cēyu</i>		*		*	
{ <i>prithivi-rājyañ cēyu</i> ,		*			*
{ to rule the earth					
{ <i>prithivi-rājyambu sēyu</i>					*
<i>mul̄cilu</i> , to steal				*	
<i>bayaḷ cēyu</i> , to lay open			*		
<i>meccu</i> , to praise			*		
<i>rakṣincu</i> , <i>rakṣim̄cu</i> , to protect	*	*	*	*	
<i>vadhim̄cu</i> , to kill		*		*	
<i>viḍucu</i> , to leave				*	
<i>vēṇḍikonu</i> , to request		*		*	
{ <i>vṛaccu</i> , to destroy	*	*	*		*
{ <i>vṛaccu</i>					*
{ <i>vḷaccu</i>			*		
<i>vṛāyu</i> , to write	*	*		*	*
<i>salpu</i> , to maintain	*		*	*	

CAUSATIVE

<i>eṭṭim̄cu</i> , to cause to be raised			*		*
<i>kattim̄cu</i> , to cause to be built			*		
<i>kulopiñcu</i> , to cause to be measured		*			
<i>kol̄pim̄cu</i> , to cause to dig				*	
<i>paṭṭambu gaṭṭim̄cu</i> , to cause to anoint			*		
<i>peṭṭim̄cu</i> , to cause to be placed					*
<i>rāvincu</i> , to cause to come				*	
<i>velvarincu</i> , to cause to come out			*		

Verbal roots may be classified into simple and compound roots. Simple roots: Ex. Native: *agu*, *anu*, *iccu*, *kroccu*, *canu*, *ceḍu*, *cēyu*, *coccu*, *nilpu*, *poḍucu*, *pōvu*, *vaccu*, *viḍiyu*, *viḍucu*, *vṛāyu*. Borrowed from Skt.: *upēkṣim̄cu*, *vardhillu*, *pravartillu*, *cintiñcu*, *pratiṣṭhim̄cu*, *rakṣim̄cu*, *vadhim̄cu*.

Compound roots: Ex. Noun and aux. verb: *oḍabaḍu*, *talagonu*, *pailēcu*, *raṁkāḍu*, *bayalsēyu*; *anniyambu voḍucu*, *dayasēyu*, *paṭ-ṭam kaṭṭu*, *paṭṭambu gaṭṭu*, *paṭṭamb-ettu*, *prasāda cēyu*, *prasādañ-cēyu*, *prithivirājyañ-cēyu*, *prithivirājyambu sēyu*. Past participle and aux. verb: *vēṇḍikonu*.

FORMATION OF TRANSITIVE AND CAUSATIVE ROOTS :

cu/ñcu, incu and pu are trans. suffixes, Ex. cu/ñcu: *cerucu*, *ceruñcu* (*ceḍu*); *tīrcu* (*tīru*); *negal̄cu* (**negal* > *negāḍu*); *uḍucu* (*uḍu-gu*); incu: *kāvincu*, to do (*agu*, 'to become').

pu: Substitutes cu final *campu* (*caccu*); *niḷpu* (*niḷcu*), *kuḍupu*, to maintain (*kuḍucu*).

Incu, pincu are suffixes which derive causatives from transitive, and transitives from intransitive roots. incu: *ettiṁcu* (< *ettu*, tr.), *kaṭṭiṁcu* (< *kaṭṭu*, tr.) *veluvariṁcu* (< *veluvaḍu*, intr.); *rāvincu* (< **var*, *vaccu*, intr.); pincu: appears with roots ending in cu. *kolpiṁcu* (< *kolacu*, tr.); *kulopiṁcu* (< *kulocu*, tr.).

VERBAL INFLECTION

The root with the tense-mode suffix forms the adverbial participle. The root + the tense-mode suffix + the personal termination forms the finite verb.

There are three tenses of the verb past, present and aorist. The aorist which is the indefinite tense expresses the present-future and the habitual.

PARTICIPLES

PAST: The past adverbial participle is formed by adding the suffix *i* to the root and the past declinable participle by adding *ina*.

Adverbial participle: 7th *ayi* (18-8), *icci* (10-10), *kāci* (8-6), *cēsi* (15-4), *niḷci* (10-21), *paḷasi* (16-11); 8th *icci* (28-13), *cesi* (25-4), *daya sēsi* (25-4), *poḍuci* (29-4), *paṭṭambu gaṭṭi* (33-4), *prasādañcēsi* (26-15), *raksiñci* (30-5), *lassi* (33-15), *vēṇḍikonni* (32-4); 9th *ani* (37-7), *oḍabaḍi* (35-45), *kaṭṭinci* (35-4), *kaṇni* (38-27), *kāñci* (36-9), *koni* (35-6), *-koni* (38-11), *cēkoni* (38-26), *cēsi* (35-8), *taṇni* (38-35), *tānki* (41-10), *tiviri* (38-25), *niḷci* (35-7), *poḍici* (36-10), *meresi* (41-6), *mecci* (35-8), *lassi* (38-14), *vacci* (38-23), *viḍisi* (38-11); 10th *kaṭṭi* (44-11), *cēkoni* (48-5), *cocci*

(44-69), *gelci* (44-38), *tecci* (44-10), *terici* (50-14), *paṭṭamb-etti* (44-11), *paṭṭi* (50-13), *pratiṣṭhīnci* (44-52), *rāviṁci* (44-26), *salpi* (44-51).

It may be seen from the above examples that roots ending in *yu* replace *y* by *s*, eg. *cēsi* (< *cēyu*), *paḷasi* for *paḷasi* (*paḷayu*), *meresi* (< *merayu*), *viḍisi* (< *viḍiyu*). The participles of *agu* and *pōvu* are *ayi* and *pōyi* (93-5) which suggest that the primitive form of the roots is **ā*, **pō*. In the examples *poḍici* (36-10) (< *poḍucu*), *tivir* (< *tivuru*), the penultimate vowel *u* > *i* by vowel harmony. But in *poḍuci* (29-4) the vowel remains unaffected; such old forms are also preserved in classical texts.

Declinable participle: (Examples include those occurring in participial nouns). 7th *ayina* (18-6), *iccina* (2-4), *kēsina* (4-1), *campina* (20-17), *cēsina* (10-5), *nilpina* (5-3), *rakṣiṅcina* (16-14), *vakrambu vaccina* (10-32), *vakra palkina* (8-7), *vraccina* (10-34), *salpina* (14-20), *laccina* (16-21); 8th *iccina* (25-2), *cūcina* (26-24), *cēsina* (25-6), *kudipina* (26-19), *kulocina* (30-3), *kulopiṅcina* (26-21), *tappina* (25-5), *nilpina* (27-2), *paṅcina* (25-9), *vadhīsina* (23-24); 9th *ayna* (37-3) *aina* (39-7), *alīsina* (38-20), *iccina* (35-10), *iḍḍa* (43-1), *eḍarina* (39-5), *ēlina* (40-5), *oḍicina* (39-6), *kaṭṭina* (35-3), *koṅṅa* (43-4), *krocina* (43-6), *cēsina* (41-4), *nilpina* (38-34), *paṭṭambu gaṭṭina* (35-3), *paṅcina* (35-5) *paṅcina* (37-7), *para-gina* (39-7), *rakṣiṅcina* (35-11), *vadhīncina* (40-4), *vraccina* (37-12), *vḷaccina* (42-3); 10th *ayna* (44-2) *aina* (44-27), *alīsina* (50-5), *iccina* (44-50), *kaṭṭina* (50-2), *konna* (44-71), *campina* (50-13), *cēsina* (44-60), *takkambaḍina* (50-4), *dayasēsina* (50-3), *manna* (44-73), *vrāsina* (50-8).

PRESENT: The present adverbial participle is formed by adding the suffix *cun* to the root, the pres. declinable participle by adding *cunna* (= (n) + *unna*, past. decl. part. of *unḍu*).

Adv. participle: 7th c. *ēḷucu* (12-5), (*ēḷucunri* (14-9), (mistake for *ēḷucunḍi*); 8th *ēḷucu* (26-11), 9th no example; 10th *anubaviṁcucu*, (44-22), *cēyucun* (44-21), *paḷayucu* (44-45), UD. *ēḷucunḍi* (90-3).

Decl. participle: 10th *arḍḍharājyambu sēyucunna* (*Kusumāyudhu pedda koḍuku*) (44-15).

AORIST: There is no adv. part. but only the decl. participle in this tense. One type of aor. decl. part. appears identical with

the root form ending in u, the other takes the suffix *edu*; they take the augment *n* when followed by a vowel in sandhi.

1. Part. identical with the root. form. 7th *agu-n* (19-6), *ann* (< *agu-n*) (10-3, 11,5), *agu* (13-7), *en* (in *envānru*) (16-9), *uṇḍu* (14-30), *erugu* (17-3), *erugu* (10-10), *kuḍucu* (10-10), *cintiñcu* (11-15), *laccu* (19-12) *vakrambu vaccu* (13-17); 8th *an* (in *anvānru*) (29-3), *āḍu* (25-6), *ēlu* (29-2), *laccu* (30-4), *vakrambu vaccu* (24-21); 9th *agu-n* (39-2), *anu* (39-7), *uṇḍu* (38-11), *ēlu-n* (39-5), *ēlu* (38-30), *kācu* (38-45), *ceḍu* (43-6), *ceruñcu* (34-10), *vaccu* (39-7); 10th *agun* (45-4, 47-10, 49-7), *kala* (*kalavāru*) (47-32) which is an irregular verb *konu* (*konuvāru*) (50-15). 2. Forms in *edu*: 9th *ēleḍu* (*vāra*) (38-30); 10th *kuḍuceḍu* (*vāru*) (48-6), *rakṣinceḍuvāru* (in an unpublished inscr. ARE. 213/1937-38, in characters of 10th c.) The form *ēlē* in Ahadanakara ins. of 8th c. (in *ēlēmuḷa cēsina sēyuḍu canu* (25-6) may be derived from *ēlēḍu*—by the loss of final syllable with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

NEGATIVE: The adv. part. is formed by adding the suffix *aka* to the root, the decl. part. by adding *ani*. The suffixes appear as *ka* and *ni* respectively after a vowel.

Adv. part. 8th *cēnēraka* (25-9); 9th *kāka* (38-10), *cēyak* (-*unna*) (39-12); 10th *campaka* (50-14), *minnaka* (50-14), *meccaka* (38-24).

Decl. part. 9th (*koladi lēni* (36-10) 'without limit'.

PERSONAL TERMINATIONS

Personal terminations of the II and III person occur in the inscr., those of the II pers. in appellative verbs. Full forms of the pronouns occur as pronominal endings in the III person

	sg.	pl.
II pers. 10th	avu, vi	—
III pers. 7th	—	M. & F. vāru
8th M.	vānru	vāru
9th	—	ru, ri
N.	adi	—
UD M.	vāṇḍu	N vi

FINITE VERBS

Finite verbs of the past and aorist in the III sg. and neut. pl., end in *-enu*, and *-unu* respectively, Ex. *cēsenu*, *agunu*.

TENSE

PAST TENSE

Only III person forms are found. Sg. 7th *icce* (16-23, 21-8), *nilpe* (15-4), *vrāse* (13-22); 8th *kotte* (24-33), *nilpe* (32-14) *koloce* (23-27), *paḍiyen* (29-4); 9th *uḍice* (39-7), *ettiñce* (38-9), *ettincen* (38-43), *kattimcen* (38-40), *kāce* (39-8), *conpe* (39-5) *tircce* (38-10), *nilpe* (39-12), *poḍice* (40-5), *pōye* (41-11); 10th *ayin* (= *ayyen*) (49-8), *icce* (47-18), *viḍice* (50-5); UD. *ēge* (75-6) *ēnge* (78-3), *krocce* (64-20), *caniye* (76-5), *cēse* (86-5), *paḍiye* (82-8), *peṭṭiñce* (65-2).

Pl. 7th *icciri* (10-9), *kēsiri* (3-2), *tāgiri* (14-18), *prasādu cēsiri* (22-12); 8th *icciri* (24-13), *nilpiri* (33-3), *vrāsiri* (24-29); 9th *icciri* (48-4) *daya sēsiri* (34-5).

The following forms have been used as participial nouns, not finite verbs: 8th *kulicinavāru* (26-19), *kulopiñcinavāru* (26-21), *cūcinavāru* (26-14); as finite verb: *vīri pedda koḍuku Niḍumrani kayyambuna jaccinavānru* (53-4).

PRESENT TENSE

There is no personal verb of the present tense in the inscrr.

THE AORIST

Aorist used in the present tense: UD. *Kurramaduḅ-ēḷuvānru* (*Gāgullakādamma Śrīmeddi Sōravāḍi kayyambuna poḍici paḍiye*) (82-4) 'Srimeddi of Gagullakadamma who is ruling Kurramaduḅu fought in the battle of Soravadi and fell'.

Used in present-future: 7th *pāyun* (11-5); 8th *cannu* (25-6) (= *canunu*); 10th *valayu* (44-35); *vinit-iccudun* (in Gangadharam inscr. Bharati, Mar. 1967) which is peculiar for the absence of the morpho-phonemic change of -d- in this environment to -tt-. This must be a dialectal feature.

The aorist is also used to express certain modalities of action as (1) the imperative mood: 7th *kuḍucuvāru*, (10-10) 'they should enjoy'; 9th *kācuvāru* (34-7) 'they should protect', *ēḷuvāru* (38-31) 'they should rule, maintain': UD. *peṭṭuvāru: reṇḍu gadyalu ervvōka punnamā (ṁ) beṭṭuvāru* (62-21) 'they should give' *manuvaṇḍu: indula tapasulaka banisēsi manuvaṇḍu* (66-11) 'he should live by rendering service to the devotees of the temple.' In the following appositional sentence it has the signification of the polite im-

perative, *dīnīm jēkoni kāci kuḍuceḍuvāru Maṁjaramuna Kūcibha-
dālu*, 'Kūcibhadālu of Maṁjaramu should protest and enjoy it'.

(2) the optative, benedictive or curse: 7th *agu: dēniki vak-
raṁbu vacinavānru pañcamahāpātaku agu* (6-7) 'he who obstructs
it will incur the five great sins', *tēni laccinavānru pañcamahāpātaka
samyuktunru* (7-7) 'he who obstructs it will incur the five
great sins'; *paḍu: vakra palkinavāru pañcamahāpātakaṁbu paḍu*
(8-7) 'those who obstruct it incur the five great sins'; *akun: tēni
laccinavānru pañcamahāpātakunr-akun* (9-4). *uḍuvānru: dēniki
vakraṁbu vaccuvanru putra vadya strīvadya gōvadya pañcama-
hāpātakañ-cēsinavāni lōkambun uḍuvānru* (14-30) *agu: dīni
rakṣiñcinavāniki aḍug-aḍug-aśvamēdhambunā palamb-agu, dīni
laccinavāniki ekaḷu Śrīparvvataṁbu laccina pāpaṁb agu*; 8th *gac-
curu: dēniki vakraṁbu vaccina gaccuru* (25-4); *agu: dēniki vak-
raṁbu vaccuvanru gaḷānrēni Muḍibiyambu Vāraṇāsiyu lacinavanr-
agu pañcamahāpātaka samyuktunr-agu* (26-25); *kāncun: tēni rak-
ṣiñci kuḍḍipivānru asvamēdambuna pallambu kāncun aḍugu
aḍugu* (30-5); *agun: dēniki vakraṁbu vaccuvānru pañcamahāpā-
taka sayyuktunr-agun* (31-4); 9th *vīni rakṣiñcinavāriki asvamē-
dambu palambu agu* (35-11); *ceḍuvānru: rogoṇṇavānrun-iccina
vānru ceḍuvānru* (43-6); 10th *vardhilucunḍunu: ī dharmam-ācan-
drārkaṁbuna vārdhilucunḍunu* (47-22); *dīniki vakkraṁbu vaccina-
vāru Bāraṇāsini Śrīparvvatambunn- aḷisnavāru* (48-5).

THE NEGATIVE VERB: There are only thrēe instances of the nega-
tive verb expressed by an auxiliary *lēḍu, lēḍu*; 8th *dīniki vakkraṁbu
lēḍu* (25-4) 'there is (i.e. should be) no violation of this (grant)'.
10th *daṇḍuvu lēḍu* (50-13), there is no punishment: *parīkṣa lēḍu*
(50-15) 'there is (to be) no questioning (of this)'.

MOOD

The Imperative Mood: The personal ending *mu* added to the root
form: *nī-k-ēmi valayu dāni vēṇḍikommu = vēṇḍikonumu* (44-32)
'ask what you (sg.) desire'. The aorist is capable of expressing
the imperative as seen above.

The Infinite Mood: The infinitive is formed by adding the
suffix *an(u)* to the root. The nasal (being a druta) is sometimes
dropped. The infinitive is used to express purpose, contempora-
neous action or an adverbial meaning. Purpose: 10th *nēla yellaṁ
gāvambūni* (44-12) 'undertaking to protect the whole world';
tamayanna Goṇaṁgayya cēsina dharmmuvulu nasambunu negaḷ-

panu gāvanu (44-57) 'to maintain and to protect the charities made by his brother Goṇaṁgayya'. Contemporaneity of action: Ex. 7th *ēlan*: *Dhanamjayuru Rēnāṇḍu ēlan* (1-5) 'while Dhanamjaya was ruling Rēnāṇḍu'; *kānu*: *dvitīya varṣam pravartamānam kānu* (18-5); 'while the second year was current.' 8th *prithivirājyam cēya*: *cōlamahārāju prithivirājyam cēya* (24-7) 'while Cōlamahārāja was ruling the earth'. *pravarttillan*: *cōlarāju iruvādi reṇḍu cavaccarambu pravarttillan* (28-25) 'while the twenty-second year of Cōlarāja was current'. *prithivirājyañ cēyan*: *Śrī vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramahēśvara bhaṭṭarāḷa prithivirājyañ cēyan* (31-1) 'while Śrī Vallabha mahārājādhirāja ... was ruling the earth.' In an unpublished inscr. occurs *Vijayasamvatsarambu pravarttimc-canu* (1. 6, ARE. 203/1950-51, Velamakuru, Anantapur dist.), without the morpho-phonemic alternation of c to p. Adverbial usage: 7th *nilvanu*: *ācandradararkambu nilvanu* 'so as to stand as long as the moon, stars and sun exist.' 9th *aliyan*: *aliyan baivārāla velvarimcinan* (38-15), 'if (they) forcibly expel the outsiders'. *amaramga*: *dāniki kalaśab-idḍaṭṭugā mogamāḍuv-amaramga śrī yuddhamalluṇḍ-ettimcen*, 'Śrī Yuddhamalla constructed a frontal tower to it so as to shine as a *kalaśa*'. *erumga*: *ellar-erumga Kannarābhūpati venn-ājilōm jūce* (39-6) 'he openly defeated Kannarābhūpati; *cōlanim jēkoni kāce bhūlokamb-erumga* (39-8) 'he protected Cōla openly'. The infinitive of the aux. verb *agu*, *kānu* gives an adverbial force to nouns, Ex. 10th *Kuruvabhaṭariki Reṇḍurēvulu polagarusugānu paḍumaṭan goṇḍayu garusugānu nēla yella sarvvaparihāruvu icce* (47-14 to 18), 'he gave to Kuruvabhaṭāra all the land with Reṇḍurēvulu as the boundary, the hill as the boundary on the western side'.

Various shades of meaning are developed from the infinitive by the addition of appropriate aux. verbs, Ex. with *uṇḍu* 'to remain', the idea of futurity; 7th *raṭṭaguḷḷa anvayambunavār-evvaraiyumu, raksimpan-umna* (11-14); 'if any of those belonging to the family of raṭṭaguḷḷis is going to protect this (gift i.e. in the future);; *valayu*, to indicate obligation, 10th *pratyupakārambu sēyavalayun* (44-34) '(I) should help in return'; *temcu* to indicate the state of being ready to fulfil or commence an action, UD. *vakrambu rādencu* (54-5) '(those) who are about to obstruct'; *paḍu*, to express the passive, or in *svārtha*, 10th *takkambadina* 'remaining' (= *takkina*).

The conditional Mood: The suffixes of the conditional are *ēni* and *inan*. The former is added to the past or the aorist verb, the

latter to the root form. *ēni*: 7th *kaḷarēni* (20-13); 8th *kaḷarēni* (25-4), *kaḷānrēni* (26-26); 9th *kaḷarēni* (34-10); 10th *valayunēni* (44-48); *inan*: 8th *vakrambu vaccina* (25-5); 9th *viḍisinan*; 10th *campina* (50-13); with the conj. suffix, *cericinanu* (44-56) *raṅkāḍinanu* (50-13); (*curiya*) *verikinānu* (44-77), *muḷcilinānu* (44-78). Note the lengthening of the penultimate vowel in these instances. Similar practice is seen in later Tel.

The suffix *-inan* expresses the meaning of 'when' or 'after', in the following instances. 9th *Paṇḍaramgu baṅcina* (35-5) 'when or after (he) sent Paṇḍaramgu'; *Bejayarāju samartthunḍani ātmānmatambunam baṅcina* (37-7) 'when, with his permission (he) sent Bejayarāju thinking him to be a fit person'; *iṁdu vratyakṣambayannan* (383-27) 'after he manifested himself here'.

VOICE

The Passive Voice

The passive voice, of which we have only two examples in the undated inscr., is expressed with the help of the auxiliary root *paḍu* 'to fall, to suffer', added to the infinitive verb in *-an vānicēta paṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍinavāuru* (83-5), *gaṇḍara Mutrāju Vaidumbūlacētam baṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍi* (91-5). The construction *rāju paṭṭambu gaṭṭina patiṅgu* (38-17) 'also the officer who is anointed by the king' without the *paḍu* passive looks peculiar to us now but this seems to be the original native idiom.

The Reflexive Voice

It is expressed by adding the auxiliary root *konu* 'to take' to the past participle of the principal verb, e.g. 10th, *vēṇḍikonḍumu*, (= *vēṇḍikonumu*?) 44-39.

VERBAL NOUN

With the *ḍu* suffix: 8th *cēyūḍu* 'deed' (25-6) (*cēyū*); with the *ta* suffix: 10th *īvuta* (*iccu*) Gangadharam inscr. Bharati, Mar. 1967. With the neut. *adi*: 8th *cēsinadi* 'deed' (25-5).

APPELLATIVE VERBS

Appellative verbs are formed by adding the personal terminations to noun stems. Forms of the II and III pers. are met within the inscr. 10th *celi-vi* (44-27), *prāṇasamānuṇḍ-avvu* (44-26) (II pers.); UD. *Pōḍēri-vi* (53-3) (III neut. pl.).

MIDDLE TELUGU

STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

There are two types of verbal forms, the finite and the non-finite. The finite verb normally consists of the verbal root + tense-mode suffix + person suffix. The non finite verb differs from the finite verb in that it does not have the person suffix but only two elements in its structure, the root + tense-mode suffix. On the syntactic level the finite verb may constitute a sentence but a non-finite verb always occurs 'as a satellite to a finite verb'.

Finite verbs are either simple or compound. The simple finite verb — inherited from P.Dr. — is that in which the verb root directly enters into inflection with the tense-mode suffix; the compound verb — an independent formation in Telugu is, on the other hand, made up of (1) a non-finite verb + declinable forms of the III pers. pronoun *vāḍu* (Ex. *vaccu-vāḍanu vaccina-vāḍanu, unna-y-adi, unna-y-avi, cēyucun-unna-vāḍavu, kavṇ-gala-vāramu*), or (2) a finite verb + finite forms of an auxiliary verb (Ex. *nammanēran-ayyedanu*).

There are fundamentally two types of conjugations, the affirmative and the negative. The expression of negation on a morphological level is a characteristic of the Dr.

In the affirmative there are two simple finite verbs the aorist and the past, and four compound finite verbs, the aorist, past, present and the future. The aorist or *taddharmārthaka* expresses the present-future (non-past) and the habitual, besides some modalities of action. In the old classics the aorist was also used in the past. The simple finite verb shows gender-number distinction in the III pers, which is peculiar to itself, viz. masc. fem. neut. Sg., neut. pl : masc. fem. pl., Ex. *vaṇḍunu : vaṇḍuduru, vaṇḍenu : vaṇḍiri*. Elsewhere, in the compound verb, gender-number distinction follows the pattern of the III pers. pronoun, masc. sg.: fem. neut. Sg.: masc. fem. Pl.: neut. pl.

As regards non-finites there are adverbial participles in the past and present tenses and declinable participles in the aorist, past, present and future tenses, i.e. adv. participles in the aorist

and future are wanting. There are further the imperative (a finite verb with two-membered paradigm, II Sg. and Pl.), the post-action, the infinitive and the conditional (which are non-finites).

There are, in the negative, a simple finite verb, an adv. participle, a declinable participle and a neg. imperative or prohibitive. The simple neg. verb, the counterpart of the affirm. aorist, expresses negation without any reference to time, so that it could be used in the three tenses. Where tense is required to be expressly indicated it may be done periphrastically by using the appropriate tense form of the aux. verb *agu*, thus *nammanu* 'I do not/did not/will not believe', *namman-ayitini* 'I did not believe'.

The passive and the reflexive voice of the verb are expressed, unlike in OIA, analytically by the use of the auxiliaries *paḍu* 'to fall, suffer' and *konu* 'to take (for oneself)', respectively.

And finally there are two verbal nouns, one in the affirmative and one in the negative.

THE VERBAL ROOT

The verb stem may be either a simple root or compound verbal root called *śabdapallava*. Telugu has inherited many verbal roots from PDr. with formative suffixes and a small number without them. Ex. *kad-al-u* 'to move', *tir-ug-u* 'to turn' (final *u* being euphonic in origin); *an-u* 'to say', *kon-u* 'to take'. The addition of the formative elements to the primitive root had, in effect, established the form-class of the words, thus *tir-i* 'twist' is a noun, *tir-ug-u*, (intrans.) *tri-pp-u* (trans.) are verbs. These latter are also capable of being used as nouns, but it is secondary to their verbal function. A small number of verbal roots in the native element are constituted of verbalising suffixes *incu*, (also *cu*) and *illu*, Ex. *pukkil-incu* (noun. *pukkili*), *kaugil-incu* (*kauḡili*), *cigurcu* 'to sprout (*ciguru*), Nanni. *kāvaḍ-incu* (Kus. 2-80), *kēlcincu* (5-86), and some are bound verbal roots in *svārtha* (BV. kri. 63) like *angal-incu*, *āl-incu* *ōsar-illu*.

incu, *cu* and *illu* are regularly employed as verbalising suffixes in loan words from Skt., *incu* in both intrans. and trans. forms, and *illu* in the intrans., Ex. *sampād-illu* 'to happen' (intrans.)

(Bhr. 1-6-249), *sampād-incu* 'to earn' (trans.); *vikas-illu*, *vikas-incu* 'to bloom' (intrans.). Verbs like *avadhāru* (Skt. *avadhāraya*) without the verbalising element are rare. Traditional grammarians sometimes connect tats. verb stems with Skt. root forms in showing *prakriya*, but it would be proper to regard them as derived from nominal stems, thus, for example, *jay-incu* 'to win' is from *jaya-* rather than from the root *jī*. *prayōgas* for the use of a tats. verb without the verbaliser are rare, Ex. *garju: pērcuna brati lēka garjun-atisūrū gumārun-adalci* (Kus. 12-169).

Before *incu*, tatsama verbs of the following description take the augment *-iy-* optionally (BV.kri. 50): monosyllabic or disyllabic roots, not metrically long and not ending in *y*, thus *bhuj-iy-incu*/*bhuj-incu*, *guṇ-iy-incu*/*guṇ-incu*, but *vac-incu* 'to say', *arth-incu* 'to beg', *vyay-incu* 'to spend'. The augment is also seen in native roots as in *nag-iy-incu* 'to make to laugh, beside *nag-incu*, (cf. past verb before the suffix *-enu*, *nag-iy-enu*, *nag-enu*, *paḍ-iy-enu*, *paḍ-enu*). Augments like *g*, *t* or *r* appear in some verbs before these suffixes, *citta-g-incu*, *kōpa-g-incu* (beside *kōp-incu*), *panta-g-incu*, *cēra-g-illu*, *otti-g-il(l)u*; *mrogga-t-illu*; *tēja-r-illu*, probably analogical after *prajva-r-illu* by dissimilation from **prajval-illu* cf. *prajval-incu*. If it is due to the influence of Skt. sandhi *-s > -r*, there is no reason why it should occur only before *illu*.

Some loan words, in their *tadbhava* form, have fallen into the pattern of Telugu root structure, Ex. *saḍalu* 'to get loose' MIA. *saḍhila*, OIA. Vedic *śrthira-*

Some native roots are defective and do not participate in all conjugations, Ex. *vāru* occurs only in neg. *vāraka* 'without intercession', *uru* neg. *uraka* 'not caring', *urūḍu* he did not/does not/will not care; *abbagincu*, neg. *abbhagimpaka* (Kus. 2-69); *toṭṭu-* past part. *toṭṭi* in the sense of 'beginning with' (Bhr. 1-1-14).

COMPOUND VERBAL ROOTS

Just as there are compound nouns there are also compound verbal roots in Telugu. These are formed by the addition of an auxiliary verbal root to certain roots. The aux. serves the purpose of bringing out the verbal idea more clearly or adding a slightly different shade of meaning to it. The aux. verb is also added to certain nouns to convert them into verbal themes, Ex. *mēlu-konu* to wake up (from sleep) (*mēlu* good, *konu* to take),

vā-pōvu to sorrow (*vā* mouth, *pōvu* to go). These are therefore idiomatically used verbal compounds (*vilakṣaṇārthābhidhāyi* BV. kri. 118). In some cases, however, there may not be any development of meaning, Ex. *nila-baḍu*, *niluc-uṇḍu* to stand, the suffixed root does not add particularly to the meaning of the original root, thus *nilu*, *nilū-baḍu*, *niluc-uṇḍu* are synonymous, *nilu* = to stand, *nilū-baḍu* = to fall into the state of standing, again it means 'to stand'. *aga-paḍu* to appear, *aḍḍa-paḍu* to come across, *kaṭṭu-vaḍu* to be bound, *cēḍ-paḍu* to suffer, *pāḍu-vaḍu* to be spoiled, *bayalu vaḍu* to be opened up, in all these forms *paḍu* is used to convert the noun forms into verbal themes.

The following list of śabdapallava roots in inscr. Tel. meaning 'to violate, obstruct, go against' etc. (in connection with grants made) will illustrate the principle of compounding as a means of building up of vocabulary. *kriyā prasiddhā bahavas śabdapallava samjñikāḥ*. They represent an aspect of the idiom of the language. They are all the time developing anew and some are receding into the background. *vaṁcchana-sēyu* (X-666, Vizag. 1126 AD), *vilōmamu-sēyu* (X-85 Gtr. 1127), *vighnamu-sēyu* (X-671 Vizag. 1129), *vicchinnamu-sēyu* (X-690, Vizag. 1138), *virōdhanu-cēyu* (IV-1133, E. God. 1145), *vakram-agu* (VI-639, Gtr. 1147), *vakrambu-cēyu* (X-707, Vizag. 1154), *ahitam-talamcu* (VI-125, Gtr. 1172), *vilambamu-cēyu* (X-194, God. 1176), *vighaṭanam-cēyu* (NI. II. p. 998, 1330, 12th c.) *langhanamu-talamcu* (X-346, Kurn. 1225), *tappi-naḍacu* (X-505, Gtr. 1313), *tappu-naḍacu* (XVI-115, 1533 A.D.), *virghnam-agu* (XVI-2, 1354 A.D.), *hānikalpiṁcu* (X-573, Gtr. 1407), *viruddhamugān-āḍu* (V-37, God. 1494), *anyāyaṁ-talamcu* (XVI-20, Cud. 15th c.), *virōdhiṁci-naḍacu* (XVI-43, Kurn. 1505), *vēru-cēyu* (XVI-326, Anant. 1638) *vighātam-talamcu* (XVI-312 Tiruvelveli dist. 1613 A.D.), *kunṭhita-parcu* (NI. II-80, p. 626), *aḍḍ-āḍu* (NI. II, p. 759), *viphalam-talamcu* (NI. II, p. 816. 1.10), *raṁḍu-talamcu* (XVI-65 Cudd. 1518 A.D.), *avarōdham-talamcu* (V-874). Śabdapallavas generally have two constituents, and rarely more than two, in which case one of the immediate constituents will be a compound formation, Ex. *pōr-āḍu*, *callu-pōr/āḍu*.

The initial member of a śabdapallava may be a noun, a verbal root, a verbal participle or a verbal infinitive, Ex. *mēlu-konu* 'to wake up', *kannu-vondu* 'to fall asleep', *arugu-dencu* 'to come'; *koni-y-āḍu* 'to praise', *teralan-ettu* (Kus. 12-56) *tappā-jūcu* (Kus

5-77). Sometimes there is tmesis, Ex. *illaḍa yiḍu : illaḍa Brahma-cēn-iḍagā baḍina yikkanya* (Bhr. 1-5-246).

In case of reduplication the first member in the compound root may be dropped (PV. Kri. 24), *caṭula khurōdbhaṭāśva śrēṇī bodivi rayambunā dunimi tūṭāḍi-yāḍi* (Bhr. virā. 5-56); this may happen when the root is repeated after the completion of an idea with it, (PV. Kri. 25) *latāṅgi dōḍkoni canudemmu tēn-anuvugū-ḍani pakṣamunandu* (Bhōja. 3-229).

Sandhi changes in śabdapallavas sometimes follow the pattern of internal sandhi, Ex. elision of past part. i, *and-immu* (*andi + immu*), *paṭṭ-iccu* (*paṭṭi + iccu*), *kom-pōvu* (*koni-pōvu*).

While many of the aux. roots used in śabdapallavas have independent use in the language, there are some which do not occur as free forms, Ex. *āru* as in *imp-āru*, *eḷar-āru*, *pemp-āru*, *somp-āru*; *iru* in *ecc-iru* (Kus. 5-104) *tepp-iru* (10-10).

Some of these roots preserve old forms, *aru-dencu*, *ē-tencu*, *kanu-marupaḍu* (Kus. 2-82), — in their free form the first members are *arugu*, *ēgu*, *marūgu*.

Some śabdapallavas have a predilection for negative use, Ex. *āpōvaka* (Bhr. 1-8-172, Kus. 1-79), *eḍa-tegaka* (Bhr. 1-4-222, Kus. 12-158), *tanivi-sanaka* (12-145), etc.

Verbs from Hindustani take *incu*, but not *illu* because this formative had ceased to be active by 14th c. the age of HS. loan words. So we get HS. verb roots with *incu* or compounded with an auxiliary, Ex. *dabā-y-incu*, (HS. *dabānā*), *samudā-y-incu* (*samudānā*), *māfi-cēyu* (*māfi-karnā*). At a later period *incu* had also ceased to be active so that in English loans we see only the use of an aux. verb to derive verbal roots, Ex. *enjāy-cēyu* 'to enjoy' *prapōzalu-petṭu* 'to propose'.

Changes in the form of verbal roots in MT.

(1) Early classical texts preserve some verbal forms without formative suffixes, Ex. *toḍu* 'to wear, put on' (Bhr. 1-8-174, Kus. 5-20; *toḍugu* (Bhr. 3-4-56, Kus. 12-98). Some roots without *-cu* in the old texts take this ending in the later language, Ex. *nōmu* (Ba. Pu.)—*nōcu*. Compare again *naccu* (Bhr. udyō. 3) in the sense of *nammu* 'to believe'. (2) Some verbs with *cu* endings in

early texts appear as *yu* endings in later language, Ex. *vaicu* (Bhr. Kus.), *trōcu* (Kus.). Some verbs occur with *cu* and *yu* endings in the same text, *meracu* (Kus. 11-172) *merayu* (6-14); *yu* endings are common in the Mdn. language. (3) Some roots without *illu* or *incu* in the early texts appear with these formatives in the later language, Ex *eduru* 'to oppose' (Kus. 4-46)—*edirincu*; *teppiru* 'to regain consciousness, recover' (10-10)—*teppirillu*. Rare instances of reverse development are also found, *kundillu* 'to pine, sink under affliction' (Kus. 10-42), more commonly *kundu*. But Mdn. Tel. preserves the *illu* form as *gundhillu*. (4) Some verbal forms with the verbaliser *incu* have become archaic in NT. while the nominal stem forms continue in usage, Ex. *uttaram-incu* (Bhr. 3-1-2) 'to go in northward direction', *kēkinicu* 'to cry (the peacock's cry)' *kēkinicu puri nammī pagidi vōle* (Kus. 5-86)—NT. *uttaramu*, *kēka* (Noun forms). (5) What were simple roots at an earlier period came to be later on compounded with auxiliaries, Ex. *ulukcu* 'to be shaken' (Kus. 2-14)—*uliki paḍu*, *vrēlu* 'to hang' (11-127)—*vrēl-āḍu*, or *illu*, *incu* yield place to compound roots with auxiliaries, Ex. *santāpincu* (Bhr. 1-2-181), *engilincu* (Kus. 3-108), *anurāgillu* 3-33)—*santāpa-paḍu*, *engili-cēyu*, *anurāgamu-pondu*. (6) Sometimes a different auxiliary comes to be used in a śabdapallava, Ex. Na. *peṇḍli-y-agu* (Bhr. 1-3-16)—*peṇḍl-āḍu*. (7) Sometimes we find that the significance in which an aux. root is originally used is forgotten, Ex. *tencu* in Na. indicated movement towards or nearness of completion of the action expressed by the principal verb, *muniśāpa dinambulu vōvudence* 'the days (i.e. period) of the sage's curse are coming to a close' (Bhr. 1-2-199), *nīrilōnan-undi negayudence* 'he came up from underneath the water' (1-5-173); *canudencu*, *ēgudencu* 'to come' (*canu*, *ēgu* 'to go', later *tencu* came to be regarded as no more than an element in *svārtha* with the result that the semantic distinction of the forms in *tencu* became blurred and obliterated. (8) Some roots which were used as principal verbs later came to be used as mere auxiliaries, Ex. *kal-*, *valayu*, *kṛpaṇulayi paṭṭubadan vīriki valasenē* (Bhr. 1-6-90), *ēmi valatu nīv-aḍugumanina* (Kus. 1-70), *poyirā-valayu māku* (Bhr. *udyo*, 1-42). As a result of this development the *kāraka* in the older texts looks peculiar to us now, and we are prone to say that the genitive case (*kun*) has been used for the nominative. But actually the *anvaya* is *pōyirān māku valayu*; *valayu* is the finite verb, Mdn. Telugu rendering with *valayu* as mere aux. is *mēmu poyirāvalayu*.

There are also indeed many other formal (and also semantic) changes in verbal roots in the historical period, as may be expected, Ex. *tūru* 'to enter' (Kus. 8-94),—*dūru*, *dongalincu* 'to steal' (7-101)—*dongilincu*, *naraku* 'to cut'—*naruku* etc.

INTRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE AND CAUSATIVE ROOTS

The intransitive suffix in verbal roots is *illu*. The transitive suffixes are *cu*, *pu*, *incu* which may be added to, or substituted for, the final syllable of an intransitive root. The causative is formed by the addition of *incu* to a transitive (and rarely to an intransitive) root. A majority of intrans. roots do not have the corresponding transitives and many transitives do not have the corresponding causatives. There are a number of intrans. and trans. roots which do not have any overt markers while the corresponding trans. or caus. forms have such markers.

Some roots are used in the older texts in both the trans. and intrans. without any differentiation in the verb form, Ex: Na. *kuriyu* trans. *aṅgāra vṛṣṭi guriyucu* (Bhr. 1-7-107) 'raining fire', intrans. *vāna . . . kurisi* 'having rained'; *oluku* trans. *kamaṅḍalu jalambul-olikina* (1-7-126) 'sprinkling the waters of the *kamaṅḍala*', intrans. *raktadhāral oluka* (1-2-100) 'while the streams of blood poured'; *pūnu* trans. *hayamulu pūnina ratham ekki* (3-1-164) 'having ascended the chariot yoked with horses', intrans. *iddarunu būniri sarvamu nirvahimpāgan* 'both of them undertook to accomplish everything'. Ex. from Nanni, *āgu* trans. *ninnu vālāyamugan-āgavaccunē* (Kus. 6-21) 'is it possible to stop you easily', *kuriyu* 'guhūḍu bāṇa varṣamu kurisen (12-136) 'guha poured a rain of arrows'; *merayu: tagu vibhūti merasi Dakṣaprajāpati yajñāmunaku vaccen* (2-8) (she) came to the sacrifice of Dakṣaprajāpati shining with splendour proper (to the occasion)'. Latterly, a formal differentiation came to be established between the intrans. and the trans. verb by the addition of overt suffixal elements in the trans., thus *kuriyincu/kuripincu*, *olikincu*, *pūncu āpu*, *merayincu*.

The transitive use of the following verbs in Na. is peculiar; *pranamillu* (with the intrans. marker *illu*) *parāśara sutum branamilli* (Bhr. 1-1-76) 'having bowed to the son of Parāśara'; it is due to the influence of the Sanskritic idiom, *parāśara sutam praṇamya*, *viharincu: agnulu viharimpum-ani panci* (1-1-129) 'having engaged (her) to separate the (sacred) fires; the verb is here used in

the original meaning 'to separate'; the verb in this sense is not attested elsewhere; *kaḍagu, nīk-eyyadi yiṣṭamu dānina kaḍangumu* (3-2-223) 'begin that which you like'. The verb later comes to be used mostly in the intrans, 'to try'.

Certain verbs are used with covert objects, the force of usage indicating the sense in those contexts, Ex. *pūyu* 'to smear', *kaṭṭu* 'to tie, wear' *toḍu* 'to put on'; *polupugā būsi katti toḍi bhūri vibhūti prakāsitambugā* (Bhr. 1-8-174) 'having smeared (sandal paste), put on (clothes), and adorned (ornaments) exhibiting great prosperity'; *ēyu: Pāncāla Kauntēyul onḍ-orulan mārkonī-y-ēyun-appuḍu* (Bhr. 1-6-85) 'while the Kācālas and the Kauntēyas attacked each other shooting (arrows)'. This is poetic usage.

Transitive Suffixes

cu

As an addition: Added to roots ending in ru, ru, lu, nu, ḍu. Before the trans. suffix the final vowel of the root is dropped. Actually it may be a case of the suffix added to the primitive root form ending in consonant, Ex. *amar-u—amar-cu, amaru-cu; kār-u—kār-cu, kār-cu; kūl-u—kūlcu, kūlu-cu; mān-u—mān-cu, mānu-cu; vinu—vin-cu, vinu-cu*. With morphophonemic alternation of stem final ḍ to r: *ceḍu—ceru-cu; paḍu—paru-cu*; and of ḍ to r in *āḍu—ār-cu, āru-cu, oḍu—ōr-cu, ōru-cu; kūḍu—kūr-cu, kūr-cu*. Trans. c alternates with p before the suffixes of the imperative, the neg. imperative and infinitive, and before the caus. suffix incu; Ex. *tīrcu—imper. tīrpumu, neg. imper. tīrpakumu, infin. tīrpan, caus. tīrpincu*.

Gradually the alternation became less frequent and in NT. it is almost absent. P. S. Subrahmanyam explains c/p alternation: A large number of verbs with c (originally past suffix, *siddhacakāra* of traditional grammarians) has an alternant v in some environments, *maḍaci, maḍava*. This kind of c/v alternation might have worked as a model for the creation of c/p alternation in question. The fact that the c past as well as the c trans. occur mainly in the past forms is a convincing proof for this kind of influence . . . p already occurs as a trans. suffix in a large number of verbs, and this seems to be responsible also for the occurrence of p before incu in the causatives, Ex. *aḍacu- aḍapincu, (CDV)*.

cu as replacive: cu is substituted for the final syllable of roots ending in gu, ḍu, yu, Ex. *virūgu* — *viru-cu*, *vangu* — *van-cu*, also *vān-cu* with long vowel; *ninḍu* — *nin-cu*, *ninu-cu*; *unḍu* — *un-cu*, *unu-cu*; *pāyu* — *pā-cu* (Kus. 7-129). With morphonemic alternation, *pōvu* — *pu-c-cu*; *coru* — *co-c-cu*. ncu substitutes the whole phonemic sequence after the root vowel in the trans. *cinugu* — *ci-ncu*, *treyyu* — *tre-ncu*.

pu

As an addition: With morpho-phonemic alternation of root final n to l, *konu* — *kol-pu*, *kolu-pu*; *canu* — *calpu*, *calu-pu*; *kanu* — *kān-pu* with long vowel in the trans. form. This alternation in the root phoneme is ascribed to the proto-language (TVB. p. 198).

As a replacive: pu is substituted for the final syllable of roots ending in gu, cu, yu, *uḍugu* — *uḍu-pu*; *cūcu* — *cū-pu*; *kalayu* — *kala-pu*, *pāyu* — *pā-pu*. With morpho-phonemic alternation of d to r, *ceḍu* — *ceru-pu* (beside *ceru-cu*); *coccu* (prim. root cor.) — *con-pu*, *conu-pu*, mpu replaces the whole phonemic sequence after the root vowel in some roots, *caccu* — *ca-mpu*, cf. r-n alternation in *per/pen* 'big', *ciru* — *cinna* 'small'.

incu

Addition of incu is the more common type of trans. formation. Transitives with incu may have alternative forms in other suffixes: Ex. from Na.

Intrans.	trans. with incu.	Alternative trans. forms
<i>kuriyu</i>	<i>kuriy-incu</i>	<i>kuriyu</i>
<i>aḍagu</i>	<i>aḍag-incu</i>	<i>aḍa-cu</i>
<i>uḍugu</i>	<i>uḍig-incu/uḍiv-incu</i>	<i>uḍu-pu/uḍu-cu</i>

Other examples: *vaccu* 'to come' *rā-v-incu*, *rapp-incu*, *trāgu* — *trāv-incu*.

pu and incu as more characteristic transitive formatives have replaced forms in cu in course of time, Ex. *meccincu* (Kus. 1-21) later *meppincu*, *nincu* (Kus. 1-52) *-nimpu*; *vinucu* (Kus. 4-46), NT. *vinip-incu*; or sometimes pu suffix becomes generalised at the expense of incu, *māyincu* 'to erase' (Kus. 4-7), NT *māpu*. inscr. *mānīncu*: *sumkara konakuṁḍānu mānistimi* (XVI-52, Kurn. 1515 A D \ NT *mānīnīncu*)

Causative

Traditional grammarians have not distinguished the transitives and the causatives but put them both under one category called *prēraṇ-ārthaka*. Syntactically there is a difference between them, there will be two actor words, one in the nominative and the other in the instrumental, in a statement containing a causal verb; on the other hand there will be only a single actor word occurring in the nominative in a statement containing a transitive verb (TVB. p. 200).

incu derives causatives from trans. roots. *caduvu* — *cadiv-incu*; with morphophonemic alternation of root final (to p), *vacincu* — *vacimpincu*. After a small class of verbal roots like *anu* the causative suffix is *ipincu* *anu-ipincu*; *konu* — *kon-ipincu*, *tinu* — *tin-ipincu* (BV. Kri. 78) inscr. *aḍavi nariki ceruvu gattimci yekkipimcina ūru Viśvanāthapuramu* (X-340, Kurn. 1252 A.D.)

A second causative implying a third agent is sometimes formed by adding *impincu* to *dēśya* roots, Ex. *cēyincu* — *cēyimpincu*.

PERSONAL TERMINATIONS

I Sg N, pl. *mu*; II Sg. *vu*, pl. *ru*; III. Masc. *Nḍu*, Fem-Neut. *du*, pl. Masc.-Fem. *ru*, Neut. *vu*.

After the past theme in *i* final *u* vowel of the terminations become *i* by vowel harmony, I *ni*, *mi*, II *vi*, *ri*, III *ḍi*, *vi*.

Aorist and past verbs in III Sg., and ntr. pl. have no personal terminations; they are primitive forms inherited as such from the proto-language.

The I and II person singular endings do not often appear in the past and aorist verbs in the early classical texts as of Nannaya and Nannichoda. It is just optional practice in the later literary language, Ex. I. *vaṇḍudun(u)*, *vaṇḍudu*, II. *vaṇḍeḍavu*, *vaṇḍedu* (without the personal ending the form ends in *u*); *vaṇḍitini*, *vaṇḍiti*.

There are special forms of personal endings in certain verbs, viz., *amu* in the hortative, Ex. *vaṇḍud-amu*, *mu* in the II sg. in the imperative — benedictive, Ex. *vaṇḍu-mu*, and negative imperative *vaṇḍaku-mu*, with its alternant *mmu* occurring with monosyllabic bases ending in a short vowel, Ex. *ra-mmu*, and II pl. *Ndu*, Ex. *vaṇḍū-ḍu*, *ra-ṇḍu*.

Personal suffixes in the appellative verb

I sg. nu, ni, anu, pl. amu; II sg. vu, vi, avu, pl. aru; III mahat Ø, amahat sg. di, pl. vi.

In the I and II persons nu, vu are added to stems in a; ni, vi to stems in i and anu, avu to stems in u, Ex. I sg. *nēnu dūta-nu kavi-ni paṇḍitūḍ-anu*, pl. *mēmu kavul-amu*; II sg. *nīvu dūta-vu kavi-vi paṇḍitūḍ-avu*, pl. *mīru paṇḍitul-aru*; III mahat sg. and pl.—there are no personal endings, Ex. *vāḍu dūta, kavi, paṇḍitūḍu* pl. *vāru kavulu*; amahat sg. *adi manci-di*, pl. *avi manci-vi*.

THE AORIST

(*taddharmārthaka*)

Finite Verb

There are two sets of suffixes (1) du (in I, II and III pers. masc. — fem. pl.), nu (in III sg., and ntr. pl.); (2) eda (in I, II and III masc. — fem. pl.), eḍu-nu/eḍi-ni as free variants (in III sg., and ntr. pl.).

Sg. I	<i>vaṇḍu-du-nu</i>	Pl	<i>vaṇḍu-ḍu-nu</i>
II	<i>vaṇḍu-ḍu-vu</i>		<i>vaṇḍu-ḍu-ru</i>
III M.F.N.	<i>vaṇḍu-nu</i>	M.F.	<i>vaṇḍu-ḍu-ru</i>
		N.	<i>vaṇḍu-nu</i>

Paradigm with the allomorphs eda, eḍu-nu/eḍi-ni:

Sg. I	<i>vaṇḍ-eda-nu</i>	Pl.	<i>vaṇḍ-eda-mu</i>
II	<i>vaṇḍ-eda-vu</i>		<i>vaṇḍ-eda-ru</i>
III M.F.N.	<i>vaṇḍ-eḍu-nu/vaṇḍ-eḍi-ni</i>	M.F.	<i>vaṇḍ-eda-ru</i>
		N.	<i>vaṇḍ-eḍu-nu/vaṇḍ-eḍi-ni</i>

The *taddharmārthaka* is mentioned by ĀŚC. and grammars of that tradition. According to them there are two primary tenses, the past and the aorist, the present and the future being periphrastic tenses. Ketana and Peddana speak of three tenses, past, present and future. They assign the first paradigm with du, nu suffixes to the future tense and the second paradigm with eda, eḍu-nu/eḍi-ni to the present tense (ĀBB. V. 143-146, Kāc. 9-150-151). The characteristic vowels in the three tenses were considered as i for the past (*cēs-i-ti-ni*), e for the present (*cēs-e-da-nu*) and u for the future (*cēy-u-du-nu*) (ĀBB.) But it may be pointed out that by the time of these early grammarians the i vowel alone was

fixed in usage for the past but not e and u in the other tenses. That is why subsequent grammarians considered suffixal elements in e and u as markers of a non-past tense. We have prayōgas in classical literature as well as in later texts for eda forms used in future, (Ex. *pani yēmi pancinā badapaḍi cēśadan-anaka* Bhr.) and udu forms used in present (Ex. *saddharma-mārgambu salupud-ayya* Bhr.) ĀVSS. p. 1325, 1374). And actually Atharvāna seems to refer to e forms as belonging to the future, *bhāvi kriyāsu yasya syūd-ētvam-ēva prayōgataḥ dūdyādi varṇē bhūtārthē cāpi tadvat bhavēt sadā* (Akā. sam. 23).

As between udu and eda, the former is much older, showing cognates in other Dr. languages, *cēyunu* Tam. *śeyyum*; *cēyudunu*, Tam. *śeyyuntu*, Mal. *śeyyunnu*, and with developments in Telugu resulting in variants as *cēsuvāru*, *cēsudunu*, *cēsutānu*, *cēstunu*, etc. (<*cēyudunu*), *aṇḍru* (<*anduru*); eda does not appear to have been used, at any rate so commonly, as udu in the early period; and again it was more common in the present tense. That is why although later grammarians considered eda forms as taddharmārthaka, Ketana and Peddana assigned this suffix for the present. If udu is the older form, what is the origin of e-da? It is suggested (JTA. 22, pp. 91-104) that a variation of vowel quality to e might have come into existence for signifying the present at a time when u- forms indicated the present-future. The aorist at one time must have indicated all the three tenses — including the past. There are traces of the use of the aorist in past tense in classical literature. After a past verb in i was formed its usage in the past became infrequent and more and more appropriated to the present — future. But the e forms did not become so fully fixed in usage for the present, as i forms in the past, so that ĀŚC (differing from the treatment of ĀBB. and Kāc.) sets up a non-past tense. Ketana mentions (ĀBB. V. 140) *unna* and *nunna* as the formatives of the present and future tense verbs respectively. No illustrative forms have been given, but they must be like *vaṇḍuc-(un)-unn-āḍu*, *vaṇḍ-an-unn-āḍu*.

Morphophonemic alternation in the verb stem and tense suffix: Roots like *anu*, *konu*, *vinu* in final n preceded by a short vowel have stem alternants (1) without the u vowel before -du, Ex. *an-du-nu*, *kon-du-nu*, *vin-du-nu*, (2) in ṇ before the suffix alternant ḍ(u), Ex. *aṇ-ḍ(u)-ru*, *koṇ-ḍ(u)-ru*, *mārkoṇḍun* (Bhr. *udiyō* 1-237), *viṇḍumu* (SII. VI-123, Gtr. 1132 A.D.), *koṇḍuru* (X-496, Cud. 1308), Possibly ṇ is original in *anu*, *konu* cf. Tam. *cu*, *ko*, or

analogical after them as in *vinu*. $d > ḍ$ then may be explained as due to assimilation. *du* has another suffix alternant *tu* which substitutes *cu* in the root final, *valatu-ru* (*valacu*), *aḍa-tu-ru* (*aḍacu*), *pālin-tu-ru* (*pālincu*), *nin-tu-ru* (*nincu*) (cf. *nimpudu-ru* from *nimpu*).

There are three developments in the later language which were in the nature of deviations from this practice: (1) The substitution of *cu* by *tu* did not occur, and *du* suffix was added to *cu* ending roots as in the case of others Ex. *aḍacudu-ru*, *ākarnṅincu-du-ru*. cf. the form *iccudun* already in OT. (100-10). (2) *c* in the root final was sometimes substituted by *p*. Ex. *eṛigimpu-du-ru* (Kāc. 9-161), *ākarnṅimpu-du-ru* (Bhāg. VIII-21). (3) Like *yu* endings *cu* endings were also replaced by *tu*, Ex. *cē-tu-ru* (*cēyu*), *kō-tu-ru* (*kōyu*), *cē-tu-n* (Kus. 1-5).

AVSS. points out (p. 1373) that Nannaya did not use the suffixes *eḍunu*, *eḍini*, and rarely used *eda*, with tatsama roots. This reservation does not apply to other poets.

The *taddharmārthaka*, as already pointed out, is used in different tenses (including the past in the older texts) and moods. Examples may be cited in illustration: Past: *dyūtakrīḍaku koṅḍoka nētun* (= *nērciyunnānu*) 'I had known the game of chess somewhat'; *vijit-ēndriyūḍ-anāgan immuni bāyaka vindun* (Bhr. 1-4-30) 'I have heard of this sage as one who conquered his senses'. Present: *vīrulani Pāṇḍu sutulaku veratu nēnu* 'I am afraid of the sons of Pāṇḍu as (they are great) warriors; *ēn ella proddu nā yedalōna dalātun ī yabhiprāyamba* 'I am always thinking of this thing in my heart'; *enduṅḍi vaccedu endulak-ēgeḍu* 'where are you coming from (and) where are you going'; *nāku niyaminci konivaccu kūḍ-ēla kuḍicedav-īvu* 'why are you eating the food brought for my sake'. Future: *pani yēmi bancina bada-paḍi cēsedan anaka tan bancina yā kṣaṅamba cēyucu* (Bhr. 1-3-110) 'doing whatever work is assigned instantly without saying he will do (it) later' *agni-pravēśambu sēyudun* (Kus. 5-94) 'I shall enter fire'. Habitual: (*tācchīlyārtha*): *satatambu nīkun iṣṭambu sēyanga nemmi tōḍa gōruc-uṅḍudu* (Bhr.- 2-1-151) 'I always love to do you good', *dontulu sēri nāyi dōrpa-nērcunu* (Kus. 1-29) 'the dog can (only) topple down a pile of things'. Moods: *sātaty-ārtha*: *ippurambu cadukamuna bāyakunḍudu santatambu* (Bhr. 2-1-151) 'I never leave this cross-way of the town'; *satkavul-abhinandintur-ādi kavi vālmīkun* (Kus. 1-17) 'great poets praise vālmīki, the first poet', *sambhāvanārtha*: *sāmadānamulā jēsi jayinturu nītivit-*

tamul (Kus. 10-169) 'learned men win by peaceful means or by making gifts'; *sampraśna: vīrilōn ennina ninnu Rudruni sahinture dēvatal* (Kus. 2-28) 'will the gods tolerate you if Rudra is spoken of among these (Gods)' *āsīr-arthā: Vāsuki māku prasannul ayye-ḍun* (Bhr. 1-1-106) 'May Vāsuki be pleased with us; *rājīvākṣūḍu gṛtārthūjēyu śubhadṛṣṭin gṛṣṇarāyādhipun* (Ma. ca. 111) 'May the lotus-eyed (God) fulfil the desire of Kṛṣṇarāya, with his auspicious look'.

The aor. verb with the appellatives *ayya, amma*, etc. expresses the interrogative, Ex. *mī vāmśamuna naradēvōttamuladaina sad-dharma mārgambu salupud-ayya* (Bhr. 2-1-26) 'do you practice the righteous conduct of the great kings of your lineage; *sanmā-nitul-ayi vartintur-ayya nī daivajñul* (2-1-47) 'Do your priests keep well looked after'. Sometimes these forms carry a negative implication, which flows from the interrogative, Ex. *surānganal ellan-iṭṭi nī cētaku metturamma* 'will the goddesses all appreciate you for this deed' (Ma. ca. 3-33).

The aor. verb underwent phonologic changes in course of time, such as (1) -du- > -tu- with devoicing of the sonant, Ex. *acāndrārka-sthāyigānu pondutāru* (NI. I. Kandukur 3, 1551 A.D.), cf. NT. *vaṇḍutu-nu, cēs-tu-nu* (Rayalasima dial.), *vaṇḍu-tā-nu, cēs-tā-nu* (circars dial.) (2) In the colloquial speech y of the verbal stem > s in the III pers. before -nu ending, Ex. *ī dharm-mamu ācandrārkamai velasunu* (SII. VI-655 Kist. 1336 A.D., X-584, Kist. 1436 A.D.). (3) -eda- > -ē-, Ex. *ā puṇyapurūṣula pādālu mā śirassuna dharimcēmu* (=dharimcedamu (SII. XVI-52, Kurn. 1515 A.D.); *Bhairavadēvaraku vanamu veṭṭimcēn-ani Avubalanāthamḍu aḍigitēnu* (<peṭṭincedan-ani) (SII. XVI-16, Cudd. 1396 A.D.), eḍu-nu similarly > ē-nu, and eḍini > ī-ni, Ex. *vaṇḍ-ē-nu* (< vaṇḍ-eḍu-nu), *vaṇḍ-ī-ni* (< vaṇḍ-eḍi-ni), *tama talli tamḍrini Kāśilō vadhimcina pāpāna pōyēvāru* (XVI-122, 16th c.,) (< pōyeḍuvāru/pōyeḍivāru). *āragimcēyamḍuku* (XVI-50 Chitt. 1513 A.D.); with -ṭ-inflection: *mīru purāṇam vinnapaṁ cēsuka vumḍētamḍulaku* (XVI-266, Kurn. 1567 A.D.). Very frequent use of such forms occur in texts outside the classical tradition, like Tāllapāka Annamāchārya's sankīrtanas (published by Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams).

Aor. declinable participle

The suffixes are Ø, eḍu, eḍi, Ex. *vaṇḍu, vaṇḍ-eḍu; vaṇḍ-eḍi*. When the participle ending with u is followed by a vowel n comes

in as augment, Ex. *vaṇḍu-n-aṭāḍu*, *vaṇḍeḍu-n-atāḍu* (cf. also the augment before a surd *vālārun-gonagōḷḷa* (Ma. Ca.) The aor. adj. has been used in the three tenses in classical texts, past: *Drupadu vīṭilōna dommi kayyamu rēce*, *basulā baṭṭe viratu paṭṭanamuna*, *mariyun-enni lēvu*, *Mārtāṇḍa tanayunḍu toḍari manakū jēyu duṇḍagamullu* (*cēyu=cēsina*) (Jai. 1-92). Present: *vāri yanuvayincu sita kṛṣṇa tanturājita tantram-adi* (Bhr. 1-1-108) (*anuvayincu = anuvayincucunna*). Future: *ā Janamējayu cēyu sarpa-yāgamuna* (*cēyu = cēyāgala*) (Pv. kri. 1).

eḍi appears sometimes as *iḍi* in inscr. Tel., obviously a colloquial feature which did not gain admittance in literature. Ex. *nitya mānenḍu samaru naḍipidiḍivāṁḍu* (SII. X-466 Gtr. 1279 A.D.), *i dīpamu naḍipidi kāmpu* (X-452 Gtr. 1282 A.D.), *akhaṁḍa dīpamu veliṁgiḍikorakai* (V-1184, Ganj. 1403 A.D.), *i kolpulu kolciḍivāru* (VI-865 Vizag. 1403 A.D.). Again verbs ending in *y* substitute *s* for *y* before the \emptyset suffix. This is also a colloquial feature not admitted in literature, Ex. inscr. 12th c. *dēvara guḍla ēmi gallāṁ jēsuvāṁḍu* (SII. X-61, Gtr. 1104 A.D.), *mānenḍu nēyi pōsuvāṁḍu* (X-318 Kurn. 1248 A.D., V-1237, Ganj. 1350 A.D.), *i śrī brindāvanam lesse cēsuvāru* (V-27 E. God. 1397 A.D.).

eḍu, *eḍi* contracted to *ē* in the colloquial language, attested in inscr. from the 13th c. Ex. *i sthānamu ēlē karaṇālū* (VI-144, Gtr. 1210 A.D.), *Śrī Bhaṇḍāramunam jellē gaṇḍamāḍalu* (SII. V-1249 Ganj. 1293 A.D.), *Peda mācana Pinamācanalu perigē perukalu* (X-497 Kurn. 1308 A.D.); *bhōjanānaku naḍapēyaṭṭugānu* (IV-282, Chitt. 1512 A.D.) *āragincēyanduku* (XVI-50 Chitt. 1513 A.D.), *ācandrārkaṁgā anubhaviṁcēḍi* (XVI-55 Cud. 1516 A.D.), *sivapūja cēsukoni sukhāna vumḍēḍi* (XVI-86, 1529 A.D.), *tama talli taṁdrini Kāsilō vadhiṁcina pāpāna pōyēvāru* (XVI-122). *ē-ṭi* (with the inflectional increment, to bring out the adjectival signification more forcefully) is also attested from the 13th c., Ex., *peṭṭēṭi* (X-697, Vizag. 1144 A.D.), *mīru purānam vinnapam cēsuka vumḍēṭaṁdulaku* (XVI-266, Kurn. 1567 A.D.).

As between the suffixes *eḍu* and *eḍi*, the latter which carries the suggestivity of *i* inflectional increment gradually seems to become more common. *ē* and *ēṭi* are not recognised in grammar, none the less the use of these forms in literature are plentiful in later texts as noted by BKS. (pp. 259-261) and ĀBŚ (Kri. 63). Ex. *ṁṁṁṁ dātē vānikin* (Pāṁḍu 4-275), *ṁṁṁṁ mriṅṅērānikin* (Pra. Can. 67), *śāstram aṁṁṁṁ nūṭilō* (varā. pu.).

The aor. decl. participle may be used with the force of a verbal noun, Ex. *akṣayaṇya lōkāvāpti ayyedikoraku* (XVI-46, Kurn. 1510 A.D.) *bhūmi pālimcukorakunai puṭṭināḍa* (Visnu.) *pati kalugukaṇṭenu saukhyamu satulakun-oṇḍ-okati kaladē* (Vikra.), *ē pagidi bratukarādē yitu ceḍukaṇṭen* (Hari.) *anṛta vikramamun brākaṭincukaṇṭe* (Nir. Rā.). Some *lākṣaṇikas* are unhappy over this usage; the commentator of Akā., for instance, states that forms like *vaccu-kaṇṭe*, *vaccu-koraku* are ungrammatical (Akā. kri. 19). But this is not an isolated feature. The past decl. part. is also similarly used as a verbal noun, Ex. *kudicina-kaṇṭenu ksētram paḍasina terav-adhikamaṇḍru* (Vijnā.), *vibhunin bancina-kaṇṭenu* (Hari).

The aor. part. forms in dvandva compounds have also the force of verbal nouns, Ex. *au-gāmulu* 'becoming and not becoming' *vaccu-rāmulu* 'coming and not coming'. Cf. the following Ex. from incr. Tel. *Vīṇāvādyamusēva sēsi-amḍukai* (SII. VI-1088 Vizag. 1459 A.D.), *Rāyanini āsirvādammu sēsi-korakai* (V-1153 Ganj. 1471 A.D.), *guggilamu veṭṭikorakai* (V-129, Kist. 1422 A.D.), where the form identical with the past adv. part is used as a verbal noun.

Aor. participial nouns of the III pers. may be used in the imperative and the usage is very common in inscriptional and literary Telugu, Ex. Inscr.: *ātani putrānu pautrikamū eppuḍūnu ārādincuvāḍu* (X-4, A.D. 1003), *vēgināṇṭik-evvaru rājul-airi vārum būrvva sthitim dappaka pālimcuvāru* (VI-102 Gtr. 1006 A.D.). The imper. shades into the benedictive according to context, *dharmuva tātparyamugā nirmalamati negaḍunadi vinit-ātmularai* (Bhr. 1-7-35).

It may be noted here that the past participial noun is thus employed with the imper. force *durjana-yōdhavarula kaḍan unḍa-kunnadi* (Bhr. 1-3-206); *dhanamulu seḍina bandhuvulu saccinā dadīyamulagu guṇamulayandu manasu peṭṭaka yunnadi* (Bhr. Ānu. 5-230) but the usage is extremely rare.

The future participial noun in *kala-* may also be used in the imper. *mūṇḍu cinnālu Śrī bhaṇḍāramu pravēśamu cēsimddi gūna ī dīpārthamu ācandrārkaṇḍu cellaṅgalayadi* (SII. VI-885. 13th c.).

THE PAST

The allomorphs of the past tense are *iti* (in I and II pers.), *i* (in III masc. fem. pl.) and *enu* (in III sg. and ntr. pl.).

Sg. I	<i>vaṇḍ-iti-ni</i>	Pl.	<i>vaṇḍ-iti-mi</i>
II	<i>vaṇḍ-iti-vi</i>		<i>vaṇḍ-iti-ri</i>
III M.F.N.	<i>vaṇḍ-enu</i>	M.F.	<i>vaṇḍ-i-ri</i>
		N.	<i>vaṇḍ-enu</i>

Morphophonemic alternation: Roots like *anu*, *konu*, *vinu* take the suffix alternant *ṭi* (for *iti*) with the stem alternant *aṅ koṅ*, *viṅ*, thus *aṅ-ṭi-ni*, *koṅ-ṭi-ni*, *viṅ-ṭi-ni*.

Some disyllabic roots with short vowel take the augment *-iy-* before *enu*, *an-iy-enu*, *kon-iy-enu*, *can-iy-enu*, *paḍ-iy-en*. The augment appears consistently in Na. but not so in the later language.

The developments in the past verb in the colloquial language are: (1) *ti* appears as a variant of *iti* in verbs ending in *yu* Ex. *cēs-ti-mi* (SII. V-126 Kist. 1296 A.D.) for *cēs-iti-mi* (*cēyu*). (2) like *yu* ending roots those in *incu* also took *-st-* suffix, Ex. *istimi* for *iccitimi* (*iccu*). Both these forms occur side by side in inscr. Ex. *Mailajiyya paṁḍitulaku aṅgaramba bhōgālakun-ācam-drārkkamugān iccitimi; istimi: Kōṭṭyadona dakṣiṇāna Malle peggāḍa ceṛuvu nivēdyānaku istimi* (SII. X-58, Gtr. 1080 A.D.); there are many occurrences in the succeeding centuries as well, V-32 God. 1223 A.D.; X-278 Gtr. 1231; X-323 Kurn. 1248 A.D., X-457 Kurn. 1282 A.D., X-488 Gtr. 1299 A.D., etc., and more commonly in later centuries. (3) Verbs ending in *incu* sometimes retain the nasal in the finite verb with *-st-*, thus *man-nimstimi* (X-499 Gtr. 1311 A.D.), *śāsanagam̐bhamu pratiṣṭhimstimi* (X-509, Gtr. 1314 A.D.), *brindāvanamu tōmṭānu peṭṭimstimi* (X-557 Gtr. 1373 A.D.). (4) Rarely roots ending in *incu* substitute *p* for *c* before the past suffix, Ex. *samarpimpiri* (SII. V-47 God. 1424 A.D.), *samarpimpenu* (V-102. E. God. 1402 A.D., V-52, God. 1428 A.D., V-118 God. 1438 A.D.) cf. also past part. *samarpimpi* (V-103 E. God. 1408 A.D.), *ārādhimpi* (for *ārādhimci*) (V-57 God. 1428). These may be dialectal or aberrant due to contamination with other forms involving *c-p* alternation. Developments 3 and 4 above are confined to inscr. Tel.; 1 and 2 appear in literature after 13th-14th c.

Past adverbial participle

The suffix is *i*, Ex. *vaṇḍ-i*, *pō-y-i*, *cēs-i* (*cēyu*). The past part. sometimes expresses *hētv-artha*, Ex. *Rāhu kaṅṭhamu degi dēhamu dharani baḍiye* 'Rahu's neck having been (i.e. because it was)

severed, his body fell on the ground'. Similarly *ēru pongi cēlu munigipōyenu* 'the river having (because it has) overflowed, the fields were inundated'.

The intensive use of the adv. participle in instances like the following is idiomatic. *vanduri vagacucunna* (Bhr. 1-5--30), *vagaci vanarucunde* (1-6-209), *paṭṭi pālārpagan-ēla* (1-6-217).

Some participles survive in a fossilised state as adverbs, in the literary language, Ex. *konakoni*, *gurukoni*, *kaḍukoni*.

Past declinable participle

The suffix is *ina*, Ex. *vaṇḍ-ina*, *a-y-ina*, (*ag-u*).

Some dysyllabic roots — ending in *n*, *ḍ*, *g* in the final syllable like *anu*, *paḍu*, *tagu* optionally form their past decl. part. by doubling the final consonant, *anna*, *paḍḍa*, *tagga* (beside *anina*, *paḍina*, *tagina*).

P. S. Subrahmanyam adduces comparative evidence to show that in these cases the reduplicated consonants actually preserve traces of P. Dr. past suffixes, the dental and the velar, that the regular past adjectival suffix *in-a* is actually a complex of two past suffixes *i* and *n* (final *a* is the adjectival), and that the *c* formative in many of the verbal roots in Telugu is also a past suffix incorporated in the verb base. He says "The existence in many languages of certain verb bases containing *cu* or *su* derivative suffix and having synonyms or cognates without that in the same language or in the sister languages is an indication of the incorporation of the old *c* past suffix". Ex. *ēḍcu*, Tam. Mal. Kan. *alu* (DED. 240), *vēlcu* — Tam. *vēḷ* (4561), *nilucu* — Tam. *nil* (3043), *naḍucu* — *nata* (2957). (2) There exists either independently or in combination with another past suffix *i* of a *c* past suffix in a number of languages, northern, central and southern. (3) Internal evidence shows that *cu* does not belong originally to the base. The II Sg. form like *gelu (mu)*, *nilu (mu)*, *pilu (mu)* from *gelucu*, *nilucu*, *pilucu* and infinitives like *geluva*, *niluva*, *piluva* do not contain the *c* element. (4) By comparing the Tel. past part. forms *nilici*, *kāci*, *kaḍaci*, *pū-ci* etc. one can easily conclude that *c* in such Telugu verb bases is a past suffix in origin (CDV.) Such wrong segmentation, Subrahmanyam points out, has occurred not only with *c* but with other past suffixes as well: "there are instances in which a phoneme or sequence of phonemes occur in a particular language or language group as a deri-

vative suffix while the same phoneme or phonemes (or in some cases their phonetical correspondances) function as past stem formatives in the remaining languages." Tel. *piṇḍu* 'to squeeze, Tam. *pili* (past. *pil-nt-*) (3440), *giṭṭu* 'to die' Tam. *keṭṭu* 'to be destroyed', *toṭṭu* 'to touch', Tam. *toṭu* (*toṭ-t-*) *peṭṭu* (to bear young', Tam. *peru* (*per-r*) to get (100), *ninḍu* Tam. *nirai* (*nirai-ni-*) (3099). Tel. *eyidu* Kan. *aydu* Tam. *eytu* Mal. *eytuka*, Parji *ēd*: Kui. *epa* (past *e-t-*) 'to arrive', k and n in the suffixes *aka* (of the neg. adv. part.), and *ani* (of the neg. decl. part.) are also regarded as past morphemes in origin (CDV).

PRESENT AND FUTURE PARTICIPLES

Present adverbial participle

The suffix is *cuN* in the literary dialect and *tū*, *tā* in the colloquial, Ex. *vaṇḍu-cun*, *vas-tū*, *cēs-tā*.

Morphophonemic alternation: Roots like *anu*, *konu*, *vinu* optionally form the participles with the stem alternant without the final vowel, *ancun*, *koncun*, *vincun*. Sometimes *c* in the root final is substituted by *p* before this suffix (PV. kri. 17), *garjimpucu* (Jai. 2), *mōvi mōvi jērupucunu* (Kaḷā. 7-162) inscr. *Dēvirināyanimḡāru Mahādēvicarḷa sthalaṁ pālimpucūnu* (SII. X-505, Gtr. 1313 A.D.).

cun is gradually superseded by *tū* and *tā* (dial.) but it survives in the usage of orthodox brahmin priests and their womenfolk in NT., *nōrugald-ancunu netti nōru beṭṭuka kūya vaccināḍavu* (MVN. p. 30); *ninna māvāru sukkarāraṁ santalō piṇḍi-kūrak-ancunnu gānuga biṇḍi decciri, peṇḍli paṇḍilō nōru medalincavalen-ancunnū yinta deccuka tincunnān-antē* (MVN.).

tū: *vaṇḍutū*, *cēstū*, *vastū* (*vaccu*), (*c*)*c* in the root final becomes *s* before this suffix. *ṭū* is a suffix alternant of *tū* which occurs with roots like *anu*, *konu*, *vinu*, *aṇ-ṭū*, *koṇ-ṭū* *viṇ-ṭū*. Ketana refers to the form *koṇṭū* as *grāmya* (ĀBB. V-26) Śrīnātha avoids *tū* presents in his *prabandhas* but used them in *cāṭu* verse, *vastū cūstimī rōstimī*. Such forms are found in literature increasingly from the 15th c. Ex. inscr. *rājadhāni viccēstunnu* (IV-282, Chitt. 1512 from the 15th c. Ex. inscr. *rājadhāni viccēstunnu* (IV-282, Chitt. 1512 A.D.) *cinnabommaya kuṭumbasamētumḡai sēva sēstunnāmḡu* (X-751 Gtr. 1592 A.D.).

tā suffix also occurs inscr. Ex. *Harihararāyaḍu Rāyavaramuna pritivi rājyaṁ sēstā* (XVI-11, Chitt. 1401 A.D.), *vistarākula veṭi cēstā umḡamḡānu* (XVI-89, 16th c.).

Present declinable Participle

Literary form: pres. participial stem in *cuN+unna* (past adj. of *uṇḍu* 'to be') Ex. *vaṇḍucun-unna/vaṇḍuc-unna. dōṣādityadevani koḍuku avucunna Bhujabalabhīma garuḍa Nārāyaṇa dēvapāḍi rāyalu* (X-1204, Ganj. 1297 A.D.).

Colloquial form: pres. participial stem in *tū+unna*, Ex. *vaṇḍutūnna, vaṇḍutunna, cēstunna, istunna*.

Future declinable participle

Infinitive stem of a verb+*kala*, past adjective of **kal* 'to be able', to possess', Ex. *vaṇḍā-gala* 'that can cook, that will cook'.

COMPOUND TENSES

Participial nouns of the aorist, past, present and future tenses formed by the addition of declinable form of *vāḍu, adi* (III Sg. pronouns *mahat* and *amahat*) to the respective verbal adjectives are used as finite verbs in Nannaya, Ex. *cēyu-vāḍu, cēyu-dānanu, vaccina-vāramu, unna-y-adi, unna-vi, navayucunna-vāḍanu, kōrucunna-y-adi, ṅgala-vāḍanu*. In OT. there is at least one such usage, *vīri peḍḍā koḍuku Niḍumrani kayyambuna jaccinavānru* (53-4) 'His eldest son died in the battle at Niḍumranu'. In course of time these forms suffered phonetic changes involving loss of medial sounds, and these contracted forms came to be established as typically finite verb formations — where there were none before, in the present and future tenses, alongside the existing ones in the aorist and past tenses. As the contracted set of forms became fixed in usage as verbs, the full forms of the participial nouns gradually ceased to be used as verbs. Thus while in the earlier language *cēsina-vāḍu* was also a verb and *cēsinaḍu* also a noun, latterly the former comes to be used only as a noun, and the latter only as a verb.

The future verb seems to be a comparatively recent development — while there are many present tense forms in Nannaya and Nannichoda those in future are limited; in fact there is only one occurrence of future verb in Kus. *mimmū golvāgalavāḍan* (7-134).

The phonetic changes in the participial noun in M. and NT. are shown hereunder. On the semantic side there are a good many developments cf. NT. *cēsē-vāṇṇi* 'I used to do', 'I would have done'. The III sg. *amahat cēsēdi* is dialectally used in the sense of the imperative (See also under NT).

Aorist	MT	MT & NT	NT
I. Sg. M. cēseḍi-	çeseḍu- vāḍanu	cēsevāḍanu	cēsevāṇi
F. "	" - dānanu	cēsēdānanu	cēsēdāni
Pl. "	" - vāranu	cēsēvāranu	cēsēvāḷḷanu
II. Sg. M. "	" - vāḍavu	cēsevāḍavu	cēsevāḍivi
F. "	" - dānavu	cēsēdānavu	cesēdānivi
Pl. "	" - vāranu (?)		cēsēvāru, cēsēvāḷḷu
III. Sg. M. "	" - vāḍu	cēsevāḍu	cēsevāḍu
F. & N. cēseḍidi,	cēseḍunadi	cēsēdi	cēsēdi
Pl. M. & F. cēseḍi-	cēseḍu- vāru	cēsēvāru	cēsēvāru, cēsēvāḷḷu
N. cēseḍivi,	cēseḍunavi	cēsēvi	cēsēvi

Participial Nouns from aor. part. with Ø suffix, Ex. cēyvāḍanu, caduvvāḍu, etc. are not common in NT. s with palatal vowels in the above forms tends to be pronounced as ś in the colloquial.

<i>Past</i>	MT	MT & NT	NT
I. Sg.	M. <i>cēsinaṽāḍanu</i> , <i>cēsinaḍanu</i> F. <i>cēsinaḍānanu</i>	<i>cēsinaṽnu</i>	<i>cēsāenu</i> , <i>cēsāe</i>
Pl.	<i>cēsinaṽāramu</i> , <i>cēsinaṽāramu</i>	<i>cēsinaṽmu</i>	<i>cēsāemu</i>
II. Sg.	M. <i>cēsinaṽāḍavu</i> <i>cēsinaḍāvu</i> F. <i>cēsinaḍānavu</i>	<i>cēsinaṽvu</i>	<i>cēsāevu</i>
Pl	<i>cēsinaṽāru</i> , * <i>cēsinaṽāru</i>	<i>cēsinaṽru</i>	<i>cēsāeru</i>
III. Sg.	M. <i>cēsinaṽāḍu</i> F. & N. <i>cēsinaṽadi/cēsinaḍi</i>	<i>cēsinaḍu</i>	<i>cēsāḍu cēsinaḍu</i>
Pl. M. & F.	<i>cēsinaṽāru</i>	<i>cēsinaṽru</i>	<i>cēsāeru</i>
N.	<i>cēsinaṽavi/cēsinaḍi</i>	<i>cēsinaṽi</i> <i>cēsinaḍi</i>	<i>cēsāeyi</i> , <i>cēsinaḍi</i> (<i>dial</i>)

* PV. (Kār. 27) states that a form like *cēsinaṽāru* with -aru in the II pers. is not met with.

Present	MT	MT & NT	NT (From the pres. stem <i>cēst</i>)
I. Sg. M.	<i>cēyucunnāvāḍānu cēyucunnāḍānu</i>	<i>cēyucunnānu</i>	<i>cēstunnānu,</i> <i>cēstunnā</i>
F.	<i>cēyucunnadānānu</i>	<i>cēstunnānu</i>	
Pl.	<i>cēyucunnāvāramu cēyucunnāramu</i>	<i>cēyucunnāmu</i> <i>cēstunnāmu</i>	<i>cēstunnāmu</i>
II. Sg. M.	<i>cēyucunnāvāḍānu cēyucunnāḍānu</i>	<i>cēyucunnāvu</i> <i>cēstunnāvu</i>	<i>cēstunnāvu</i>
F.	<i>cēyucunnadānavu</i>	<i>cēstunnāvu</i>	
Pl.	<i>cēyucunnāvāramu *cēyucunnāramu</i>	<i>cēyucunnāru</i> <i>cēstunnāru</i>	<i>cēstunnāru</i>
III. Sg. M.	<i>cēyucunnāvāḍu</i>	<i>cēyucunnāḍu</i> <i>cēstunnāḍu</i>	<i>cēstunnāḍu</i>
F. & N.	<i>cēyucunnayadi/cēyucunnadi</i>	<i>cēstunnadi</i>	<i>cēstūndi</i>
Pl. M. & F.	<i>cēyucunnāvāru</i>	<i>cēyucunnāru</i> <i>cēstunnāru</i>	<i>cēstunnāru</i>
N.	<i>cēyucunnayavi</i>	<i>cēyucunnavi</i> <i>cēstunnavi</i>	<i>cēstunnavi,</i> <i>cēstunnāy (i) (dial)</i>

Future

MT

MT & NT

NT

I. Sg.	M. <i>cēyāṅgalavāḍḍanu, cēyāṅgalāḍḍanu</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu</i>	<i>cēyāgala (nu)</i>
	F. <i>cēyāṅgaladānanu</i>		
Pl.	<i>cēyāṅgalavāranu cēyāṅgalāranu</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu cēyāgalanu</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu</i>
II. Sg.	M. <i>cēyāṅgalavāḍḍanu cēyāṅgalāḍḍanu</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu cēyāgalav (u)</i>	<i>cēyāgalav (u)</i>
	F. <i>cēyāṅgaladāṇanu</i>		
Pl.	<i>cēyāṅgalavāranu cēyāṅgalāranu</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu</i>	
III. Sg.	M. <i>cēyāṅgalāḍḍu</i>	<i>cēyāgalāḍḍu cēyāgalāḍḍu</i>	<i>cēyāgalāḍḍu</i>
	F. & N. <i>cēyāṅgalayadi/cēyāṅgaladi</i>	<i>cēyāgaladu,</i>	<i>cēyāgaladu</i>
Pl.	M. & F. <i>cēyāṅgalavāranu cēyāṅgalanu</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu cēyāgalanu</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu</i>
	N. <i>cēyāṅgalayavi/-galavi</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu cēyāgalanu</i>	<i>cēyāgalanu cēyāgalanu</i>

THE IMPERATIVE (*vidhy-arthakamu*)

The imperative verbal theme ending in u consists of the Ø suffix. It may be used without the person suffix in II Sg. as is often the case in formal speech, or it may take the personal ending mu in the Sg. (suffix alternant mmu occurs with monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel). Nḍu in the pl., Ex. *vaṇḍu*, *vaṇḍumu*, (you (Sg.) cook), *ra-mmu*, *vaṇḍūḍu* 'you (pl.) cook', *ra-ṇḍu* 'you (pl.) come'. The nasal remains intact in monosyllabic stems, but exception is *cūḍu* (*cūḍūḍu*) where the druta is elided (BV. san. 22) because it had come to be reduced to suffixal status (in *prasiddārtha*).

The imperative often preserves the primitive verbal base whereas elsewhere it appears extended by the formative element, Ex. *pō*, *po-mmu*, *po-ṇḍu* (*pō-vu*), *rā*, *ra-mmu*, *ra-ṇḍu* (*vaccu* < **var*), *olu* (*olu-cu*), *cā* (*cā kukkalāra* Pāl. Sōm.) (*ca-ccu*), *nilu* (*nilā-baḍu* / *niluc-uṇḍu*).

Tatsama verbal roots ending in incu substitute p for c before the imper. ending, Ex. *svāmī mī kōpamb-upasamharimpumu* (Bhr. śa, 5-441). In the later language the change occurred optionally, thus *karuṇincumu* beside *karuṇimpumu*.

The imperative, by itself, is capable of expressing also entreaty, according to context; or to bring out this idea may add as overt markers a, i, or terms of relationship like amma, anna, avva, etc. Ex. *nanū grṇājūḍu Bhāratī*, *rakṣimpumu nannu rāṇī-vāksā: nī kattina maila gaṭṭanērtune cepumā* (Bhr. 1-3-135), *sundari mā ṇiddarilōn ind-evvari valatu cepumī* (1-8-110), *ceppu-mayya Tapatikapatyulam-aina terāgu* (1-7-66). Compare similar usage in the neg. imper.

THE HORTATIVE (*ubhaya-prārthan-ārthakamu*)

The suffix is d (which may be connected with the aorist) and the personal suffix amu, *vaṇḍu-d-amu* 'let us cook' Morphophonemic alternation of d to t with cu ending roots, Ex. *kāvintamu* (*kāvincu*) — *janamējayuni cēyu sarpa yāgamunaku vighnam-andaramū gāvintamu* (Bhr. 1-2-131) *pōdamu gandhamādanambunaku* (3-3-288). Hortatives with the personal ending Nḍu (which properly belongs to the imper.) are found in the desi works, of Palkuriki Somanatha, rarely in others, Ex. *vedakundaṇḍu*,

cūtaṇḍu, *ceppudaṇḍu*, (Ba. Pu. intro. p. 102); *dharanī tanūbhavan vedakudaṇḍu padaṇḍu kapīndrul-āra* (Bhās. Kiṣ. 641) (AVSS. p. 1405).

The forms *poda-podamu* (Bhr. Karṇa. 2-48) and *pada-padāḍu* (Nir. Rā. 6-92) with the imper. personal ending *Nḍu*, occur with a special development of meaning, 'go, I shall follow' cf. Md. Tel. *pada*, *padaṇḍi*.

THE INFINITIVE (*tumunn-arthakamu*)

The suffix is *aN* (Tam. *a*, Kan. *al*), added to the verbal root. Ex. *vaṇḍ-an*. After a long vowel, the suffix alternant *N* occurs optionally. *cā-n* (*caccu*) (Kus. 4-64, 12-65), *īn* (*iccu*) (2-32), with *an*, *cā-v-an*, *ī-y-an*, *v*, and *y* being off-glides. The infin. is called *tumunnarthaka* after the *tumun* pratyaya in Skt.

Morphophonemic alternation: Radical *c* in the root final is replaced by *v* before the infin. suffix *nilu-v-an* (*nilcu*), *viḍu-v-an* (*viḍucu*) *tigu-v-an*, also *tivvan* (Bhr. 1-7-25) (PV. Kri. 20) (*tigucu*). These are obviously cases of infin. formations from primitive bases not extended by *c* element, and *v* is glidic. Verbaliser *c* in the root final is substituted by *p* in the infin. *onarp-an* (*onarcu*), *kālv-an* (*kālcu*), *udayimp-an* (*udayincu*) inscr. *vīri vaṁsamu vardhimpanu* (X-485 W. God. 1299 A.D.). In the later language this substitution does not appear in quite a number of instances in the literary and more commonly in the spoken language. In NT. the absence of substitution is the rule.

An infin. verb is often extended by *kan* itself an infin. of the aux. verb *agu* (> *gān* in sandhi, in its suffixial status) to make the sense of the principal verb more expressive or may be without any such obvious semantic implication. Ex. *pōḍiaa vēlvagā badiye* (Bhr. 1-3-112), *ṛogaḍaṅgā nēramu* (Kus. 8-11). The reduction of vowel length in *kān* (to *kan*) occurs in its adverbial usage, but PV. notes instances of this elsewhere, (Kri. 23) *tarunī yērikī jellune yarayaḡan-ēm-inta vāram-anukonan idiḡō niruvīkugaṇunnadi tā aaram adbhutamaina savati kayyamu cētan* (*-kan-unnadi* for *kān-unnadi*) (Kalā. 1-72). *nīku nādhūḍuḡan unna mahīmahimun-ā nrpālu-nāk evpuḍu cūḍaḡā aaluḡu* (*-kan-unna* for *kān-unna*). These instances may be explained as due to metrical exigencies.

The infin. form is also found to be used in a number of other meanings: (1) with the force of a verbal noun, *ī yā dēśamb-anan-ēla* (Manu. 1-71) *karmamā māku gajan-ekki kanta dūra* (Sim. Na. Śat. 66). cf. the use of the abl. post position *paṭṭi* with an infin., *cēyam-baṭṭi*, *kalugam-baṭṭi*. (2) in the sense of absolute verbal action, *varṣamu kuravan ceṛuvu niṇḍinadi* 'rain falling the tank became full', *kutūhalam-aḍaran bhūpala-mahiṣi yiṭlaniye*, 'curiosity rising, the queen spoke thus'. (3) in the sense of post-action, *sūryūḍu astamimpan jukkalu kānābaḍunu* 'the stars appear after the sun-set'. (4) infin. of purpose, *ninū bogadaṅgān-entavāramu* 'what (of what consequence) are we to praise you'. (5) expresses curse or benediction, *ni vānccha pāḍu gānu* (Hara.) 'may your desire perish', *pūni yētuvē nī pūnki buggi gānu* (Nīlā. 3). AVSS. (p. 1396) thinks that these are not infinitive forms but derived from those ending in *kā(vu)tan*.

The infin. stem combined with other aux. verbs gives rise to compound verb formations expressing different shades of meaning, Ex. *pāru-* the state of completion/fruition of an action indicated by the principal verb *paṇḍā-bāru* 'that is ready to (about to) bear fruit (PV. Kri. 19). *cēyu* the causative meaning Ex. *cokkucū jokkājēyucu* (Kaḷā. 7-157) PV. Kri. 18). *cēyan-gala* 'that can do, that will do', *cēyan-unna* 'that is about to do', *cēyan-bōvu* 'that is going to do', *cēyan-jālu* 'to be capable of doing', *cēyam-būnu*, 'to undertake to do', *cēyan-vaccu* 'to be allowed to do', *cēyan-iccu*, 'to be permitted to do', *cēyan-dagu* 'that is fit to do', *cēyan-valayu* 'that ought to be done', *cēyan-agu* 'that may be done', *cēyam-baḍu* 'that is done'.

These auxiliaries like *agu*, *pōvu* which give rise to different meanings with a principal verb are called *artha-ghaṭakas* (i.e. compound verb formatives) by Atharvana, and the compound verb form as *dvyavayava-kriya* by PV. (Kri. 25) *bhū gami kriyāyōr-antē ghaṭakākhyānam ucyātē anyāś-cā-py-artha ghaṭakāś-syād-anēk-ārthatāpica* (AKā. Kri. 23) Ex. *cēyan-ayye*, *rāka-pōye*, *agu-gāka*; *kadā* with a nominal or verbal form, *cāvu mēlakā* (Bhās. Rā.) *kalimiki bhōgamulakadā phalamu* (Bhr. virā. 1-140); *mīriṭa mun-ganugonani bhūmul lēvugā*, (Vi. Vi. 3). The commentary on Akā gives the following illustrative examples: *vaccitini-kadā*, *vaccitiv-aṭa-gadā*, *vaccitiv-aṭ-ayya*, *ataṇḍu nīvu summu/sumu*, *mīru suṇḍu*, *ataṇḍu suvve/sūve* (*ataṇḍu sumā* is regarded ungrammatical) (Akā. Kri. 16 Comm.) *cēyar-okko*, *cēyun-okko*, *cēyun-okko*, *tanavēpō nēramulu*.

THE BENEDICTIVE (*āśir-arthakamu*)

The suffixes expressing benediction, and curse, (*āśis-śāpa*) are *ēduN* (which may be connected with the aorist) and *taN*. Final druta of these suffixes appear in sandhi before a vowel as *m* (BV. Kri. 28), Ex. *mīku mēlu kaligeḍunu, mīku mēlu kaligeḍum-aniye; mīku mēlu kāvutānu, mīku mēlu kāvutam-aniye*. *m* may be a historical survival. Actually MSS. copies of *ABB*. are said to contain a reading which mention these suffixes as ending in *ma*, *dīvanak-eḍamayu gātayu gāvutamunu delūgulaṅḍū galav-aṅḍru mahin, Śrī velūgeḍum-adhipūḍu mēl gāvincunu gāta mēlu gāvutam-anāgan* (*ABB*. v. 161). *Akā.* (ajan. 66) according to one reading mentioned in *AP.* (p. 415) refers to the suffix *ḍuma* (with *m*): *ḍumakātau kāvut-ādyā āśir-arthē-tu sammataḥ, śubhamu ghaṭiyimpuduma* (in MSS. copies of *Bhr.*); *dharmānandanūḍu...onarincucunḍū gāvutama yakhaṅḍitamuga* (*Bhr.* 1-8-63) *jihvā sphūrṭi lēka rasāli vivēkam-eḍali yuṅḍeḍuma kapḥalu* (*Bhr.* ānu. 3-143), *viṣṇūḍu iṣṭadāyi prasannūḍ-ayyeḍuma nāku* (*śānti.* 1-41). *Inscr. Tel.:* *ā yappana jōsyulu āyuṣmāmtuḍu ayyeḍuma* (*N1. I Atm.* 39. 1409 A.D.).

POST-ACTION (*ānantary-ārthakamu*)

The *ānantaryārthaka* verb denotes an action immediately after which an action indicated by the principal verb which it qualifies takes place. The suffix of this verb form is *ḍun*, *jābilli tōtencu-ḍun guvalayambulu vikasille* 'the lilies blossomed no sooner than the moon appeared.'

The sense of the post-action may also be expressed by the infinitive, and in an of the conditional Ex. *Sūryūḍu astamimpā jukkalu kanābaḍunu* 'the stars appear after the sun set', *yadunandanūḍ-armili mrokke, mrokkinan* 'the son of Yadu prostrated, when he prostrated'.

THE CONDITIONAL (*cēd-arthakamu*)

The suffixes are *inaN*, *ēniN*. The former is added to verbal roots, the latter to finite verbal forms, Ex. *vānalū kurisinan baṅṭalu paṅḍunu* 'if it rains crops will grow', *vaṅḍenēni, vaṅḍun-ēni* 'if he/she/it cooks'. The II pers. past conditional verb in *iti* like *cēs-iti-v-ēni* seems to be the source for the *tē* ending in later *MT.* and *NT.* *cēs-tē*. With the phonetic development there was

also the extension of the use of this form to the I and III persons, *cēstē* 'if I do, *vāḍu cēstē* 'if he does', *nīvu cēstē* 'if you do.' Roots like *anu*, *vinu* which take the retroflex ṭ in the past show the same sound in the conditional, *aṅṭē*, *viṅṭē* etc.

The conditional may also be expressed by the use of the interr. particle with finite verbs, Ex. *iccenā yēnugu pāḍi* (Vi. vi.). The verbal noun with the conj. suffix has also the force of the conditional, Ex. *girulaina vajram-ai...uragamul aguṭayu vihangōttamūḍ āgucu* (Kus. 12-43).

The same meaning may be expressed periphrastically by the help of words denoting time or place like *nāḍu*, *appuḍu*, *eḍalan*, *cōn* (<*cōṭan*, loc, of *cōṭu* 'place'), Ex. *aṭlu kānināḍ-ēla gṛhastha vṛtti* (Bh. 1-6-270), *mīr-aṭlu sēyani nāḍu dāniki mari yēnu dāsinagudunu* (1-5-34).

Examples from inscrr. for conditionals in ā: *ī puṇyānaku yevvarainānu mammu maṁniṁci tappaka naḍapēdi, tappitirā* (i.e 'if they violate); *ī cervvuku acceddha cēsināḍu tirtulu ayirā maśīdulō pandini kōśinaṭṭu, telgāvāru ayirā kāśilō gō-hatyā brahm-matya cēśinaṭṭu* (X-765 Gtr. 1678 A.D.). The conditional sense is more clearly brought out by the use of help-words, Ex. *ganaka: iṁdku evaram ganaka tappinānu gaṁga kartta gōvu brāhmala vadha śēśina pāpānam bōvuvāru* (X-748 Gtr. 1577 A.D.). This usage is very common in NT.

VERBAL NOUN (*bhāvā nāmamu*)

There are three verbal noun formatives which are, roughly in the order of their historicity, ḍu, ṭa, aḍamu/aṭamu Ex. *vaṅḍu-ḍu*, *vaṅḍu-ṭa*, *vaṅḍ-aḍamu/aṭamu*. Examples for ḍu are mostly confined to classical literature, and comparatively rare. This formative is not mentioned by ĀBB. Kāc. or Āśc. aḍamu/aṭamu is later than ṭa. It does not appear in the kavitraya, and finds mention for the first time in Atharvana Kārikāvaḷi. In NT. it has become generalised at the expense of ṭa.

ĀBB. gives illustrative form in ṭa: *trōyu-ṭa*, *trōvu-ṭa* (*trōyu*) (V. 149), and with the loss of medial vowels optionally in a group of verbal nouns, *tinuṭa - tiṅṭa*, *konuṭa - koṅṭa*, *kanuṭa - kaṅṭa*. *anu*, *manu*, *vinu* belong to this class (BV. kri. 58). Atharvana considers the syncopated forms as ungrammatical (Ākā.). However forms with the loss of medial syllable in ḍ are acceptable

pārucuṅṭa - pārucuṅḍuṭa. koṁṭa (< konuṭa) in inscr. (X-496 cud. 1308 A.D.)

Roots ending in *c* substitute *p* for *c* optionally before this suffix as illustrated by Peddana, *kōpimpuṭa - kōpincuṭa*, (Kāc. 9-166). It would appear that *p* forms are rather rare in the literary dialect in MT.

konuṭa has another form *kōlu* which occurs in śabdapallavas, Ex. *iccukōlu, puccukōlu* (PV. kri. 13).

The verbal noun with the conjunctive suffix expresses the sense of post-action, Ex. *ā muni yalgi cūcuḍun dhārunī-dhram-mulu vrayyu* (Bhr. 1-4-38); *anuṭayū binna navvu nagi yambuja-nābhūḍu valku* (Bhr. udyō. 3-52). It is possible that the post-action *ḍun* is in origin the verbal noun formative *ḍu*+the conj. un. ĀVSS. gives supportive evidence of this usage in modern coll. Telugu: *nā debba tagalaḍamunnu paḍipōyenu* 'he fell down as soon as he received my below'. Inscriptional reference for — *aḍamu: aṁgaraiṁga - bhōgam naḍavadānaku icni vṛtti* (XVI-11, Chitt. 1401 A.D.)

VOICE

The reflexive and the passive voices are expressed analytically, by the use of the aux. roots *konu* and *paḍu* respectively.

REFLEXIVE (*ātm-ārthakamu*)

The aux. *konu* is added to the verbal base or to the past participle form of the verb, Ex. *vaṅḍu-konu, vaṅḍi-konu* 'to cook, for oneself', in the case of *yu* ending roots, however, *konu* is always added to the past part, Ex. *cēsi-konu* 'to do for oneself', *telisi-konu* 'to know for oneself'. In later M and NT. the use of *konu* with the verbal base had become common rather than with the past part. and the tendency appeared with *yu* ending verbs as well, thus *vaṅḍukonu, cēsukonu, tīsukonu* etc. Conjugated forms of the *konu* auxiliary are subject to many phonetic changes, in later M & NT., as II imper-*konumu* > *kō*, *cēsikonumu-cēsukō*; infin. *konan* > *kōn. ā korantayū dīrcukō dogaru kolpina kaivaḍi* (Āmu. 2-18); neg. adj. *konani* > *kōni, vāni mārapaḍā bērkōni mānavatiyu* (Śṛ. Naiṣ. 1-62) *nimēṣa vyākhyā gaikōni drk-sarasī-jambulu* (Śṛ. Naiṣ. 5-182). past part. *koni* > *ka, soridi kṣakāramu gūḍuka* (ĀBS. kr. 54); in MVN. (p. 48) of southern literature

inta teccuka tincunnān antē, peddatanamū cēsuka vundē dānavunnu.

The aux. *paḍu* with the infin. usually expresses the passive but in some cases it seems to impart a reflexive idea, as in *digā-baḍu*, *vinā-baḍu*, *kanā-baḍu* etc., *vāḍu nītilō diga-badenu* 'he got into water, literally he falls into the water, so as to get into it', *adi-nāku vinā-baḍinadi*, 'it has fallen into my hearing', *adi nāku kanā-baḍinadi* 'it has appeared (itself before) to me.'

In classical texts there are usages where the verb without *konu* aux. is used with a reflexive force, Ex. *Babhru bhāryū danakū bhārya jēse* (Bhr. 2-2-6.), *Paramēśvarū bratyaksambu sēsi* (Kus. 1-71), *paridhānambulu savarincucu* (10-4), *vēlḷatōḍuta kalpa vṛkṣamul verikincikoni pōyi tanak-upavanamu sēse* (4-11) (= *cēsi-koniye*).

In the following instances — *konu* aux. is used with a shade of meaning which is not the reflexive in the usual sense: *ācandrārka stāyigā anubhaviṁci sukhāna vundukunēdi* (Nl. I-8, p. 64), *putra-pautra-pāramparyam̄taram mīru anubhaviṁcukunēdi* (Nl. I-5 1406 A.D.), *mīru purāṇam vinnapam̄ sēsuka vundē-tam̄dulaku* (XVI-266, Kurn. 1567 A.D.).

PASSIVE (*karmany-arthakamu*)

The passive is expressed analytically, with the help of the aux. verb. *paḍu* 'to fall, suffer', added to the infinitive of the principal verb. There are two such passive constructions in OT.; in MT. it occurred with varying degree of frequency in different writers; thus there are no less than 50 instances in Nannaya's *Mhb.*, but practically no occurrence in Nannichodaś Kus., or in Ketana's *Daśakumāracharitra*. The forms are comparatively rare even in later *prabandha* literature.

We do not find any mention of the passive verb or of the passive formative *paḍu* in the early grammarians Ketana and Peddana. They must have considered the various forms in *paḍu* as compound roots or compound verbal themes-like others in *konu*, *caṇu*, *tagu*, *agu* etc. The special recognition for *an-paḍu* forms as passive is due to the influence of Skt. idiom and grammar. In *ĀŚC.* there is a sutra dealing with the formation of the passive '*karmany-anubhaka śyāt pati dhātuḥ karṭṛ vacca tadvidhayaḥ.*' There is no doubt that the large number of these forms found in

Na, has to be attributed to the powerful influence of the Skt. idiom upon him.

That the passive is not a regular native idiom may be seen from the numerous usages where the active form of the verb is used in the passive sense—even when the noun denoting the agent is put in the instr. case: Ex. *talli cēsina yaparādhambunaku nirvēdinci* ‘feeling sorry for the wrong which his mother did’ (for wrong done by his mother). Sometimes the noun enters into compound construction with the active participle on the analogy of Skt. forms, *Janamējayuni cēyu sarpa yāgamu* ‘the serpent sacrifice which is the making of Janamējaya’ (=sacrifice which is made by him, cf. Skt. *Janamējaya samārabdha sarpakula praḷayamu*. There is again direct importation of the Skt. passive through tats. forms in ita, *asurulacēta nihātūḍayye* ‘by asuras he was killed’. Ketana says that ina indicates past tense in *kartrārtha*, *karaṇārtha* and *karmārtha*; and for *karmārtha* he gives an example wherein the verb is in the active form itself, *vaṇḍina kolucu* ‘the rice cooked’; Peddana: *Viśvavibhucēta vilasillu siri*. If the noun in the instr. case should require a passive form of the verb, it should be like *Viśvavibhunicēta siri vilasillājēyābaḍunu*. Inscr. Tel. *Cinnādēvammaṅgāricātānu samarppiṁcina padakam* (SII. VI-694 Bhuvanesar, 1516 A.D.) (=samarppiṁpābaḍina); *tama dēvuḷḷu cinnādēvamma Tirumaladēvammaṅgāricātānu mahādānālu śēyimccan — avadhariṁci* (SII. XVI-58, Kancipuram 1517 A.D.). The sense is of the passive. Similarly *Kaśyapu valana carācara-bhūtarāśi yellan udbhavillu*. ‘From Kasyapa the whole world animate and inanimate arose’ *Takṣakucētan-anatambaina yarthambu goni* ‘taking from Takṣaka large sums of money’. The above instance with the agentive markers *cēta*, *valana* show that it is intended to carry a passive idea; in later Tel. the construction would be—*anantambaina yartham iyābaḍinavāḍai* (the passive requires the verb ‘to give’ and not ‘to take’), *carācārabhūtarāśi yella sṛjimpābaḍiye*.

Other instances of the use of active forms of the verb for passive: use of neut. intrans. verb, Ex. *adi nā cētilō pagilinadi* ‘it broke in my hands, i.e., it was broken by me’; use of the past part., Ex. *tini ayinadi* ‘having eaten it has become, it is eaten’; use of the verbal noun with *agu*, Ex. *gūḍi kaṭṭuṭa ayinadi* ‘the building of the temple has become i.e. the temple has been built’; use of active rel. part. Ex. *vrāsina pustakamu* ‘book that is written: use of active participial noun, *ceppinadi* in the sense of

'ceppā baḍinadi; idiomatically with the use of verbs meaning 'to eat' 'to touch', to fall etc. *vāḍu debbalu tinenu* 'he ate a beating i.e., he was beaten', *vāniki debbalu tagilenu*, 'to him beatings touched *vāniki debbalu paḍenu* 'to him beatings fell' — with slightly different shades, give the passive meaning 'he was beaten'.

One may also note here that like *paḍu* there are also other auxiliaries which are capable of expressing the passive meaning: with an infin. verb, *paragu*, *canu*, *pōvu*, *konu*, *anu*, etc. Ex. *adi śamantapancakambunān baragu* 'it is proper to say that (it is) *śamanta-pancaka* i.e., it is called-'; similarly *ananjanu* 'it goes into the saying i.e., it is called', *anan baḍu* 'it falls into the saying, it is said, called'; with the aux. *pōvu*, *telisi pōyinadi* lit. having known it has gone' i.e. 'it is known'; with the aux. *anu*. *dānavula talli danuvu anipincukonunu* 'the mother of *dānavas* is called *Danuvu*'; and so on (see 'Dr. passive' AORI. Vol. II Part 2, pp. 1-18).

NEGATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

Finitive Verb

The negative marker is *a*, which occurs in all the neg. conjugations.

Sg. I.	<i>vaṇḍ-a-nu</i>	Pl.	<i>vaṇḍ-a-mu</i>
II.	<i>vaṇḍ-a-vu</i>		<i>vaṇḍ-a-ru</i>
III. M.	<i>vaṇḍ-ā-ḍu</i>	MF.	<i>vaṇḍ-a-ru</i>
FN.	<i>vaṇḍ-a-ḍu</i>	N.	<i>vaṇḍ-a-vu</i>

After a verbal base ending in long vowel, the neg. suffix is \emptyset , Ex. *rā-ḍu*, *pō-ḍu*, *ī-nu* (optionally *pō-v-ā-ḍu*, *ī-y-a-nu*). *c* of the derivative suffix in the root final is substituted by *p* before the neg. suffix, Ex. *onarpāḍu*. In the later language the change of *c* to *p* often does not occur.

The negative (like the affirmative aorist) is indeterminate in point of time and may be used in the three tenses, context alone suggesting the tense intended Ex. past, *nalu-gānam ivvanamuna* (Bhr. 3-2-107) 'we did not find Nala in this forest', *ṛekkalu rāvu pillalaku* (Bhāg. 7) 'the young ones did not develop wings, *Kacuṇḍu-nēniyun rāḍu* (Bhr. 1-3-112) 'Kaca did not turn up'; Present: *palukadu sakhulatō lalitāngi* (Bhr. 3-2-26), 'the damsel does not talk with her companions', *molakayu molavad-ī celuva tapas-siddhi valana* (Kus. 7-19) 'there is not even the sprouting of a shoot by the penance of this girl'; Future: *Nalunakāni nali-*

nadaḷanētra variyimpad-aṭṭe (Bhr. 3-3-52) 'will not the lotus-eyed damsel choose anyone else except Nala', *varasati surata-kaḷāgama-parinatūdagu viṭunī gūḍi pāyadu, mari ḍepparamunā bāsiyun ennaḍun orū gavayadu* (Kus. 8-160).

Where tense in the neg. verb is intended to be expressly stated it may be done by the use of the appropriate form of the aux. verb *agu*, Ex. past: *eruganaitin* (Kus. 6-160), 'I did not know'; present: *ippaluk inkanu nammanēranayyedānu* (Bhr. 1-4-30) 'I do not still believe this word'; Future: *vṛṣṭi lēd-avu* (Bhr. 1-4-250) 'there will be no rain'.

The neg. verb with the interrogative particle expresses entreaty, Ex. *pitāmaha, vīrik-iccaṭa jittaśānti yonarpavē* (Bhr. 2-2-35) also with forms like *ayya, amma* etc., *ā Jaratkārū gani ceppav-ayya vānin erūgud ēni māpaḍiyedun ī yavastha* (1-2-145); and with other artha-ghaṭakas like *okko, vyapagatam-aina jīvam-idi vaccun-upāyamu sēyar okko* (1-1-150). Neg. forms of the verb *cūḍu* as aux. may be used in *prasiddhārtha*: *surala vara-prasādamunā jūve suputruḷā Bāṇḍurāju bhāsuramugā gānce* (1-5-150) *cūve* < *cūḍave*; *bannamu vaḍi yeda dalāpaka yunnatāḍa cūve tatvajñūḍ-ilan* (1-3-147).

Neg. Adverbial Participle

The suffix is *a-ka, vaṇḍ-a-ka*; *c* of the derivative suffix in the root final is substituted by *p* before this *a-ka*, *onarpaka* (*onarcu*), with glidic *-v-* in case of roots with radical *c* in the final syllable, *naḍa-v-aka*. In the later period the substitution of *c* by *p* in the former category often does not occur.

Some neg. participles survive in fossilised state as adverbs in NT., Ex. *ūraka, minnaka*.

The neg. part is productive of different shades of meaning with arthaghaṭakas, Ex. NT. *cēyaka-pōtini* 'I did not do', in the sense of wishing it were done.

Neg. Declinable Participle

The suffix is *ani*, Ex. *vaṇḍ-ani*. The suffix alternant is *ni* with mono-syllabic stems ending in a long vowel, Ex. *pō-ni, rā-ni, tē-ni*. Substitution of *c* in the root final to *p* optionally, *tōp-ani, tōc-ani* (*tōcu*), or with *v* glide, *naḍa-v-ani* (*naḍacu*).

Neg. Imperative or Prohibitive

The suffix is a-ku which is added to the verbal base, II Sg. *vaṇḍ-aku*, optionally *vaṇḍ-aku-mu*, Pl. *vaṇḍ-akū-ḍu*. In sandhi the form of II Sg. with the pronominal ending stands as the first member. Ex. *talampakum-amma*. The form without the pronominal ending in such contexts is regarded ungrammatical, *jāg-onarimpakō hr̥dayēśu madin dalampak-amma* (Akā, kri. 9 Comm.)

The particles a, ā, i, ī, e, ē as also the appellatives ayya, amma etc. express entreaty, *pāpāvēśamu lēdu dīnik-aḍḍapaḍakuvē* (Bhr. śānti, 3-297); *vicārahīnav-ayi kampamu-n-ondakuvē talō-darī* (U. Hari. 5-87), *ennaḍun-iṭṭi sāhasamul-inkan-onarpakum-ayya* (Bhr. 3-5-434), *anupama-satya-visphuraṇaṇ-āḍina māṭa marākum-anna* (Bhr. udyō. 4-70).

Neg. Verbal Noun

The suffix is a-mi which is added to the verbal base, *vaṇḍ-ami*. A periphrastic formation is the use of the affirmative verbal noun with the negative participial stem, *vaṇḍak-uṇḍuṭa*, NT, *vaṇḍaka-pōvaḍam*. This periphrastic form gradually becomes generalised in NT.

NEW TELUGU

There have been changes in the behaviour of certain verbal roots, for instance, some vowel ending roots behave as consonantal endings, MT. *tannu-tunnāḍu*, Mdn. Tel. *tan-tunnāḍu* cf. *anu-an-tunnāḍu*; there are new morphophonemic developments, MT. *koṭṭu-cunnāḍu*, Mdn. Tel. *koḍu-tunnāḍu*, etc.

Tats. verb roots without the augment -iy- are now commonly used, Ex. *dharincu*, not *dhariyincu*. Similarly native roots without the iy augment in the past verbs are common, Ex. *paḍenu*, not *paḍiyenu*.

The tendency in regard to transitives and causatives is for the characterisation of these forms with the respective suffixial elements. The personal terminations are I sg. nu, pl. mu; II sg. vu, pl. ru; III sg. mahat ḍu, amahat du/di, pl. mahat ru, amahat vu/yi.

The use of personal terminations in the finite verb is now more regular than in MT. In the I Sg. optional practice prevails due to the elision of druta n. Ex. *cēsti*, *cēsti-ni*, *cēśā*, *cēśāenu*.

Personal suffixes in the appellative verbs of the I Sg. and II Sg. Pl. are often dropped, Ex. *nēnu kavi*, *nīvu kavi*, *mīru kavulu* : *mēmu kavulamu*.

The typical finite verb conjugations in the three tenses past, present-continuous, and present-future (aorist) are shown below: (Those in italics are sub-standard. Rs. = Rāyalasīma dialect, Cir. = Circars' dialect, Tel. = Telangāna dialect. Forms are noted in this order. Acknowledgements are due to Dr. B. Rama Raju, Hyderabad, for furnishing forms of the Telangāna area. Variations based on class dialects are not shown here).

Past

	Sg.	Pl.
I. RS.	<i>vastini</i>	<i>vastimi</i>
	<i>vaccinānu</i>	<i>vaccināmu</i>
	Cir. <i>vaccāenu</i>	<i>vaccāemu</i>
	Tel. <i>vaccina</i>	<i>vaccinam</i>
II.	<i>vastivi</i>	<i>vastiri</i>
	<i>vaccināvu</i>	<i>vaccināru</i>
	<i>vaccāevu</i>	<i>vaccāeru</i>
	<i>vaccinau</i>	<i>vaccinru</i>
III. M.	<i>vaccenu</i>	<i>vacciri</i>
	<i>vaccinādu</i>	<i>vaccināru</i>
	<i>vaccāēdu</i>	<i>vaccāeru</i>
	<i>vaccinḍu</i>	<i>vaccinru</i>
F & N. RS.	} <i>vaccindi</i>	Tel. <i>vaccinay</i>
Cir.		
Tel.		Cir. <i>vaccāey</i>

Present Continuous

I. RS.	<i>vastā unḍānu</i>	<i>vastā unḍāmu</i>
	RS & Cir. <i>vastunnānu</i>	<i>vastunnāmu</i>
	Tel. <i>vastāna</i>	<i>vastānam</i>
II.	<i>vastā unḍāvu</i>	<i>vastā unḍāru</i>
	<i>vastunnāvu</i>	<i>vastunnāru</i>
	<i>vastānavu</i>	<i>vastānru</i>
III. M.	<i>vastā unḍādu</i>	<i>vastā unnāru</i>
	<i>vastunnādu</i>	<i>vastunnāru</i>
	<i>vastāḍu</i>	<i>vastānru</i>
F & N.	<i>vastā undi</i>	<i>vastā unḍay</i>
	<i>vastūndi</i>	<i>vastunnāy</i>
	<i>vastāḍi</i>	<i>vastāyi</i>

Present Future

I. RS.	<i>vastunu</i>	<i>vastumu</i>
	Cir. <i>vastānu</i>	<i>vastāmu</i>
	Tel. <i>vasta</i>	<i>vastam</i>
II.	<i>vasturu</i>	<i>vasturu</i>
	<i>vastāvu</i>	<i>vastāru</i>
	<i>vastau</i>	<i>vastaru</i>
III. M.	<i>vastūdu</i>	<i>vasturu</i>
	<i>vastāḍu</i>	<i>vastāru</i>
	<i>vastāḍu</i>	<i>vastaru</i>
F & N. RS.	<i>vastadi</i>	<i>vastavi</i>
	RS. } <i>vastundi</i>	<i>vastāyi</i>
	Cir. } <i>vastadi</i>	<i>vastayi</i>

The aor. verb has developed certain nuances of meaning coincident with the phonological changes, Ex. *vaccēnu*, 'he might come (with the implication, beware)', *paḍēvu* 'you might fall' (beware); *vaddunu* 'I would have come, *cēsunu* 'he would have done', *cūdduru* 'you would have seen'.

A future tense conjugation formed from the verbal infinitive with the past adj. of the defective root* *kal* is also commonly used in NT. Originally the *kala* auxiliary indicated *śakyārtha* (= the capacity to do a thing expressed by the principal verb). From this the sense of futurity developed, and in NT. both the meanings are co-existent and context determines which one is intended. The sense of futurity developing from *śakyārtha* (Ex. *vaṇḍāgalāḍu* 'he can cook', 'he will cook') may be compared with the situation in English where 'he will cook' originally meant 'he has the will to cook'.

The verb *kal* in NT. is used only as an auxiliary; it was primarily used as a principal verb in early MT. in the intrans. 'to be', and the trans. 'to possess'. Usage in Na.; *māyaṭl-idumalā baḍina narulu galarē* (intrans. Bhr. 3-2-3), *eruka galare maguval endu* (trans. 1-2-34), *orulu narulu Śalyun ōrvāgalarē* (*śakyārtha*), *kāvaṅgalavāramu* (future). The frequency of occurrence in the different meanings in Na. is; intrans. 97, trans. 11, *śakyārtha* 4, future 3.

The suffixes of participles are the same as in late MT. Aor. decl. *ē*, *ē-ti*, *vaṇḍ-ē*, *vaṇḍ-ēti*, dial. *ī*, *vaṇḍ-ī*, cf. *idi* in inscr. MT.; pres. adv. *tu*, *tā* (dial.), *vaṇḍu-tū*, *vaṇḍu-tā*; pres. decl. *tunna*, *tā-unna* (dial.) *vaṇḍutunna*, *vaṇḍu-tā unna*; past adv. *i*, *vaṇḍ-i*;

past decl. *ina*, *vaṇḍ-ina*. The aor. form also expresses the past in certain contexts. Ex. *anagā anagā oka rāj-uṇḍēvāḍu* 'once upon a time there was (used to be) a king'.

The suffix of the hortative is *-dā-*. The vowel length develops by way of compensation for a sound dropped, Ex. *pō-dā-mu* < *pōvudamu*, and analogical in *vaṇḍu-dā-mu* 'let us cook'. Other examples: *veḍ-dā-mu* 'let us go', *cēd-dā-mu* 'let us do', MT. *velludamu*, *cēyudamu*.

The imperative II Sg. is used without the person suffix, *vaṇḍu* 'cook', *ceyyi* 'do', but in sandhi *-m-* of the person suffix appears as historical survival *vaṇḍa-m-ani* (< *vaṇḍu-mu+ani*), *cēya-m-ani*/*ceyyamani*. In the pl. the suffix is *aṇḍi*, *vaṇḍ-aṇḍi*, *ceyy-aṇḍi*, *ra-ṇḍi*, dialectally *rāṇḍi*. (*aṇḍi* is used as honorific ending with many kinds of words, Ex. *ēm-aṇḍi*, *avun-aṇḍi*, *mīd-ē-mūr-aṇḍi*). With appellative words like *amma*, *ayya* the imper. expresses entreaty, Ex. *ceyy-amma*, Pl. *ceyyaṇḍ-ayya*, 'Please do'.

The infinitive ending in MT. is *-an*, the druta drops out in NT., Ex. *ceyya - ceyyā baṭṭi*.

The benedictive formative is *kāka*, *m̄ku śubham agu gāka*. The endings *eḍun*, *kāta* are obsolete.

The post-action with *ḍum* is not living verb form in NT. It is now rendered periphrastically by using the emphatic suffix *ē* to the infin. form of the verb in *-n*, MT. *astamincuḍun* NT. *astamincaḡānē*.

The conditional form in NT. ends in *tē*, a development from the II pers. sg. past verbal form in *iti-v-i+* the cond. *ēnin.*, thus *cēstē*, *vaṇḍitē*, *vaṇḍutē*. The concessive (sense of 'even though') is formed by *inā* (< *inan*), Ex. *vaṇḍinā*.

The verbal noun with *ṭa* is infrequent, and forms in *aḍamu*/*aṭamu* are common.

The reflexive with *konu* often shows the root form, even with *yu* endings, Ex. *telusu-konu*. The passive with *paḍu* aux. is commonly employed in journalistic language.

In the neg. conjugations, the finite verb form continues to be the same as in MT. But its sense is of the present-future, Ex. *vaṇḍanu* 'I do not/I will not cook'. Past tense in the neg. is expressed by using the aux. Ex. *vaṇḍa-lēdu* 'did not cook' — in all

persons and numbers. The neg. verb with the particle *ā* with a particular intonation, expresses entreaty, Ex. *vaṇḍavā* 'will you please not cook'. The adv. part. is formed by the suffix *aka*, and the decl. part. by *ani*. The neg. imper. like its affirmative counterpart is used without the personal termination in the sg. in NT. *vaṇḍaku*, with *-aṇḍi* in the Pl., *vaṇḍak-aṇḍi*; with the appellatives like *ayya*, *amma* etc. it expresses entreaty, *vaṇḍak-amma*. The neg. verbal noun in *ami* is obsolete in NT. In its place we use a periphrastic formation with the verbal noun of an auxiliary — *vaṇḍak-uṇḍuṭa* / *vaṇḍakuṇḍā uṇḍadam* / *vaṇḍakaṇḍū uṇḍēdi* (dial).

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Telugu may be divided into two main classes: 1. roots which are by nature adjectives — which include descriptives, demonstratives and interrogative, numerals, and adjectives capable of being used as nouns 2. derived adjectives — derived from primitive adjectives, nouns and verbal forms by the addition of suffixal elements.

Adjectives may be used attributively or predicatively. In the attributive use it precedes the noun which it qualifies, and in the predicative use it follows the noun.

Forms which are by nature adjectives:

Like the pronominal and numeral roots there are also distinctive adjectival roots in Dravidian. Ex. *pēr*, *pen* 'big' and *ciru* 'small': 7th *pen-pāra* (9-3), *peru-velpu-guḍlu* (10-2). 8th *pen-bāra* (28-17). 10th *pēr-āmani* (44-64), *ciru-deraḷ* (50-5). Adjectives capable of being used as nouns: 9th *peda Paṇḍaramṅulu* (37-4) (<*pedda*<*per-da*, cf. *perddaḷ* 'elders' (25-11). Demonstrative and interrogative adjectives: The demonstrative adjectives are *ā* for the remote and *ī* for the proximate. The interrogative adjective is *ē*. The long vowels are shortened before a double consonant. Examples: *ā: ā Pēreyayu* (50-10): *ī: ī uḍlandu* (10-29), *ī dharm-manirvvahanōdyōgammunaku* (37-5), *ī stiti* (38-33). Short forms: *a: abBāranāsi* (38-12); *i: innalvuru* (31-3), *iyyoṭṭu* (38-14), *innelava* (38-25). Example for interr. adj. *ē* is doubtful, *ēverugu-vāru* (10-10), 'those who know which' (?).

Numeral adjectives: 7th *iruvuṭṭi* (10-29), *pandumbu* (21-3), *padēndumbu* (20-8), *vēseruvulu* (14-22)

Numeral substantives used as adjectives: *reṇḍu tōṭaḷu* (13-11), *mūnru vuṭṭu* (16-11), *āru puṭḷu* (11-12), *iruvadiyādi nālku marunturlu* (2-13); 8th *iuvādireṇḍu cavaccarambuḷ* (28-3) *ēbhādi marunturlu* (28-15); 9th *enubodi vuḍḷu* (35-10); 10th *oka nāṇḍu* (44-24), *ṇaravādyādi yēnum drammalu* (44-59); UD *okko gānugu* (60-11), *mūḍu vuṭḷu* (54-4).

Derived adjectives:

Nominal forms used as adjectives (without any formal change) by virtue of their position before another noun, Ex. *Erigal Dugarājul* (7-2), *Kocciya pāra* (7-4), *Gommalōviḍi samudrambu* (10-21), *pērāmani purnama* (44-64).

With the adjectival suffixes: *i*: *paḍumāri kōṭan* (10-7) (*r* has not changed to *ṭ* -*paḍumaṭi* as in later Tel.) *lōpali nēla* (47-17), with the change of *ḍ* in final syllable to *ṭ*: *annēṇṭi* (10-3) < *ēṇḍu*; *Paḷḷināṇṭi dayāvesanu* (11-5) < *Paḷḷināṇḍu*. Change of the nom. ending *m(b)u* to *(m)pu*: *Kaṭṭepu durggambu* (35-7); *Miriyaṁpu bōḷajaku* (20-5); note the absence of the change in *uttarabu kaṭṭu* (28-16). With the adjectival formative *ayina* (past adj. of *agu*): 7th *uttamōttamunr-ayinavānru* (12-4), *Goggi bhāṭaraḷa dakṣiṇa-bhujāyamānumr-ayina Ālakumara priyatanayumr-ayina Ujēnīpiśāca nāmadhēyimru* (18-5, 6); 9th *causaṣṭi kalāvisāraduṇḍ-aina Ayyapayyayu* (37-3).

Verbal Adjectives:

Past: *kēsina paṇi* (4-2), *niḷpina stānambu* (5-3), *kulocinaṭṭi podopuḷu* (30-3) (*kulocina-aṭṭi*) Aorist: *ēleḍuvāru* (38-30), *kāci kuḍuceḍuvāru* (48-6), *Sankilāṇḍ-anu rēni* (39-7).

MIDDLE TELUGU

Root Adjectives:

A number of adjectival roots survive now only in compounds, and occur with affixes in their free form. (Cf. BV. san. 36-39, and philological explanation of compound formations by K. Ramakrishnaiya in SANDHI, pp. 171-205). Ex. *prā-gempu*, *ela-māvi/lē-māvi*, *kroṇ-jāya*, *kro-kkāru*, *mī-gaḍa*, *krī-gaḍupu*, *kuru-jāḍalu*, *ken-dāmara*, *cen-dova* preserve the primitive adjectives *prā* (< **paḷu* Tam. *paḷa*), *ela*, > *lē* (by metathesis), *kro* (< **koḷ*), *kro*, *mī*, *krī* (< **kīḷ*, Tam. *kīḷ*), *kuru*, *kem*, > *cen*, whereas their

corresponding free forms are now constituted of formative suffixes as *prāta*, *lēta*, *krotta*, *māda*, *krinda*, *kuruca*, *kempu*, *caṃnu*, and are capable of being used as substantives as well.

The demonstrative and interrogative adjectives are *ā*, *ī*, *ē*, Ex. *ā kāmini*, *akkāmini* 'that amorous woman', *ī kalamu*, *ikkālamu* 'this time', *ē kāryambu*, *ekkāryambu* 'which work'. From these adj. bases are formed quantitative adjectives like *anta*, *intu*, *enta*, *antalu*, *intalu*, *entalu* (and in this series *konta* 'some'), qualitatives like *aṭṭi*, *iṭṭi*, *eṭṭi*, adjectives of totality like *andarū*, *indarū*, *endarū*, (and thus *kondarū* 'some persons') etc.

Numeral adjectives — in their short (primitive) form: *ok (k) a/ok (k) o*, *īru/inu*, *mū*, *nal(u)*, *ē*, *āru*, *en-ama/en-umba tom/tom-ba*. These forms can function only as adjectives. There are others which, sometimes extended by formative suffixes, are capable of being used as substantives, Ex. *pcāda*, 'big', (adj.) elderly person, big man', *kempu* 'red, red (precious) stone'; *nīlamu* 'blue, by semantic development, sapphire', (pl. *nīlālu* always used as subst. 'blue stones, sapphires').

Derived Adjectives :

Nominal forms may function as adjectives by virtue of their position before another qualifying noun, *alar-ammu incu-villu*, *isuka-nēla*, *jādi-virulu*, *lakka-bomma*; with the augment *-n-* in some adj. compounds when the first constituent ends in *-u-* and followed by a surd consonant, *uppū-berika* (Kus. 2-73); rarely before a vowel, *jādi-n-rri* (Kus. 4-16). Cardinal numerals, excepting the first cardinal, may similarly function as adjectives, Ex. *mūd-agnulu* 'three fires', but *bālūd-okkaṇḍu* 'one boy' (not *okkaṇḍu bālūdu*).

Adjectives may be derived from primitive adj. roots, nouns, adverbs and verbs, by the addition of characteristic suffixes or help words, Ex. *nal-l-a* 'black' (< **nal*), from the noun form *nalla-na* again *nallan-i* with the *i* suffix; and more expressively with the auxiliary verbal adj. of root *agu*, *nallan-ayina*; *cin-n-a*, *citt-i-i*, *citt-a* (this form with *a* is comparatively rare but none the less attested, *citt-a-veduḷulu* (Kus. 12-121). *pinna-ti* (*navvu*) (Kus. 8-10); similarly from noun form: *pall-a* (*cettu*) 'fruit tree', *kunṭ-i* (*kālu*) 'deformed leg', *modal-i-ti* 'first', From adverbs *end-ul-a* (*vāru*) 'persons of which place' *ind-al-i* 'of this place', *appaṭi* 'of that time'. The suffixes *a*, and (*ṇ*)*ti* are common to the adjec-

tives and the genitive. The *ṭ* element carrying the adj. signification is analogically extended to other forms in *u*, in sandhi contexts, before a vowel, Ex. *pūvu-ṭ-ammu* 'flower arrow'. Adjectives formed with help-words — verbal adjectives of *agu*: aor. adj. *agu* (< *avu*); Ex. *vidyāśaliyagu puruṣūḍu* 'a learned person', *bhūtadayāloragu mahātmulu*, great men with compassion; ordinal forms: Ex. *reṇḍ-agu*, *reṇḍ-avu*, further reinforced by the *a* suffix, *reṇḍ-av-a*, (> *reṇḍ-ō*). *ayina*, (> *aina*): e.g. *atiduṣkaramayina Kēśavārjuna kṛti* 'the most difficult deed of Kēśavārjuna'. "This mode of forming adjectives is especially used in connection with Sanskrit derivatives."

agu and *ayina* are also extended by the forms *aṭṭi*, or *aṭuvanṭi* meaning 'such' often in the colloquial language: *agun-aṭṭi*, *avun-aṭṭi/aun-aṭṭi*, *ain-aṭṭi*, *ain-aṭuvanṭi/ayin-aṭuvanṭi* (TV. 211). (*m*)*pu* replacing the neut. ending *m(b)u* in nominal stems is a principle of adjectival formation, Ex. *sarasa(m)pu māṭa* 'elegant speech', *virasa(m)pu vacanamu* 'unpleasant word', *gūḍhapu-mantrambulu* 'secret counsels'. Sometimes extended by *-ṭ-* in sandhi *jūḍapu-ṭ-āḷaku* 'dice plays' or further reinforced by the *a* suffix, Ex. *vēp-a ceṭṭu* 'margosa tree', *janup-a nāra* 'jute fibre'. *p* is analogically extended to other adjective in sandhi, Ex. *tāmara-p-āku* (V. Hari. 3. P.V. San. 8). *mu*, *mbu* > *pu* is also a mode of genitive formation, Ex. *kayyambu/kayyamu* — gen. *kayyapu*, Ex. *kayyapu veravu*. (Bhr.).

There are four verbal adjectives, past, aorist, present and future: past: *-ina* : Ex. *vaṇḍ-ina*; Aorist: root form ending in *u*, *eḍu/eḍi*, > *ē*, *ē-ṭi*, Ex. *vaṇḍu*, *vaṇḍ-eḍu*, *vaṇḍ-eḍi*, *vaṇḍ-ē*, *vaṇḍ-ēṭi*; present: *cunna*, colloquial *tunna*: Ex. *vaṇḍu-cunna*, *vaṇḍu-tūnna*; Future: *kala* added to an infinitive verb, Ex. *vaṇḍā-gala*.

Many indeclinables are used as adjectives Ex. Kus. *incuka* (*sēpu*) (10-160), *ella-proḍḍu* (8-139), *karam* (*udrēkamutōḍa*) (12-177).

NEW TELUGU

Some adjectives are bound forms and always occur with the substantives which they qualify, Ex. *ara* 'half': *ara-gaṇṭa* 'half an hour', *ar-aḷāku* (*aḷāku* is a unit of measurement), *ara-viri* 'half-blossomed flower'; *maga* 'masculine'; *maga-vāḍu* 'male person', *maga-y-ēnugu* 'male elephant', *maga-tanamu* 'manliness'; *penu*

'big'; *penu-bhūtamū* 'a big devil', *ciru* 'small' *ciru-cali* 'somewhat cold', *ciru-nagaru* 'smile' *ciru-tiṇḍi* 'light refreshment.'

1. Old compounds often tend to be replaced by new collocations, Ex. *prāta-yillu* (for *prā-y-illu*), *erra-tāmara* (for *kendā-mara*). 2. The demons. and interr. short bases a, i and e are obsolete; only the long forms are current, thus *āpani* 'that work' (not *appani*). 3. The short forms of the numeral adjectives have also mostly become obsolete *reṇḍu-pādamulu* (not *inu-pādamulu*), *nālugu-pakkalu* (rather than *nalu-gaḍalu*). 4. The tendency is for formal characterisation of the adjective as distinct from the substantive. Ex. *nalla* is now used only as adj., *nallana* is the corresponding subst. form. There is a profuse use of help words to mark the adj.; the past adj. is preferred to the aor. adj. in *agu* in Mdn. standard Telugu. *andamaina-ammāyi* 'beautiful girl', (not *andam-agu*-). Verbal adjectives: Aorist forms in *ē*, and *ēṭi*, *vaṇḍ-ē*, *vaṇḍ-ēṭi*; present: forms in *-tunna*, Ex. *vaṇḍutunna*; Future: *vaṇḍā-gala*.

ADVERBS

There are, properly speaking, no adverbs in the Dr. languages. "Every word that is used as an adverb in the Dr. languages is either a noun declinable or indeclinable or a verbal theme, or the infinitive or gerund of a verb" (CGD. p. 553).

Certain indeclinables are used only as adverbs. such as Ex. Adv. of place: *mindā* (10-22) *mahimindā* 'on the earth'; *indu* (38-26) 'in this place'. Adv. of comparison: *pōle* (37-3), *aṭlu* (50-4). Adv. of manner: *arttin* (38-7) 'with pleasure'; *negi* (38-10) 'beautifully', *negi dīrce maṭhambu*; *kaḍu* (35-7) 'much', *kaṭṭepu durggambu kaḍu bayal sēsi*.

Adverbs derived from nominal or verbal forms: Infinitive forms of certain verbs in *-an* used adverbially: *ēlan* (7-2), *cōla mahārājullēlan* *Eriḡal dugarājul iccina pannasa*; *nilvanu* (22-14) *marutuṇḍu prasāda cēsiri ācandradararkambu nilvanu*; *aliyan* (38-18) *aliyan laivārāla velvarimci*; *eruṅga* (39-6) *ellar-euṅga Kannarābhūpati venn - ājilōm jūce. kān (> gān)*, infinitive of the verb *agu* 'to become', used with an infinitive verb, a noun or an indeclinable *oppaga* (35-3), *paragaṅga* (38-7), *velaṅgaṅgan* (38-14), *amaraṅga* (38-42). Nouns with *kān* used as adverbs: 7th *śakṣikānu* (2-8), *Dujayarājula mutturājulu Navapriya mutturājulu Vallava dukarājulu śakṣikānu iccina pannassa*; *nivabukānu* (2-3); *āṇati-*

gānu (13-15); 8th *accarvuganu* (29-3); 9th *beḍamgunu rakṣayum-gānu* (38-38); 10th *ādiḡā* (44-13); *dharmmavugān* (48-6); *modalu-gānu* (50-5), *veliyānu* (50-14), *irlakānu* (17-2), *iḍḍaṭḷugā* (38-41).

Nouns in the nom. used with an adverbial force 7th *ācandra-tāra purassaram* (*dvitīya varṣam pravartamānam kōnu*) (18-4), *rakṣincinavāniki aḍug-aḍug-* (*aśvamēdhambuna pulamb-agu*) (16-15); 8th *sarvvahāda pariyāruvu* (*ūru dāyasēsi icci*) (25-3); 9th *sukhambu manuvāru* (44-87), *sarvvaparihāruvu* (*icce*) (47-18); *ācandraatārakāmbunu* (*vārdḍilucunuṇḍu*) (47-22); 10th *vāyurādityāmbu* (*viḍice*) (50-5) 'gave for as long as the wind and sun exist'; *sukhamb(unḍi)* (44-27) 'living happily' = *sukhambugān-unḍi*, or *sukhamb-unḍu* may be taken as a compound verbal root like *darśanamb-unḍu* 'to be in audience' Kus. 8-2).

Noun in the instr. with an adverbial force, 8th *ramaṇatō* (38-37).

MIDDLE TELUGU

Forms functioning as adverbs may be classified under indeclinables which are generally used only as adverbs and those derived from verbal and nominal forms:

(1) Indeclinables: There are regular series of adverbs formed from the demons. and interr. bases ā, ī, ū and ē. u is the intermediate demons. preserved only in a few occurrences in literature, *ulla* (Bhr. 1-2-34, 3-6-153, 154); *appuḷu* 'then, at that time', *akkada*, *accata*, *ata* 'there, at that place' *andu* 'there, in that place', thus *ippuḍu*, *eppuḍu*, etc. *ata*, *ita*, *eṭa* are used as *kalas* in the older classics, and as *drutaprakṛīkas* in the later ones (BKŚ. p. 345). Other examples from Nannaya's Mhb.: *mogi* (1-27); *oyya* (*vacci*) (1-1-129); *oyyana* (1-7-176); *nemmi* (*vaḍase*) (1-3-110) *ōli* (*vṛṣṭi lēdavu*) (1-4-250), *ōlina* (1-6-271), *ogin* (1-3-25), *ogina* (1-5-224); *krannan* (1-3-168); *kraccara* (1-4-28), *arthin* (1-4-35), *paruvaḍin* (1-6-14), *cecceran* (1-2-16); Instrumental forms in *-tōḍa* — with an adv. force: *ramaṇatōḍa* (1-7-166), *nemmitōḍa* (2-1-287).

Adverbs of comparison: Ex. *karāṇi*, *bhāṅgi*, *māḍki*, *vaḍuvu*, *pōle* (ĀBŚ. av. 2). Double comparatives are often used in the literary dialect, Ex. from Kus.: *aṭlu vōle* (3-29), *karāṇi-vōlen* (3-29), *cāḍpunā bōle* (9-60), *terāga vōle* (3-29), *pagidi vōle* (1-49),

polupu vōle (11-164), *bhangi vōle* (3-13), *māḍki vōle* (5-38); *vaḍuvu vōle* (3-29), *vidhama pōle* (6-84).

Sanskrit indeclinables are commonly used as adverbs: Ex. *vṛdhā* (*śapinturē*) (Ma. Ca.); inscr. *nayivēdyānaku trivācā yistimi* (XVI-46, Kurn. 1510 A.D.) (cf. *Sāḷuva Gōvindaḡya gāru trivācakamu gānu yicina . . . śāsanam* (XVI-61, Anant. 1517 A.D.) *śirasā pratigrahimcukoni* (XVI-29).

Verbal forms: Past participles used as adverbs: Ex. from Kus. *enakoni* (*mrōya*) (3-82), *kaḍukoni* (*kōpambunā dāki*) (1-95), *taragoni parvi* (*kālun*) (12-94), *pērci* (*maṇḍucunḍer*) (10-5), *mīgili veligen* (7-57). The use of the past participles in the following expressions is idiomatic, conveying an intensive meaning; Ex. from Nannaya's Mhb.: *vanduri* (*vagucucunna*) (5-30); *vanarucu* (*vandiri*) (5-246); *vracci* (*vadhintūgāka*) (6-201); *vracci* (*vandaralāḍu*) (2-101); *paṭṭi* (*pālārpagan-ēla*) (6-217), *vagaci* (*vanarucunḍe*) (7-209).

Infinitives are commonly used as adverbs: *cēyan* (*upakraminci*) (Kus. 12-42). They may be extended by *kan* (itself the infin. form of the aux. verb *agu*), Ex. *cēyāgan*, *cūḍāgā*.

Nominal forms: The regular adverbial formation is by the addition of *kān*, Ex.: *ciramuga* (Bhr. 1-2-129), *mānuga* (1-3-66), *pōḍiga* (1-6-309), *bhīma bāhulu reṇḍu peddalugā jāci* (Bhr. 2-2-302) *manciga* (Kus. 10-198). Inscr.: *ācandrārkkamu naḍapanigala-vārugām beṭṭina surabhimāḍalu* (V-1135, Ganj. 1185 A.D.), *Muppirāḍi tama kūntu Śrī Gōpāladēvaraku dāsatvamugan icce* (X-585, Gtr. 1444 A.D.). There is the introduction of a nasal in forms like *ācandrārkkā sthāimgānu istimi* (VI-121, Gtr. 1119 A.D.), *dharmuvuṅgā* (X-485 W. God. 1299 A.D.), *āṣāḍhamāsa niruddhānaku kānikeṅgā* (XVI-97, 1532 A.D.).

Occasionally, in the literary dialect, a noun by itself without an adverbial formative is used as adv. *amarabhāvambuna sukhambu jīvinturaṭe* (Bhr. 1-4-151) (= *sukhambugā*), *arundhati sahitambu nirambaralai* (Kus. 10-31), (= *sahitambugā*), *divijula ceṛalu vēga viduvumu* (Kus. 10-142) (= *vēgamugā*). PV. (Kri. 22) notes this usage *pellu doragu netturunai* (Bhr. bhīṣma 1.); *tellamu nākerigimpumu* (Vi. Pu.); *lavaṇambu kappam-aḍugumu* (U. Hari).

ayi. (past part. of the aux. verb *agu*) is also added to nouns to form adverbs, Ex. *cakkan-ai niluvum-anucu* (Kus. 12-87) *trijagadbharitambuyi* (11-17).

A noun in the loc.-instr. may be used as adv. *peḷḷu-nan gaviṣi* (11-110). *varusa-n (uniciri)* (7-155); *niluvunan*. Due to the elision of the druta in the infin. and the loc.-instr. endings adverbials in final long vowels had gradually become very frequent in the later language, Ex. *cālā* 'much', *kūḍā* 'also', *dākā* 'upto' (< *cālan*, *kūḍan*, *tanukan*), *niluvunā* (< *niluvunan*).

Reduplicated forms used as adverbs sometimes may have no characteristic endings, Ex. *naḍa-naḍa naḍungucunnadānin* (Bhr. 1-5-21), *mala-mala marungucun bōyi* (Bhr. 1-3-111) *vaḍa-vaḍa vaḍankucu* (Bhr. 1-2-85), *cura-cura* (Kus. 10-144) *kala-kala (navvu)* (5-119). But often these take the past participle or the infinitive of the aux. verb *anu* 'to say' as help-word to express the sense intended, Ex. *jhummu-jhummani* (Kus. 10-155), *ḍibbu ḍibbanan* (Kus. 11-155), *jakku-jakk-anāga* (Kus. 11-155). Onomatopoeic forms similarly take these help-words *bōr-ana (navaraktadhāral oluka)* (Bhr. 1-2-100), *ball-anan* (Bhr. 1-2-73, *jirranan* (Kus. 3-5) *uss-ani* (Kus. 5.153), *ess-ani* (Kus. 6-21).

Some reduplicatives and onomatopoeic forms end in *an*, or *na(n)*, Ex. *dir-diran* (Bhr. 1-4-38), *all-allana* (Kus. 11-58), *veluvelan* (Kus. 5-126); *ḡrakkunan* (Bhr. 1-2-196, 1-5-173, 1-2-19). Possibly these endings are also to be connected with the root *anu*.

NEW TELUGU

Some adverbs have become obsolete in NT., especially where there are variant forms, Ex. forms of the adv. of comparison *māḍki*, *bhangī*, *bhāti*, *karani* etc. are not current in spoken Telugu, only *vale*, *pōli*. Double comparatives are not used in spoken Telugu. There are differences of usage like MT. *aṭa vōye*, NT. *akkaḍiki pōyenu*, with the case sign. The past participle and the infinitive are of course the common type of adverbs but Mdn. usage seems to prefer the former, cf. MT. *adi sarvamu hēyamakā dalanci* (Bhr. 2-1-141), *yatiyakā vagaci yarjununaku namaskarinci* (1-8-180) NT. rendering will be like *-hēyamani talanci*, *yatiyani vagaci*, *gā* (< *kan*) has become generalised as the adverbial formative in NT (like *ly* in English). Due to the elision of druta nasal with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel some of the typical adverbial forms have come to end in final long vowels, Ex. *cālā*, *kūḍā*, *bāgā*, *sukhangā*. We do not get instances of nominatives used as adverbs without the adv. formative as in old and Middle Telugu like *sukhambunḍi*, *sarvaparihāruvu icce* — the forms fall

into the regular pattern *sukhangā unḍi, sarvaparihāraṅgā iccenu*. Sanskrit indeclinables are very commonly used as adverbs, Ex. *avasyam (gā), yathāśakti, rūpēṇa, kramēpi, kramēṇa, rītṡā vṛdhā (gā), bahusā bahusaha*.

PARTICLES

THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLE

The conjunctive particles occurring in the inscr. are *nu (u), un(u), nu, nun. u, n. um* is probably the original form of the particle (cf. Tam. *um*), and the others its variants.

um

7th *Miāvimḍiśvarambuna kaḷakaṅḍugum icci kuḍucuvāru* (10-10) *kaḷa* and *kaṅḍugu* are taken to be two kinds of taxes.

umu

7th *Tlomrūri raṭṭaguḷḷa anvayambunavār-ēvurāiyumu* (11-14); *vēgavilāḷu vēḍḷumu vēseruvuḷu vēvuru parānu campina cannaṅgu* (20-14 to 17); 9th *Rēnāṅḍ-ēḷuvēḷum-ēḷucun* (40-3).

un

9th *Aylama perggedalum garanammuna Paṅḍaramgunu* (37-4); *disaguḍḷuni brākārambu maṭambunu nemiyimci* (37-11); *beḍamgunu rakṣayumḡānu* (38-38), *rō goṅṅavānrūn iccinavānrū ceduvānrū* (43-5).

unu

10th *mariyunu* (50-10).

nu

Seen mostly after bases in *u* (whereas *u* with a *y* glide is used after bases in other vowels). 9th *beḍamgunu rakṣayumḡānu* (38-38); *prōlagala tānapatulunu rāju paṭṭambu gaṭṭina patiyyu* (38-15 to 17). 10th *Līpera gāmuṅḍunu* (50-8). With a lengthening of the final vowel of the base before this suffix: 9th *oṅḍu sōṭi goragalūnu* (38-31). Such instances are numerous in inscrip-tional MT. also cf. *mukku dariginanu caricinānu curiya verikinānu murcilinānu raṅkādinanu* (44-76).

It is noteworthy that in the following example *u* with a *v* glide appears instead of *nu*: 7th *dēni salpinavāniki vēguḷḷuvu vēseruvuḷu vēvānrurḷu nilpinam puṅyamḡu* (14-19 to 24). If it is not conjunctive, it may be due to confusion with the *-vu* ending of nominal stems.

u

7th *Siddhi vēyu Rēnāṇḍu ēlūvēla* (14-8). With a y glide — in the case of bases ending in vowels other than u: 7th *nēlayu* (20-9). 8th *ariyu, tereyu* (25-3), *vāraṇāsiyu* (26-28), *guḍiyu* (27-4). 9th *patiyu, mahārājulayu* (41-7), *Noḷambiyu* (41-8). 10th *aṣṭamiyu* (47-5), *ī stiti vaḍasinaṅvāru Vēmbaḷli Beytūrekkiyu, Cēlakāl Āytannayu, Rākuṇḍa Koṇḍeyayu Mēlikurti Candiyāṅnayu Pulvēri Sirāmayyayu....* (56-6 to 8), *cēsinavāru Dantiyōvajānun Abhinutācariyu* (50-9). With a lengthening of the final vowel of the base 7th *tālu tōmṭaḷāyu* (10-8).

The conj. added to an interrogative pronoun gives the sense of an indefinite pronoun, *evvaraiyumu*, whoever (< *evvaru*, who). The conjunctive particle may be suffixed to only one of two or more connected words in the poetic dialect, *Komarasvāmiki bhaktuṇḍai guḍiyu nirupama mati nrpaśhāmuṇḍ-etticce, negi dīrcce maṭhambu* (the conj. is absent with *maṭhambu*). Cf. the following lines in the same inscr. where the conj. particle is repeated: *prōlagala tānapatulunu rāju paṭṭainbu gaṭṭina patiyu* (38-15 to 18); *Malluṇḍ-ettimce guḍiyu maṭhambunum gārttikēyunaku*.

n

10th *dīnin alisinavāṇḍu ī guḍiyini Bāraṇāsiyim lḷeccinavāṇḍu* (50-6).

THE EMPHATIC PARTICLE

The emphatic particle in O.T. is a : Ex. 7th *cirpaliya paṭukānu* (12-5);; 8th *ūri panina* (25-8); 9th *dīnim Jēbrōlu yēleḍuvāra tiramb-ēlūvāru* (38-30) *ī stiti sēkoni kācuvāra dīnin dāru nīlpinaṅvāru* (38-33) *Paṇḍaramga cūre Paṇḍaramgu* (39-10); 10th *tama yanna rājyaśrīkellan dāna yaruhuṇḍai* (44-41 to 43); UD. *raṭṭodlu nevvandēni rakṣincu vanida dharmavu* (94-7). In the expression *sapurusu[nrē] kulopiṅcinavāru* (26-19. 8th c.) *ē* seems from the context to be the emphatic particle but the reading is doubtful.

There is no occurrence of the interr. particle or the one expressive of doubt, in OT.

MIDDLE TELUGU

THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLE (*samuccay-ārthaka*)

The suffix is uN. Variants are nu/ni, nnu, nni. un is commonly met with in the literary dialect, unu in the spoken lang-

uage, nu with u bases, and ni after a base in i. Ex *tanak iṣṭūḍun saḥādhyaṣṭūḍunainavāḍu*, (Bhr. 1-1-25); *vālim gīliyu vāyu putru sariyē* (Nir. Ra.); *tallim daṇḍriyu nannu gānani manastāpambunam bokkāgā* (Manu. ca.); i stems take un, thus *ceṣṣangā vēyun-ēla* (KuS. 5-172), *pagalun rēyunu* (7-125), *pālu nēyunu gūḍina bhangivōle* (11-54); ni: *ēmini jēyāga lēka* (Bhr. udyo. 2-108). un may be extended by the same form sometimes, Ex. *adiyunun-gāka*. The use of the conj. suffix with a finite verb is a peculiarity of the literary dialect in MT., Ex. *dharmasūti... adharmamu nīpayi beṭṭunantakun virāḍunu gānūḍun* (Bh. udyō. 2-14).

The conj. particles nnu, and nni after bases in i, are current in MT. at least from the 12th c.; the grammarians consider them as grāmya.

nnu: *ī nibaṁdhālu reṁḍunnu pratidivasamunnu ubhaya dhūpālayaṁḍunnu oka viḍyamunnu... nibaṁdhālu āluvunnu... (VI-982 Vizag. 1296 A.D.); pratisaṁvatsaramunnu (VI-1198 Vizag. 1242 A.D.); nni: tūmulu vadinni (V-1052, Ganj. 1133 A.D.), pāṁḍi modavu okaṭinni (IV-950 Kist. 1346 A.D.) sōleṁḍu neyinni (V-131), jalakṣētramū puṭṭinni (V-1238).*

Often there is a lengthening of the final vowel of the base, seen with the conj. particle nu in inscriptional Tel., but the usage is not attested in the literary dialect, Ex. *ālani putrānupautrikamū ellappuḍūnu ārāḍimcuvāru* (SII. X-4 Gtr. 1003 A.D.); *stānapatuluṁ dēvakarummuluṁ srīvaiṣṇavuluṁ naḍapaṁgalavāru* (VI-139. Gtr. 1023); *yēṭi kaḍa māmiḍi vanamūnu ā vanamulōni ciṁtalēnu ūrodda māmiḍi vanamūnu tāḍi vanamūnu aṁgaḍi suṁkamūnu* (Upparapalli inscr., Hyderabad Arch. Series) *caturmukhadēvarānu naṁdapakkana dēvidēvarānu Umāmahēśvara dēvarānu āḍēvidēvarānu vēyilimḡālūnu Rudrēśvaramu lōpalanu pratiṣṭha sēse* (TI. 4); *tama taṁḍri Nāmirāḍḍikiṁ dama talli Aytamasānaṁmakūṁ bunyamugānu* (TI. 27, 1234 A.D.); *Sōmanātha bhaṭṭōpādhyāyalakūnu vāllēnabhaṭṭōpādhyāyalakūnu* (TI. 51, 1272 A.D.).

The nasal of the conj. suffix may be dropped accompanied by lengthening of the stem vowel. Such forms are found in inscrr. from 11th c., and in literature from 13th c; there is however no recognition of them in grammars. *ū* conjunctives in inscrr.. Ex. 12th *nitua māneṁḍu samarū nitua tūmeḍu vaḍlū* (VI-617 Gtr. 1145 A.D.) *perumālunaku amudupaḍi cātupaḍlakūn-aṁgaramḡa bhōḡalakū* (IV-937 Kist. 1237 A.D.); *suṁkamu peṭṭamani evvar-*

aḍiginā (X-304; Kurn. 1245 A.D.) *i dharmmānaku evvaru virō-dhimcinā* (V-29, God. 1402 A.D.); in literature: *nammami mṛtyuvu peddayu nammuṭa yapamṛtyuv-aguṭa narapati nammī nammāni* (Bhr. śānti. 2-351); *callā yambaḷī drāvitin* (Śrīnātha in *cātu* verse); *ēmī konkaka peṭṭu bhikṣulaku* (Haravi.); Cf. dvandva compounds, *tallī-daṇḍrulu*, *annā-dammulu*. Such a lengthened base is often further extended by the conj. suffix, Ex. *ī dharmma-mu Mādhavēśvaruṇḍunnu lakṣmidēvammā-nu avadhārimpiri* (VI-676 God. 1430 A.D.).

THE EMPHATIC PARTICLE (*ēv-ārthaka*)

The emphatic particle *a* appears in the 11th and 12th centuries in inscriptions and literature, Ex. in the Nandampudi grant of Rajarajanarendra in the description of the boundaries, *pūrva-taḥ...komḍiya guṁṭa sīmā dakṣinataḥ...Tāḍlarēva sīmā vāyav-yataḥ...Gollarēva sīmā uttarataḥ...polagarusuna yērvagaḍḍaya sīmā*; similarly in the Pithapuram ins. of Mallideva (EI. IV-92, A.D. 1195) *Erraguṁṭaya sīmā, Kāliya sīmā, Guṇḍaya sīmā, Guṁṭaya sīmā, Guṁṭala sīmā, Gaṭṭaya sīmā, Vaṁkaya sīmā*, (see Vyasavali, pp. 47-48). Ex. in liter: with nouns, indeclinables and also finite verb forms: Ex. *ēnu mī dāna gāna yorula dhanama* (Bhr. 1-6-260), *talampāḍa yokkanāḍu bhāvibhaya pravighāta kṛtyamul*.

The use of *ē* as the emphatic particle appears in the later centuries in inscriptions and literature. Nannichoda mostly uses *a* but also *ē*, Ex. *cēnā baṇḍina vittu cēnike...vedavetṭinatlu* (Kus. 1-49). Similarly *ē* and *a* appear in the same inscription side by side, *marī Sūrapōtarājumgārē ī viṣuvu saṁkrāntikālamunaṁḍa Bejavāḍa Śrī Mallīśvara Śrī Mahādēvaraku akhaṁḍa dīpamunaku iccina inpayeḍlu* (IV-78 A); *śaṁkarēśvara Śrī Mahādēvarakē akhaṁḍa dīpamunak-iccina modavulu* (VI-623); *vīrē peṭṭina dīpadaṁḍu 1 ti viṣvalu* (VI-719); *pūrvadattamaina dēvabrāhmaṇa kṣētramulu vārikē* (TI. 18). In NT. *ē* becomes generalised as the emphatic particle.

THE INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE (*praśn-ārthaka*)

The interr. particle in EMT. is *ē*. Ex. *rājasāmānyugā vagacitē* (Bhr. 1-1-176); *Kāmuśaktinōrvagalare janulu* (1-3-38); *pāpavyavasāyula ceyvul-arīhavumtamul agune*. The interrogatives *uṇḍune*, *canune*, and the form *konune* in compound roots, appear sometimes as *unne*, *canne* and *-konne* (PV. kri. 2), Ex. *ammariyāda dappa*

melāginā buruṣārthambunaku hāni puṭṭaka yunnē (Bh. virā. 1-122) *munīndra nīkū jannē nalināksulandu mādi-nīlpāga* (Bhr. 1-8-179) *ahitamun bhayamun dorakonne nāku nā putrulakun* (Bhr. 2-2-133).

From 13th c. *ā* comes into use as the interr. particle, beside *ē*. Thus for instance, Tikkana used *ā* and *ē*. The following lines from Vijayavilasamu may be given as Ex. for the use of *ā*: *mīr—Indraprasthamū gannārā, Pāṇḍavulā jūcinārā, sukhulai vār-andarun-okacōn-unnārā, vīrāgragaṇyu Naruṁ erugudurā*. In NT. *ā* is generalised.

The interr. it may be remembered, is also formed by adding the honorific appellatives *ayya*, *amma* etc., and *aṭ(ṭ)e* to the past or the aorist verb (PV. kri 3) or to the verbs extended by *aṭa* *inta kanuvēduru sellunaṭamma yintikin* (Manu. 3). Also by the use of *oko*, *okko*, Ex. Na. *bhariyimtunokko, vinaroko* (Bhr.).

PARTICLE EXPRESSIVE OF DOUBT (*sandēh-ārthaka*)

ō is added to nouns or verbal forms to express doubt, in M & NT. Ex. *kalayō vaiṣṇavamāyayō* (Bhāg.). Forms in *ō* may be extended by *kadā* or *kadē* (PV. kri. 28) with slight shades of meaning, Ex. *enta kṛtārthulamōkadā* (Vi. pu. 7, 57), *śantambu kādō kadē* (Bhōja. 3-232), *avunō kādō kadā* (Rāmā. 6-130).

The same meaning is also expressed by the suffix *ok(k)o*: *eṭṭul-ok(k)o*.

NEW TELUGU

The conjunctive: 1. lengthening of the final vowel of the stem (< un), *nu/nnu*, *ni/nni*, Ex. *Rāmūdū Kṛṣṇūdū, Harī girī, Sītā Padmā* and *Vādunnū adinnī*. The particle is not generally used with finitive verbs in NT.

The emphatic particle is *ē*, the interrogative is *ā*, and the *sandēhārthaka* is *ō*, Ex. *ēmō, endukō*.

CHAPTER VII

SYNTAX

Syntactic features of the language of the OT. inscrs.:

1. Appositional construction: Very often, in the inscriptions, sentence construction is appositional and the finite verb is not used, Ex. 7th *Erigal dugarājul iccina pannasa* (7); *Inpuiōli aṇapotulu Rēvaṇakālu Puddaṇakālu iccina pannasa penpāra Iśrēnikin* (9). 8th *Amlūtalālu Cemgālu Korukālu Parkkaḷugu Cōṛlakālu gulicinavāru;* *Sapurūsunrē kulopincinavāru;* *Timgavelli paru Paḷugu bāru Vārāṇṭa paru Jāya paru jūcinavāru* (26); *ēbhādi marunturḷu nēla ... Aggisarmārik-iccina dati* (28). 9th *krocina-vānru Venṭha vaḍḍaci* (43). 10th *vrāsinavāṇḍu kabbaḍa Kēsiyanna, sēsinavāru Dantiyōvajanun Abhinutācariyu* (50). In the following sentence 7th *Vasantipōri Cōlamahādēvulḷu Tārumunri Vasantiśvarambuna pūllavaṭṭambunavāriki viripariti pulombuna reṇḍu tōṭaḷu sahitamba rācamānambuna munnūru nēla Mārpiḍugu-raiṭtaguḷḷu āṇati gānu Vasantiśvarambunāk- iccinadi* (13), *iccinadi* appears to be a finite verb, but it must be construed as a *vidhēya viśēṣaṇa* as in the above sentences.

Sometimes the appositional sentence is used with a relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun *tēni* or *dēni* and ending with a finite verb in the aorist, Ex. 7th *Tiruvuḷa pāraku iccina pannāsa dēniki vakrambu vacinavānru pañcamahāpātaku agu* (6); *Rēvaṇakālu Puddaṇakālu iccina pannasa penpāra Iśrēnikin tēni ḷaccinavānru pañcamahāpātakunr-akun* (9) 8th *tēni rakṣiñci kuḍḍipivānru asvamēdambuna pallambu kāñcun* (30) (see also 6, 13, 26, 31).

The relative clause may be used appositionally, Ex. *ēnu marutrugānu tāgiri dēni salpinavāniki vēguḷḷuvu vēseruvuḷu vēvānruḷu nilpinam puṇyambru* (14). The frequent use of the relative clause introduced by the word *tēni* or *dēni* in the imprecation suggests that it is probably adopted on the analogy of a similar construction in the imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, Ex. *svadattām paraḍattām vā yō harēta vasundharām saṣṭhi varuṣa sahasrāṇi viṣṭhāyām jāyatē krimiḥ*. The relative pronoun *dēni* occurs once in the data in a context other than imprecation: *Śrī*

Baṇḍayaru dēn-nilpiri i paḷa lasi rāju goṇina 'that which Śrī Baṇḍayaru set up, when that old (grant) was destroyed and taken away by the king'. This kind of relative construction seems to be modelled on Sanskrit. Use of the interr. pronoun with *ēni* in a relative construction: *raṭṭoḍḍu nevvaṇḍēni rakṣincu vānida dharmavu* (94-7) 'whoever among the raṭṭodis will protect this gift, he will be the actual donor of it'.

2. The early prose inscr. present, as may be expected, many colloquialisms of that period. There is a clear difference between the language of the prose inscr. which are written in the spoken language of the times, and the verse inscr. and those in poetic prose (like Turimella and the Koravi inscr.) which are in a formal style.

Colloquialisms in the early inscriptions: (i) A single idea is cut up and expressed in a number of simple sentences involving much repetition, Ex. *Erikal mutturājulla Kuṇḍikāḷḷu niva-bukānu iccina pannasa | Dujayarājula mutturājulu Navapriya mutturājulu Vallava dukarajulu śakṣikānu iccina pannassa | koṭṭambuna pāṛaku Kuṇḍikāḷḷula iccina pannasa—iravadiyādi-nāluku marunturḷu nēla* (2); *Erigal tugarājurḷa iccina pannāsa . . . Tiruvuḷa pāṛaku iccina pannāsa* (6); *Īnteddivāḍi Erigallu mutturāju ēḷa | Kaṅguḷūnru ēḷa |* (23); *Immaḍi Īto iccina pannavīsa | kōśiyapāra Cēdiśarmmak-icciri* (24) (see also 34) (ii) The absence of the conjunctive sometimes leads to much confusion, Ex. in the Macerla inscr. (14). *Pallināṅṭi Dayāvesanu, Prithivīdēśa raṭṭaguḷḷa muṭḷu danyavesanu Prithivīdēśa raṭṭaguḷḷu vāriki muṭḷu Kalyāṇa dasanula icciri*; the conjunctive should have occurred with *Danyavesanu, Dayāvesanu* and *Kalyāṇa dasanulu*. (iii) The absence of a connecting word like *ayina* to indicate an attributive word leads again to confusion. Observe the Kapilesvarapuram inscr. (No. 27) in which the words are loosely put together without any indication of the attributive connection between them. *vāri koḍuku Bādaya koḍuku Mattiśaku tabunru Śaka Vaiśravanu koḍukuḷ Pōlaya bhatarala*. Here *vāri koḍuku* is used in apposition with *Bādaya*; *Bādaya koḍuku* is in apposition with *Mattiśa*; *Mattiśaku tabunru* is in apposition with *Śaka Vaiśravana*; *Śakavaiśravanu koḍukuḷ* is in apposition with *Pōlaya bhataralu*. Again (in inscr. 28) *Pallavādirājula Kūcapōriyāri tāmbul Cōlamahārājula amma*, here *Pallavādirājula Kūcapōriyāri tāmbul* is used with a noun in the genitive viz. *Cōlamahārājula, = tāmbul ayina Cōlamahārājula amma*. (iv) The

use of the case suffix with the qualifying word and not with the word governed is peculiar, *Komaripāra Rēvaśarmma Kāśyapa gōtriniki* (14-10).

3. The normal order of words in a sentence in Telugu is subject-object-predicate. All the attributes of the subject and the object precede them, and all adverbs and adverbial clauses precede the finite verb. Exceptions occur in the OT. inscrr. Attribute comes after the subject: *Komaripāra Rēvaśarmma Kāśyapa gōtriniki* (14-10); *Anuvayañ cēsi nilpe Viddamaya vipra kavacāmbu* (15-4); *Śrī Pōrmukharāmuḷ Vāṇarājula pāḷa* (26-9); *Srī Mahēndran mānaravi mārurāpiḍugu* (29-1). In the verse inscrr. this is a common and accepted feature: *Śrī Yuddhamalluṇḍ-anavadya vikhyāta kīrtti* (38-3) *ettimcen-anitatē-junḍu* (38-42); Ex. from prose inscrr. in literary style: *Kaḍeya-rāju guṇagaṇābharanuḍu* (37-2). The attribute is not connected with the subject by words like *agu*, *ayina* etc., in many of the cases, Ex. *Erikal muturāju Dhanamjayuru* (1-3) *Komaripāra Rēvaśarmma* (14-10), but compare the regular use of *ayina* with the attributive words in the Tippaluru ins. (18): *Goggibhatarala dakṣiṇabhujāyamānumr - ayina Alakumarapriyatana yimr - ayina Ujēnīpiśāca nāmadhēyimru* (18-7). Object precedes the subject: *Śrīsatiki datti* *Haṁguṇuvula Dēvaṇa yice* (21). Object after the predicate: *Kalyāṇa Dasanula icciri, Arahanta bhātāralāku āru puṭḷu sukṣētram̄bu* (11); *Rēvaṇakālu Puddaṇakālu iccina pannasa penpāra Isrēnikin* (9); *Pritivipatulla iccina pan-naśā Karuveṅgala Naḷucāmuḷaku Mōrayāku Muṭṭaku muppadī marūtū* (30) Adverb comes after the verb: *marutuṇḍu* *prasāda cēsiri ācandra dararkaṁbu nilvanu* (22); *kudḍipivānru asva-mēdaṁbuna pallāmbu kāñcun aḍugu aḍugu* (30).

4. Absolute construction: An adverbial clause with a verb in the infinitive introduces an absolute construction: *Cōlamahārājullēlan Erigal dugarājul iccina pannasa* (7).

5. Genitive construction: Sometimes the subject instead of being put in the nominative is put in the genitive and is made to govern the object, Ex. *Kuṇḍikāḷḷula iccina pannasa* (2-11) (= *Kuṇḍikāḷḷu iccina pannasa*). These genitive compounds are a common feature of the language of OT. as may be seen from the following list. 7th *Śrī Kuruvadi-ācarla kēsina paṇiyu* (4-1); *Erigal tugarājula iccina pannāsa* (6-2); *Candrādityala kalayanta gālambuga* (10-31); *Kaḍavcāṁḍlula iccina renḍuvati* (20-3); 8th

Śrī Bejeitta-bhaṭaraḷa nilpina datti (27-1); Pritivi paṭalla iccina pannaśa (30-1); 9th Śrī nūṭayenubonṛra iḍḍu samayaṃbu (43-1); nī cēsina yupaḱārambunāku (44-32) 10th ātani kolpimcina ceruvulu (44-64); Śrī Venkayācōla mahārājula paṭṭaṃbu gaṭṭina pravarddhamāna vijayarājya samvatsaraṃbuḷ (47-6); tana paṭṭaṃbu gaṭṭina santosaṃbuna (50-2). UD. Cōlamahādēvula yiccina stānaṃbun (68-3); Śrī Miḷḷirājula iccina nēla (72-1); Apimana-gaṃgu Kessaraju-n-iccina datti (86-1).

The use of the genitive for the nominative as in the following instances where it is not justified is probably due to contamination with the genitive construction which was very popular in OT.. Ex. Cōlamahārājula ēḷa (6-1) (for Cōlamahārājulu ēḷa); Śrī Vallabha-mahārājādhirāja paramahēśvara bhaṭṭaraḷa pritivirājyañ cēyan (31-1) (for -bhaṭṭaraḷu).

6. The use of the singular noun for the plural when used as *vidhēya viśēṣaṇa*: Eyarakallu Kulagaṭṭulu Vendarāmbulu Vēṇavōjanru cakṣi (24) (=sākṣulu); Vēguḷūrlu Penrukōlu Nakakōlu Kaccarlu innalvuru sākṣi (31-3) (=sākṣulu).

7. The use of one case for another, nominative for the dative: sēna paṭṭaṃbu gaṭṭimci (35-2) (=sēnaku); Vijayāditya Cōlārajul iruvādireṇḍu cavaccaraṃbuḷ pravarttillan (28) (=Cōlārājulaku).

8. Use of singular verb with a subject in the plural. Vakrapalkinavāru pañcamahāpātakāmbu paḍu (8-7) (=paḍuduru).

9. The use of the aorist verb: The aorist verb expresses besides the temporal meaning, curse, benediction and wish. Curse: vakrapalkinavāru pañcamahāpātakāmbu paḍu (8); dēniki vakraṃbu vaccuvāṇru galānrēni Muḍibiyambu Vāraṇāsiyu lacinavaṇṇ-agu (26). Benediction: tēni rakṣinci kuḍḍipivāṇru asvamēdaṃbuna paḷlaṃbu kāñcun (30-5); vīni rakṣiṃcinavāriki asvamēdaṃbu palambu agu (35-11). These meanings may be expressed by sentences in appositional construction, without the aorist. Wish: pāra paḍuvāraṃbu Mlāvimḍiśvarambuna kaḷā-kandugum-icci kuducuvāru (10-9). Curse: dīniki vakraṃbu vaccuvāṇru nutravadya, strīvadya nōvadya nañcamahāpātakāñ cēsinaṃbun lōkaṃbun urḍuvāṇru (14); rō gaṇṇavāṇrun iccinavāṇru ceḍuvāṇru (43).

10. There is one instance of direct speech in a conversational passage in the Koravi inscr.: Kusumāyudhu pedda koḍuku

yokanāṇḍu koravi Nalla mēleya koḍuku Peddana rāvimci nīvu nā prāṇasamanuḍav-aina celivi nī cēsina yupakāraṁbunāku bratyupakāraṁbu sēyavalayumgāna nīk-ēmi valayu dāni vēṇḍi-kommanna (44-29). It is introduced at the end by the verb *anu* 'to say', as per the regular practice.

11. Mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu prose. The use of Sanskrit forms and even entire sentences mixed up with Telugu is met with in the inscr. It indicates that the *maṇiprāvaḷa* style was in vogue during that time. It is rare in the later language and a quotation in the literary dialect is almost always introduced by the appropriate form of the verb *anu* 'to say'. Examples in OT. 7th *Asivairuvu likhitam* (7-8), *Asivairuvu likitam* (9-5); *vāccō...lāla koḍuku Pallavācārjyasya likitam* (16-22), *Goggibhaṭarala dakṣiṇabhujāyamānumrayina Ālakumara priyatana-yimr-ayina Ujēnīpiśāca-nāmadhēyimru Turuta-tāka-nāmābhidhāna-nagar-ādhiṣṭhān-umrayi Ēruva-viṣayamb ēḷantasya mātā (= mātrā) dattam Gōvrṣāna bhāṭṭārahō śata-paṁcāśat kṣētram* (18-9); 8th *rācamānambunan ēbhādi marunturlu nēla Alaghu cinta uttarabu kaṭṭu Kauṇḍilya gōtrasya penbāra Rēvasarmāṇa putrasya Aggisarmārik-iccina dati* (28-19), *vaṁgunūrla Caruvaśarmma putra Vinnaśarmmaḷaku* (31-2); 10th *Svasti sarvvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuwarddhana mahārājula pravarddhamāna vijayarājyasamvatsarambuḷ padiēlagun ēṇṭa Vikramāditya-tanaya Śrī Viṣṇuwarddhana prasādā-ccatṭapākhyēna Yindrakīlē pratiṣṭhitaḷ Pārthīśvaraḷ* (45); UD. *Balikulatilaka Narasiṁha Bāṇādhirāja priya suta Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bānarājula* (51-6); *Śrī Bhāradvāja gōtrasya prapērēcupa sarmmasya putraḷ Rēvaśarmmasya guḍi* (95); *Candruṇḍ-anvāṇḍu ācāriyu, idam Viṣamasiddhi dattam* (1*) *dīniki vakkraṁbuvaccuvāriki* (96-8).

MIDDLE TELUGU

Some syntactic features based on the treatment of Traditional Grammars:

The appositional type of sentence is less common in the literary dialect than in the OT. inscr.

The normal word-order in a sentence is subject-object-verb with their attributes preceding them. There may be a change in this word-order in the poetic dialect for emphasis or for rhetorical effect or also for metrical exigencies. Ex. *Śankaruni rāṇin arcince*

śaiḷa-sutanu; kaṅṭin Vidarbhambunan ramaṅin pallava-pāṅi padmanayan.

When more than one attributive word precede a substantive, the last one generally takes the adjectival formative (connected with the aux. *agu*), the preceding ones being also connected by a similar formative or the conjunctive. Ex. *atimānuṣam-atyadbhutam-atiduṣkaram-ayina Kēśavārjuna kṛti*. Bhr. 1-1-318): *varṇanāṣṭādaśamun paripūrṇambai daśapṛāṇambula sapṛāṇambai navarasabhāvabharitambai ṣaṭṭriṃśad-alankārālamkṛtambai ramaṅiyamb-aina divya katha-* (Kus. 1-45). Sometimes there may be no adjectival marker in them Ex. *paramāstraika viśāradul balayutul Pāncāla Kauntēyul (oṅḍorulan mārkon)* (Bhr. 1-6-85). The attributive word may not be characterised even when the qualified word is in the oblique case, Ex. *nā taṅḍri Parāśara sutucētan baḍasiti* (Bhr. 8- āśr.).

An adjective or genitive qualifying more than one substantive in a sentence may be used only once with the first substantive, Ex. *okkoka kannunu, jeviyunu jekkunu janu bodḍu mūpū jeluvalu cēyun brakkayu guruvunu gālunun akkajamuga manuja śakalamaiyudayincen* (Bhr. 2-1-144); *Rāhu kaṅṭhamu degi dēhamu dharāṅi baḍiye* (1-2-19). Similarly a predicative adjective may be used only once to agree with more than one substantive, Ex. *padi dinambulu Bhīsmūḍ-āhava bhāraḱuṅḍu guruṅḍu panca divasambulu Gaṛṇūḍun divasa dvayambu dinārthamand-uditatējūḍu Śalyūḍu* (1-1-67). A predicative adjective may be used in the plural to agree with more than one substantive, Ex. *idi dakṣiṇā-pathambunak-idiyu Vidarbhāpuramunak-idi Kōsalak-iddi Yujjayinikī deruvulu* (3-2-69).

There is no adjectival concord in Telugu as we find in Sanskrit. The concord which BV refers to (*kār.* 19) in the examples *śubhavidhāula Rāmakṛṣṇula bhajintu, bhuvana vandyanu Rukminin brastutintu* is, it may be noted, seen only with some tatsama nouns in literary dialect and influenced by Sanskrit syntax. The grammarians themselves have noted a number of exceptions to this concord (PV. *Kār.* 21, 22) *pārthivaprāgrasarūḍu dharmasutu panp-idi nīkun-alanghyamu* (Bhr. 3-5-416) *ahīnabāhu-bala-sāra-ghanul Madhu Kaiṭabhādi daityulan-ella druḷḷ-adāce* (Nir. Rā. 5-12). Actually these 'exceptions' are the normal Telugu usage; in OT. *penpārēnikin* (9-3) *Kocciyapāra Rēvasarmmārikin* (7-4): cf. the style in the Koravi inscr. *cāḷukya Bhīmunaku śauca*

kandarppunaku vēṅgīśvarunaku... (44-3) which is Sanskritic. The superimposition of the Sanskritic model on Telugu grammar has resulted in a great deal of confusion in the exposition of the *kāraka* habits of this language (See section on Case).

Disagreement of gender between the substantive and the attributive word is seen in a number of instances, Ex. Masc. for Fem: *paḍatul ellā gāmaparavaśul-airi* (Kus. 4-36) for *paravaśal-*; Masc. for Neut. *paravaśulai-yuṅḍu bhadra karulu* (Kus. 1-81) (by personification), for *paravaśamul.*; Neut. for Fem.: *āhlādasamyutamai taj-jala-dēvaṭal* (9-72) for *samyutalai*.

The substantive agrees with the verb in gender, number and person, but exceptions have been noted: use of the subject in neut. pl. with a Sg. verb is quite common and idiomatic in the language. Ex. *angāravṛṣṭul gurisen guliśadhāral kuṅṭhitamb ayye* (Bhr. 1-2-81). In the following instance it is due to contamination, *ā yavanī-surāsura-cayambu mīḍiki mīḍa jīvamul vōyiri* (Kus. 2-68). Where the subject consists of forms of the I, II and III persons or I and II persons or I and III persons, the verb will be in the I pers. pl.; where the subject consists of II and III persons, the verb will be in the II pers. pl. Ex. *vārunu mīrunu dhanyularu, mīrunu mēmunu dhanyulamu* (BV. Kār. 36). When there is more than one subject in a sentence, the verb agrees with the nearest one in gender and number (PV. *vākya*. 15), Ex. *ēvāni bandhu-mitrulu jīvadha-nambulunu ḍappin-jendunu grśuningā, vānin-ennagā-dagu* (Bhr. śānta.) *tana sēnalū vārunu viśraminciri* (U. Hari. 4).

PV. (*vākya* 21) gives an example of what may be called sentence contamination, *indulak-enta kālambayye, rāni kāraṇambēmi* (Bhr. 3-2-30). Two constructions are evidently mixed up here, *indulaku vacci enta kālamb-ayye* 'how long is it (it is!) since they came here' + (*inta kālambu*) *rāni kāraṇamb ēmi* 'what is the reason of their not coming'.

Quite a number of syntactical features are evidently modelled on Sanskrit, such as : the use of the interrogative as relative pronoun, Ex. *dōṣamb-eṭlu parihṛtamb-agun-aṭlugā nī cittambunan dalanci* (Skt. *yātha taddōṣaḥ parihṛtō bhavati tathā vicinīya*); the genitive construction, Ex. *ammunivaru karapina mārgambuna* (Skt. *tan muni-var-ādiṣṭa mārgēṇa*), *nī cēsina yupakāramu* (Skt. *tvat kṛtōpakāraḥ*), *vāni pannina vṛṣabha-gōmaya-bhakṣaṇambu sēsi* (*tad-upadiṣṭa gōmaya bhakṣaṇam kṛtvā*); the use of two or

more infinitives connected with conjunctives to qualify a finite verb, Ex. *nā cittam-eppuḍu dharmambuna dagiliyuḍḍanu putrunḍu vaṁśakartayu gānu valayu* (Skt. *mac-cittam anavaratam dharmē niṣṭhitam putraśca vaṁśakarō bhūyāt*), *āhāruṇin-aṭṭi-y-apūrva sabhāracanalu vināgā-juḍabaḍav-evvaricēn* (Skt. *naca śṛtam nāpi aṛṣṭam*); the use of the cases, Ex. *rājyambunandū samarpinci* (*rājyē nivēśya*); and other usages such as, for instance; *nā-pūnci yidi saphalammu gāga* (Skt. *mad-abhilaṣitam-idam yadā saphalī bhavēt*); *vanambulōn-okkaruḍa canuvāḍ-eduran-okka divya puruṣun-gani* (Skt. *ēkākī gacchan saḥ divya puruṣam dṛṣṭvā*), etc. (For the influence of Skt. Syntax on Telugu, illustrated from Nannaya's Bhr. see 'Nannaya Telugu', by K. Ramakrishnaiya, Aug. 1948 Bharati).

The *maṇipravāla* style which is a mix up of Telugu and Sanskrit grammatical forms is less common in MT than in the earlier period, but is seen occasionally in inscr. particularly in the description of boundaries, Ex. *tama talli taṁḍrulaku dharmmārtthamugā Tuṁgabhadrātātē śrī viśvēśvara mahādēvaraku* (l. 22), see description of boundaries (ll. 40-46 VI-125, Gtr. 1172 A.D.), *tanaku dharmma-prajā-sampatyartthamai nāgasya gōtramuna dēvyā peggāḍa koḍukaina permāṁḍi peggāḍlu peṭina mōḍālu* (l. 10. V-1185, Ganj. 1292 A.D.); *Śrī Vīranarasimhadēvasya pravarddhamāna vijayarājya samvatsarambulu* (l. 14, V-1204 Ganj. 1297 A.D.) *Pratāpavīra naranārasimhīya dēvasya pravarddhamāna Vijayarājya samvatsarambulu* (l. 2, V-1200, Ganj. 1345 A.D.), *Śrī Narasimhadēvasya pravarddhamāna vijaya rājya samvatsarambulu* VI-769, l. 2, Vizag. 1382 A.D.). Elsewhere, in the literary dialect, a Skt. passage is always introduced as a quotation and exceptions are often oft-quoted lines, Ex. *aṅṭiti namaśśivāya pāpātmurāli* (Jai. Bhr. 4-71) *jaya Pūtanāghāta jaya daitya-damana dayan-immu jīvita-dānammu nāku* (PV. sam. 15, 16).

NEW TELUGU

The appositional sentence is very common. The genitive, and the relative constructions do not occur in the spoken language. The *maṇipravāla* style also does not occur. Adjectival concord, as mentioned in BV. (Kār. 19) is a feature in a limited way, of the literary dialect even in MT. and does not apply to the spoken language. The syntax of the language is influenced by English in NT., a powerful source being the journalist.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The following are some of the more important features of OT. as revealed by the study of the inscr.

1. Pre-Telugu sounds ā, e, k, and m survive in some instances in the oldest inscriptions, alongside their regular later developments or dialectal variants, ā > ē (*āṇḍu*, year — *ēṇḍu*): e > a (*en*, to say—*anu*); k > g (*aku*, to be — *agu*, *nālku*, four — *nāl(u)gu*); k > c (*kēsiri* — *cēsiri*); m > n (*um*, conj. suff. -*un(u)nu*).

2. The original consonant cluster -rd- in *per-da* is preserved in the form *perddaḷ* in the Ahadanakara inscr. whereas in all other occurrences of the form we find -rd- was assimilated to -dd-. Similarly r conjuncts are preserved in place-names in OT.

3. Pre-Telugu retroflexes ṇ and ḷ in the instance quoted were undergoing change to dental n and l respectively, the change becoming complete by the close of the OT. period.

4. ṛ was generally speaking well preserved in OT. but confusion between ṛ and r had set in even by the time of the oldest inscr.

5. ḷ is preserved in OT. In metathesised forms resulting in a consonant cluster with ḷ, it changes into r or ṛ, *kḷoce*, *kroccinavaṇḍu*, *kṛoccinavāru*).

6. The Skt. ṛ vowel has the ri pronunciation in OT.

7. The tendency for the dropping of the pre-consonantal nasal is found in OT. This is an phonological feature of MT. also attested dialectally.

8. Forms like *iḍḍṭlugā* (< *iḍḍaṭlugan*) in 9th c. and *ellā* (< *ellan*) in 10th c. indicate clearly that the tendency for the dropping of final consonant with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel already exists in OT. This again is an important phonological feature which affected the language large scale in the later period.

9. In sentence sandhi concurrent vowels are often written in the prose inscriptions but in the verse inscriptions it is consistently avoided. Where there is no hiatus, either there is elision of final vowel of the first word, or the insertion of a y glide. There is no clear instance of the use of the v glide in the inscriptions.

10. The sandhi change called *gasaḍadavādēśa* appears regularly in OT., whereas it is an optional practice in MT.

11. The masc. sg. ending of nouns is *nru* in 7th c. *nru*, *ṇḍu* in 8th and 9th c. and *ṇḍu* in 10th c. The intermediary stage involving the cerebralisation of the nasal, *nru* is also attested in the Tippaluru inscr. of the 8th c.

12. The neuter ending *mbu* changes into *mu*, *mmu*, from the middle of the 9th c. though the former coexists alongside the latter. In the 7th, 8th & 9th c. inscrr. the neuter ending *bu* (without the nasal) also occurs.

13. The plural termination with the retroflex—*ḷu* occurs alongside *lu* in the 7th, 8th & 9th c., but its frequency of occurrence decreases. Ultimately in the 10th c. *lu* replaces *ḷu*.

14. The honorific suffix *kālu* (which is explained as a literal rendering of the Sanskrit form *pādāh*, eg. *Rēvaṇakālu* (Skt. *Rēvaṇapādāh*) occurs with personal names in the 7th and 8th c. inscrr. It is unheard of in the later language.

15. The honorific suffix *āru* (which may be compared with the Tam. hon. *ār*) is also a feature of OT.

16. The postpositions of the instrumental (sociative) are *tōlan*, *tōli* (with *l* which later changes to *-ḍ-*).

17. Before the dative case suffix *ku*, the vowel of the inflectional base is lengthened in some cases, eg. *bhaṭāraḷāku*, *mahārāju-lākun*. Perhaps this lengthening is a dialectal characteristic.

18. The neuter acc. of interrogative pronoun *tēni* (for the regular *dēni*) occurs quite often in the 7th c. and 8th c. inscrr. It is not clear whether *t* here represents the original form of the pronoun with the surd **atu*.

19. Some of the numeral forms occurring in the oldest Telugu inscriptions—of the 7th c. show closer affinities with those in the other Dravidian languages, *mūnru* (3), *nālku* (4), *ēlu* (7), *eṇbodi* and *eṇumbodi* (8).

20. In compound numerals involving multiples of ten, aspiration had already appeared, thus *ēbhadi* (50) in a 7th c. inscr. This spontaneous aspirations has become generalised in the later period, whence NT. *ēbhai*, *ḍebbhai* etc. with the aspirate.

21. Some compound numerals involving addition use the Sanskrit word *ādi* to express the idea of addition, Ex. *iruvadiyādi nālku* four, beginning with twenty i.e. twenty four, *iruvādi reṇḍu*, twenty two.

22. Ordinals are formed by adding *agu* (aor. part of *agu*) to the cardinal numeral. The change of *agu* to *avu* is met with only once in an undated inscr.

23. Generally speaking the verbal bases already appear in the form in which it is seen in the later language. But there are some which preserve their ancient aspect Ex. *akun*, *kēsiri*, and some which are peculiar to this period, eg. *anniyāmbu voḍucu*, *brindāmbu gonu*, *paṭṭāmb-ettu*. The root *vakrāmbu vaccu* occurs in MT. as well.

24. Forms of the finite verb are found only in the past and aorist tenses. The aorist is used to express the present-future as also the benedictive and optative moods.

25. Sentence construction is mostly appositional, the finite verb being rarely used. Participial nouns are often used as predicates. In the later period this is superceded by “a more developed and expressive use of flexional system of the pronominal type.”

*bhāṣēyam amitā tatra dēśyā citrasvabhāvayuk
tac-citratā tu draṣṭavyā pūjyapāda-subhāṣitaiaḥ*

(Akā. kri. 36)

PART II

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AND WORD INDEX

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AND WORD INDEX

The following may be regarded as orthographical errors in the inscriptions studied:

1-2	muturāju	for mutturāju
2-8	śakṣi	for sākṣi
5-1	Goyindapoṛēri	for Gōyindapōrēri
6-7	vacinavānru	for vaccinavānru
7-4	Revaśarmmārikin	for Rēvaśarmmārikin
7-7	saṁyyuktunṛgu	for saṁyyuktunragu
8-6	palambu	for phalambu
9-5	likitam	for likhitam
10-3	nāṇḍum	for nāṇḍu
12-10	Brahaspati	for Brihaspati
14-7	Śatyaditunru	for Satyādityunru
14-9	ēḷucunri	for ēḷucuṇḍi
14-14	turpuna	for tūrpuna
14-22	vēvānrurḷu	for vēvānrūrḷu
14-24	nilpinam	for nilpina
14-24	vakrambuvaccuvanru	for vakrambuvaccuvānru
14-27	vadya	for vadha
15-1	vamśodbhava	for vamśōdbhava
15-1	Vikramaditya maharajula	for Vikramāditya mahārājula
15-2	rāñjyampunan	for rājyambunan
16-5	paramamaheśvara	for paramamahēśvara
16-26	likitam	for likhitam
17-2	okādu	for okaḍu
17-4	diniki	for dīniki
17-5	sakṣi	for sākṣi
18-5	pravartamānaṁ	for pravarddhamānaṁ
18-6	priyatanayimru	for priyatanayumru
18-7	nāmadhēyimru	for nāmadhēyumru
18-8	nagaradhīṣṭhānumru	for nagarādhiṣṭhānumru
18-9	mātā	for mātṛā
20-1	Magidogarajula	for Maṅgidugarājula
20-2	Viṭrajula	for viṭrājula
20-2	pratama	for prathama
20-6	peḍasina	for paḍasina
20-10	Uruvuṭuri	for Uruvuṭūrī
20-12	lacuvaru	for laccuvāru
20-14	vēḍlumu	for vāḡuḍlumu
20-16	parānu	for pārānu
21-4	aḍrabaṭṭu	for āḍlabaṭṭu
21-8	ice	for icce
21-3	prarōmambu	for pratilōmambu

22-7	Ciṟumburu	for Ciṟumbūru
22-9	eḷupārḷa	for ēḷupārḷa
22-13	ācāndradararkambu	for ācāndratārāarakambu
23-22	ācāndrādirṟu	for ācāndrādityunṟu
23-24	vadhisinavanṟu	for vadhiñcinavānṟu
24-12	para	for pārā
24-13	Cediśarmmak-occiri	for Cēdiśarmmak-icciri
24-20	cakṣi	for sākṣi
24-26	pātakunṟugu	for pātakunṟagu
24-28	pāla	for pārā
25-1	svasta	for svasti
25-3	uri stiti	for ūri sthiti
25-4	lēdu	for lēdu
25-4	ḡalarēni	for ḡalarēni
25-5	Reṇḍuvadāla	for Reṇḍuvādāla
25-6	ḡalḡina	for ḡalḡina
25-7	samasta bhuvana-śriya	for samasta bhuvanāśraya
25-10	savvalokaśriya	for sarvvalōkāśraya
25-11	neravadya	for niravadya
25-13	prithimi	for prithivī
25-17	sakalōkaśrayya	for sakalalōkāśraya
26-26	ḡalānrēni	for ḡalarēni
26-29	ḷacinavanṟagu	for ḷaccinavānṟagu
26-30	pañcamahāpataka	for pañcamahāpātaka
27-1	svisti	for svasti
27-4	vari	for vāri
27-6	koḍukul	for koḍukul
27-8	vagrabu vaccuvaru	for vakrambuvaccuvāru
27-8	Baranāsi	for Bāranāsi
27-9	vevuru	for vēvuru
27-9	para	for pārā
28-4	cavaccarambul	for samvatsarambul
28-7	Pallavādirājula	for Pallavādhirājula
28-17	Kaunḍilya	for Kaunḍinya
28-18	Rēvasarmāna	for Rēvaśarmāna
28-19	Agḡisarmārik-	for Agḡiśarmārik-
28-19	dati	for datti
30-1	Prittivipati	for Prithivīpati
30-1	Pritivipatulla	for Prithivīpatula
30-2	raccamānāmbuna	for rācamānāmbuna
30-2	marūtū	for marutu
30-5	kuddipivānṟu	for kuḍipinavānṟu
30-5	nallāmbu	for pḡhalāmbu
31-3	Vinnasarmmaḷaku	for Vinnaśarmmaḷaku
31-4	savyuktunṟagu	for saṁyyuktunṟagu
32-10	Kūviya raṭṭōḍla	for Kūviya raṭṭōḍla
33-5	induluna	for induluna
33-8	kampunaku	for kāmpunaku
34-1	ḍugirāju	for dugarāju
34-14	kḷoce	for kḷocce

33-5	samatta	for sāmanta
35-10	aḍlu	for āḍlu
35-11	asvamēdaṁbu	for asvamēdhaṁbu
35-12	palambu	for phalambu
36-6	Ayōgyāsīnghāsanuṅḍu	for Ayōdhyāsīnghāsanuṅḍu
36-10	kolāḍilēni	for kolāḍilēni
37-3	kalavisāraduṅḍu	for kalāvisāraduṅḍu
37-6	Kāḍeyagāri	for Kāḍeyagāri
37-12	vraccinavaru	for vraccinavāru
37-14	sasvatambu	for śāsvatambu
38-5	tribhuvan-ābharaṅḍu	for tribhuvan-ābharaṅḍu
38-9	etticce	for ettiṅce
38-37	ramanatō	for ramaṅato
38-39	tata	for tāta
39-4	mahimaṅḍala	for mahīmaṅḍala
39-4	Śrīmāt	for Śrīmat
39-6	nellan-eruṅga	for nellar-eruṅga
40-1	saṅgaṣṭanōpalabada	for saṅghaṣṭanōpalabdha
40-1	jayalakṣmīsamaliṅgita vokṣastala	for jayalakṣmīsamāliṅgita vakṣasthala
40-1	Treṅētra	for Triṅētra
40-2	maharaju	for mahārāju
40-4	maharaju	for mahārāju
40-4	paḍalvelam	for paḍālvelam
40-5	Kōra Dēsīṅgambu	for Kōra Dēsīṅgambu
41-1	saṅgaṣṭanōpalabda	for saṅghaṣṭanōpalabdha
41-3	vakṣatala	for vakṣasthala
41-7	māhārājuḷayu	for mahārājuḷayu
41-9	meresi	for marasi
41-9	vāgū	for vāgu
42-2	Vāraṅāsī	for Vāraṅāsī
43-6	krocinavāṅru	for kroccinavāṅru
44-2	Cālukya	for Cālukya
44-11	khaḷga	for khaḍga
44-15	seyucunna	for sēyucunna
44-21	seyucun	for sēyucun
44-71	rajul	for rājuḷ
46-2	reṭṭeḍlu	for raṭṭaḍlu
47-11	ādityavarambu	for ādityavārambu
47-19	maharaju	for mahārāju
47-23	vārddhilucunuṅḍu	for varddhillucunuṅḍu
47-27	Baranasi	for Bāraṅāsī
47-31	i stanambu	for ī stānambu
48-2	asāḍha	for āśāḍha
48-3	dakṣīnayana	for dakṣīṅāyana
48-5	Bāraṅasīm	for Bāraṅāsīm
48-7	Bhīmana	for Bhīmana
49-4	vakṣastala	for vakṣasthala
49-6	sakavarṣamma	for sakavarṣammu
49-8	ayin	for ayyen

50-1	viśāla	for viśāla
50-3	santosāmbuna	for santōṣāmbuna
50-3	paṇṇunu	for pannunu
50-6	leccinavāṇḍu	for laccinavāṇḍu
50-12	raṭagudiyu	for raṭṭagudiyu
50-14	minṇaka	for minnaka
51-4	prithuvivallabha	for prithivivallabha
51-12	pullāmbuna	for pulombuna
52-3	paramēsvara	for paramēśvara
52-5	pravaddhamāna	for pravarddhamāna
52-8	icina	for iccina
52-11	veyunu	for vēyunu
52-12	neyu	for nēyu
52-12	iccuvaru	for iccuvāru
52-27	vrāsivāṇḍu	for vrāsinavāṇḍu
54-7	lacinavāṇḍu	for laccinavāṇḍu
58-1	trenētra	for trinētra
61-2	bhujjasi	for bhujāsi
61-2	prasāṇḍa	for pracāṇḍa
61-3	Kāśyappa	for Kāśyapa
61-5	ēruvēlu	for ēlūvēlu
61-13	vakrambuvaccuvaṇḍu	for vakrambuvaccuvāṇḍu
61-16	papāmbu	for pāpāmbu
61-18	kroccinavaṇḍu	for kroccinavāṇḍu
62-1	haridurddharāva	for haridurddharāvara
62-17	vevur-	for vēvur-
62-19	siddhayambu	for siddhyāyambu
63-1	aridurddharāvara	for aridurddharāvara
63-6	Sakavarṣāmbulu	for Śakavarṣāmbulu
64-17	vakrambuvacinavāru	for vakrambuvaccinavāru
64-18	Bhāraṇasi	for Bāraṇāsi
65-11	eḷiṅgā	for ēlaṅgā
70-3	eḷuveri	for ēlūvēri
70-6	kaḷavanṇu	for kaḷavāṇṇu
71-5	poṭṭuna	for pōṭṭuna
72-3	icina	for iccina
73-4	voḍicinavanṇu	for voḍicinavāṇṇu
73-5	Baranasi	for Bāraṇāsi
73-6	lacina	for laccina
75-4	kayāmbuna	for kayyāmbuna
75-4	poḍicci	for poḍici
75-5	Intralōkambu	for Indralōkambu
80-4	poḍicci	for poḍici
81-4	poṭṭuna	for pōṭṭuna
81-11	vakrambuvacuvāṇṇu	for vakrambuvaccuvāṇṇu
81-12	Bharaṇasi	for Bāraṇāsi
81-13	campinavanṇu	for campinavāṇṇu
81-17	kroce	for krocce
82-3	prithivirājyambu	for prithivirājyambu
83-4	vōricēta	for vāricēta

86-2	veṭanivāru	for veṭṭanivāru
86-3	Baranasiyu	for Bāraṇāsiyu
86-4	veṭanivaru	for veṭṭanivāru
87-10	ḷaccivānru	for ḷaccinavānru
87-10	raccinavānru	for ḷaccinavānru
88-1	saṃgaṭṭanōpaladda	for saṃghaṭṭanōpalabdha
90-1	saṃgaṭṭanōpaladda	for saṃghaṭṭanōpalabḍha
93-3	Manujētrinētra	for Manujatrinētra
93-3	Vaidumbi mahārājulu	for Vaidumba mahārājulu
93-6	sūralōkāmbu	for suralōkāmbu
94-2	enu rukalu	for ēnu rūkalu
94-7	evvandēni	for evvandēni
94-7	rakṣincu-vanida	for rakṣincu-vānida
98-4	iccināṇḍu	for iccināṇḍu

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AND WORD INDEX

No. 1.
EI. XXVII, pp. 221-225

Last quarter of the 6th c.A.D.
At-Kalamalla, Cuddapah Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1.
2. *kalmu[tu]rā-*
3. *ju Dhanañja-*
4. *yuru Rēnā*
5. *ṇḍu ēlan*
6. *Cirumbūri*
7. *Rēvaṇakālu [pañ]*
8. *pu Cenūrukāju*
9. *Aḷikaḷā [ū]ri-*
10. *ṇḍa vāru [ūri].*
- 11-14.
15.[*pañca[ma-**]
16. *hāpatakasa-*
17. [*ku*]

Second side damaged.

The inscription seems to record a grant by a certain Cenūrukāju and the people of the village of Aḷikaḷā at the instance of Rēvaṇakālu of Ciṛumbūru when Erikan-Muturāju Dhanamjaya was ruling Rēnāṇḍu.

No. 2
EI. XXVII, pp. 225-228

Last quarter of the 6th c. A.D.
At-Erragudipadu, Cuddapah Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. *Svasti Śrī [||*] Erika-*
2. *Imutturājula*
3. *Kuṇḍikāḷḷu [ni]vabukā-*
4. *nu iccina pannasa*
5. *Dujayarājulo-*
6. *Mutturājulu Nava-*
7. *priya-Mutturājulu*
8. *Vallava-Duikarājulu śakṣi-*
9. *kānu icc[na*] pannassa*

SECOND SIDE

10. *koṭṭāmbuna pā-*
11. *ṛaku Kuṇḍikāḷḷu-*
12. *ḷa iccina pannasa*
13. *iravadiyādinā-*
14. *lku marunturḷu nēla [||*]*

TRANSLATION

ll. 1-9 Hail! Prosperity! At the instance of Kuṇḍikāḷḷu (an officer?) of Erikal-Mutturājulu, a *pannasa* was granted, the witnesses to the deed being Dujayarājula Mutturājulu, Navapriya Mutturājulu and Pallava Dukarajulu. ll. 10-14 Kuṇḍikāḷḷu granted *pannasa* of twenty-four *marunturs* of land to a brahmin of of the territorial division (*koṭṭāmbu*). -

No. 3

6th c. A.D.

SII. X, No. 47

At-Bhairavakonda, Nellore Dst.

1. *Śrī Vēḷugunṭha ācārḷu*
2. *paṇi kēsiri*

TRANSLATION

Śrī Vēḷugunṭha ācārḷu did the work.

No. 4.

6th c. A.D.

SII. X, No. 54.

At-Bhairavakonda, Nellore Dst.

1. *Śrī Kuruvadi ācārḷa kē-*
2. *sina paṇiyu*

TRANSLATION

(This) work was done by Śrī Kuruvadi ācārḷu.

No. 5.

6th c. A.D.

SII. X, No. 56.

At-Bhairavakonda, Nellore Dst.

1. *Śrī Goyindaporēri manmarāḷu*
2. *.. japorēri kuntur [Lō]kama*
3. *nipina stānambu*

TRANSLATION

The gift endowed by Lōkama, daughter of .. japorēri, (and grand-daughter of Śrī Goyindaporēri.

No. 6.

First quarter of the 7th c A.D.

EI. XXVII, pp. 228-229

At-Uruturu, Cuddapah Dst.

1. .. [Cō]ḷa-Mahārāju[r]la]
2. [ēḷa] Erigal-Tuga-
3. [rā]jura iccina pannāsa
4. rācamānambuna ēbadi
5. Tiruvuḷa pāraḷu icci[na]
6. pannāsa dēniki vakraṁ[bu]
7. vacinavānru pañcamahā-
8. pātaku agu [||*]

TRANSLATION

While .. Cōḷa Mahārāja was ruling, Erigal Tugarāja gave a *pannasa* of fifty (*mattars*?) according to the royal measure. The *pannasa* was granted to the brahmin of the village Tiruvuḷu. He who obstructs (the gift) will incur the five great sins.

No. 7.

First quarter of the 7th c. A.D.

EI. XXVII, pp. 229-230.

At-Indukuru, Cuddapah Dst.

1. Svasti Śrī [||*] Cōḷa-Mahā-
2. rājull = ēḷan Eriga [l-]
3. Dugarājul iccina pa-
4. nnasa Kocciya pāra [Re*]
5. vasarmmārikin [||*] tēni la-
6. ccinavānru pañcamahā-
7. pātaka saṁyyuktunr̄ ugu
8. Asivairuvu likhitam [||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! While Cōḷa-Mahārāja was ruling, Erigal-Dugarāja gave a *pannasa* to Rēvaśarmma, a brahmin of Kocciya (i.e. Kauśika gōtra). He who obstructs (the gift) will incur the five great sins. (This is) written by Asivairuvu.

No. 8.
EI. XXVII, pp. 230-231

First quarter of the 7th c. A.D.
At-Veludurti, Cuddapah Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. *Svasti Śrī [||*] Erikal-Mu[tu]rājulpriti . . . m Puṇya-kumārunṛu*
2. *Atiśaya Raṭṭakūṭṭana rkup . . . raṭṭakuṭṭa*

SECOND SIDE

3. *ēbhadi ma*
4. *ri . . māsapurṇṇa[mi] . .*
5. *Pālaśarmma[ri][ki] . .*

THIRD SIDE

6. *dīni kāci kuḍipinavāru [bhū]midānambu palaṅbu*
7. *vakrapalkinavāru pañca-mahāpāta (kaṁ) bu paḍu [||*]*

The inscription furnishes the information that a gift was made by (or to) a certain Atiśaya Raṭṭakuṭṭa in the time of Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumārunṛu. The donee's name is given as Pālaśarmma.

Il. 6-7. Those who protect and maintain (this charity) will acquire the merit of an endowment of land. Those who obstruct (it) will incur the five great sins.

No. 9.
G. V. R. COMM. Vol. pp. 301-310

First quarter of the 7th c. A.D.
At-Potladurti, Cuddapah Dst.

1. *Svasti [||*] Śrī sōlamahārājuḷ = ēlan¹ Inpuḷōli*
2. *aṇapotulu Rēvaṇakālu Puḍḍaṇakālu iccina pa-*
3. *nnasa penpāra Iśerēnikin [||*] tēni laccinavānṛu [pa]*
4. *[ñca*]mahāpā[ta]kunṛ akun [||*]*
5. *Asivairuvu likitam [||*]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! While the illustrious Cōla-Mahārāja was ruling, Rēvaṇakālu and Puḍḍaṇakālu, officers in charge of Inpuḷōlu granted a

1. It would appear that the reading here is *ēlan*, and not *oḷana* as given by M. S. Sarma for, compare other Rēnāṭi Cōla inscriptions with *ēla(n)* in similar context.

pannasa to the great brahmin Iserē-. He who destroys it will incur the five great sins. (This is) written by Asivairuvu.

No. 10.

649 A.D.

SII. VI. No. 584 & 585

At-Vipparla, Guntur Dst.

1. Svasti Śrīmat-sakalalōkāśraya-Jayasimgha-
2. vallabha-mahārājulākun pravarddhamāna-vijayarā-
3. jya-samvatsarambuḥ eṇumbodi ann=enti armmapūṇṇa-
4. ma nāṇḍum Mlāvimḍirājula mutḷu Kalimuḍirājul
5. Mlāvimḍi samudrarakai nāku¹ baṇi sēsina Kalcivī-
6. la Ruḷa Maddikadu mūṭiki Vitparti uttarambuna pulo-
7. mbuna ceruvu paḍumārikōṭan eṇumbodi puṭḷu ā
8. ṛlapaṭṭu sēnu (|*) tūrppuna kōṭi tā (lu) tōmṭalāyu paḍuvā
9. rambu icciri pārapaḍuvārambu Mlāvi (m) dīśvarambuna kalā
10. kaṇḍugum = icci kuḍucuvāru yirḷa kānu ēveruguvā
11. ru Vitparti gāṇambu[n Tho]lgoṭṭu[na]m gāṇambu Cuvvu-
- tūru gāṇambu
- 12.-20. Imprecatory verses in Sanskrit.
21. . . . Gommalōviḍi samudrambu ni (lpi) mahiminda-
- maripo . . . ma . . .
22. . . . peru veḷpu gaḍḷu nandavanambu . . ndirḷu pēvu
- vēvura [gharmma]
23. . . . Śrī vilēvani pogarakuḍumu . . . sēpuṭa kalimuḍi
24. . . na prasādambuḥ anniyu . . .
- 25-28. In Sanskrit.
29. Śrīsalaku iruvuṭṭi āḍlapaṭṭu kuriti ṇī (ū)ḍlandu
30. ēnu vuṭḷu āḍḷa paṭṭu . bu cēnu Śrī Vitparti
31. ndrādityala kalayanta (gāla)mbuga naḍiya vālu . .
32. . . kavula āyambru dīniki vakrambuvaccina
33. . . . pāranu vēyu kavilalā
34. vu vraccinavāru Bhāranā

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the eighth year of the increasing years of the reign of the illustrious Sakalalōkāśraya Jayasimghavallabha Mahārāja,

1. M.S. Sarma reads 'samudrarambunāku' which may be for 'samud-dharanambunaku' (= for the improvement of). This reading is more plausible for the I person pronoun 'nāku' does not seem to fit the context and the structure of the sentence. The reading samudra rakṣaṇāku is suggested.

on the *armmapūṇṇama* day, Kalimuḍirājulu, officer of Mlāvimḍi-rājulu gave for the improvement of the village of Mlāvimḍi, to (the workmen of ?) the three villages Kalciviḷa, Ruḷa and Maddikadu (the income from the tax *paḍuvāramu* derived from) land sowable with eight *puṭṭis* of paddy, in the field to the north of Vitparṛu, and towards the west of the tank, and the plot of land adjoining the water-way on the eastern side consisting of palmyrah trees. They should enjoy (this) after paying the (tax) *paḍuvāramu* due to the brahmins and the (tax?) *kalākaṇḍugumu* to the temple of Mlāvimḍiśvara. Those who know (this) (= witnesses) that it should be (maintained) like this are the old settlers of Vitparṛu, Tholgoṭṭu and Cuvvuṭūru.

ll. 21-24. Seem to refer to the construction of a tank (called or at ?) Gommaloḍi, big temples for Gods, and flower-garden, and food-offerings (as) *pogara* (*pongara* ?) and *kuḍumu* for (the God) -Śrī viḷēvani.

ll. 29.30. To (the temple of) Śrīśa (i.e. Viṣṇu, Lord of Lakṣmi), land sowable with two *puṭṭis* of paddy in these villages; land sowable with five *puṭṭis* of paddy in the village of Vitparṛu.

1. 31. So long as the Moon and Sun exist . . .

1. 32. Those who obstruct this (incur the sin of killing).

ll. 33-44. Brahmins and thousand cows in Benares . . .

No. 11.

649 A.D.

BHARATI, Vol. 23, pp. 182-186

At-Macherla, Guntur Dist.

1. *Svasti* [||*] Śrī sakalalōkāśraya
2. Śrī Jayasiṅghavallabha mahā
3. rājulāku pravarddhamāna vi
4. [jaya*] [rā]jya samvatsarambu
5. ḷ=ēṇbodi ann-ēṇṭan paḷḷināṇṭi
6. dayāvesanu
7. prithivīdēśa raṭṭaguḷḷa
8. muṭḷu danyavesanu prithivīdēśa
9. raṭṭaguḷḷu vāriki muṭḷu kalyāna da
10. sanula icciri Arahanta bhaṭā
11. raḷāku ārupuṭḷu
12. āḷa paṭṭu sukṣētrambu
13. dēni Tloṃrūru raṭṭaguḷḷa anna

14. *yambunavār=evvaraiyumu rakṣimpan=umna*
 15. *paṁnu vḷāyum¹ [||*] dēniki ahitam̄bu cintiñcu*
 16. *[vāru] pañcamahāpātaka saṁyuttu . .*
 17.

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the eighth year of the increasing victorious reign of the illustrious sakalalōkāśraya Jayasiṅghavallabha mahārāja, Dayāvesanu of Paḷḷināṇḍu, Danyavesanu officer of Prithivīdēśa Raṭṭaguḷḷu (and) Kalyāṇa Dasanulu, (another) officer of Prithivīdēśa Raṭṭaguḷḷu gave to Arahanta bhaṭāra fertile excellent land sowable with six *puṭṭis* of paddy. Whoever of the descendants of family of Tlom̄rūri Raṭṭaguḷḷu, protects this (gift) will be free from taxes. Those who think of obstructing it will incur the five great sins.

No. 12.
 EI. XXVII, pp. 231-233

First half of the 7th c. A.D.
 At-Tippaluru, Cuddapah, Dst.

1. *Svasti Śrī [||*] Erikalla-Mutu-*
 2. *[rā]ju Puṇyakumāruru gaṇya-*
 3. *mānuru marunrapiduku madamu-*
 4. *ditunr=uttamōttamunr=ayinavā*
 5. *nru Cirpaliya paṭukānu Rēnāṇḍ=ē-*
 6. *ḷucu Tarkkapuḷōla pāradāya*
 7. *Kilēvuru Kattiśarmmaku Tirpalū-*
 8. *ra panāśa koṇḍa Kā[rtti]ya-ciku-*
 9. *na-bidiya Sōmavāraṁbu Puṇaru-*
 10. *puṣyambu Brahaspati-hōra kā-*
 11. *nu ēmbadiye cāmaṇakāla dha [||*]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! While Puṇyakumāra, the Erikalla Mutturāju, who was held in high esteem, was the thunderbolt to hostile kings, was happy in his pride and the noblest of the noble was ruling (the) Rēnāṇḍu (country) with Cirpaliya as his capital (*paṭu*), a *pannasa* at Tirpalūru given to Kilēvuru Kattiśarmma of Bhāradvāja gotra (*pāradāya*) of Tarkkapuḷōlu, on the second day of the dark fortnight of koṇḍa-kārttika, Monday, Puṇaru-puṣyambu,

1. May be a scribal error for *pannuḷ vāyum*.

and (at the time of) Brihaspati-hōra, (is) fifty (*mattars*?). (This is) the charity of Cāmaṇakālu.

No. 13.

First half of the 7th c. A.D.

EI. XXVII, pp. 234-236

At-Ramesvaram, Cuddapah Dst.

1. *Svasti Śrī [||*] Pō-*
2. *rmukharāma Puṇyaku-*
3. *māra Prithivīvallabha*
4. *Cōla mahārājulaku*
5. *pravarddhamāna vijaya*
6. *rājya samvatsarambuḷ yē*
7. *n=agun=āṇḍu Vasantipōri*
8. *Cōlamahādēvuḷu Tāru*
9. *munri Vasantīśvarāmbuna Pūlla-*
10. *vattambuna-vāriki Viripari-*
11. *[ti]-puloṃbuna reṇḍu tōṭaḷu*
12. *[sa]hitamba rācamānāmbuna*
13. *munnūru nēla Mā-*
14. *ṛpidugu-rattagullu*
15. *āṇati gānu Vasantīśva-*
16. *raṃbunāk=iccinadi [||*] dē*
17. *[ni]ki vakraṃbuvaccuvā-*
18. *nru . . nēni Bāra-*
19. *ṇāsi vē[vu]ru pāra*
20. *[jam]pinavānru [||*] Gaṭṭu*
21. *Viripariti kamma[ri] Vini-*
22. *yaṇa vrāse [||*]*

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the fifth year of the increasing victorious reign of Puṇyakumāra prithivīvallabha Cōla mahārāja (who is) a Rāma in battlefield, (queen) Vasantipōri Cōlamahādēvi gave to the people of the flower-garden (*pūlla-vattam*) in the (temple of) Vasantīśvara in Tārumunru, land of the extent of three hundred (*mattars*?) by the royal measure including two gardens in the field belonging to Viriparu, Mārpidugu Rattagullu being the executor (*āṇati*) of the grant. He who destroys this gift incurs the sin of killing one thousand brahmins at Vārāṇasi. The black-smith (*kammari*) of Gaṭṭu-Viriparu, Viniyaṇa, wrote this.

No. 14

650-700 A.D.

EI. XI pp. 337-346

At—Malepadu, Cuddapah Dist.

FIRST FACE

1. Svasti Śrī-Cōlā-Ma-
2. h[ā]rājādhirāja pa-
3. ramēśvara Vikramādi-
4. tyā Śaktikomara Vi-
5. kramādit[y]ula koḍuk[u-
6. ḷ] Kāśyapa-g[ō]tru
7. [nru] Śatyaditunru Siddhi-
8. [vēy]u Rēnāṇḷu ēḷu (vē-
9. la] ēḷucunri Ko [ma-
10. ri]pāra-Rēvaśa-
11. [rmma] Kāśyapa-gō-
12. [t]riniki iccina . . .
13. . . . Cīrumbūri utta-
14. . . . śa turpuna diśa
15. . . . [ḍ]u Juggi-pola-ga [ru]-
16. su da[kṣi]na-[diśa]
17. . . . pāra [ma]

SECOND FACE

18. ēnu marutru gā-
19. nu tāgiri [||] dēni
20. salpinavāniki
21. vē-gu[ḷ]ḷuvu vē-se-
22. ruvuḷu vē-vānṛ = u
23. ṛḷu nilpinamḥ punyamḥ
24. bu[|*] dīniki vakrambu
25. vaccuvanru putra-va-
26. dya strī-vadya [gō-va]-
27. dya pañca-ma[hā]
28. pā]takañ = cēsi[na]-
29. vāni lōka[m*] [bu-
30. n = u]n[ḍu*]vānru

TRANSLATION

Hail! Satyāditya of the Kāśyapa gōtra, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) the great lord, the glorious Cōla-

Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya, while ruling the Siddhi one thousand and the Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand (districts), gave to Rēvaśarmma of the Kāśyapa gōtra, a brahmin of Komari, five marutru (of land) at Ciṛuṁbūru . . . on the north side . . . east side . . . the boundary of the fields of Juggi; (on) the south side . . . To him that maintains this (charity), (shall accrue) the merit of establishing a thousand temples, a thousand tanks (and) a thousand brahmin villages. He that obstructs this, shall live in the world of him who commits the five great sins (such as) the murder of a son, the murder of a woman (and) the murder of a cow.

No. 15

c. 655-681 A.D.

ARE. 1933-34 p. 29

At—Annavaram, Nellore Dist.

RIGHT SIDE

1. *Svasti* [!] *Śrī-Cālukya-vamśodbhava Śrī-Vikrama[a]ditya-maha-*
2. *rājula rāñjyampunan = dana pūrvva-vrittiki vakrambuvaccina*
3. *Kāḍuvaṭṭi-dattiy = āca . . .*

LEFT SIDE

4. *nd=Annuvayañ=cēsi nilpe Viḍḍamaya vipra-kavacaṁbu [||]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the reign of the illustrious Vikramāditya mahārāja who was born in the glorious Cālukya family impediments having arisen to (the enjoyment of) the earlier holding (which was) a gift of the Kāḍuvaṭṭi (i.e the Pallava), Viḍḍamaya 'the armour of the brahmins' made and set up (a sculpture of) Annuvaya (who evidently defended his right to it and fell in the fight).

No. 16.

670-680 A.D.

EI. XXVII, pp. 203-206

At-Nalajanampadu, Nellore Dst.

1. *Svasti [||*] Bha-*
2. *gavad-Arhata- [Pa]-*
3. *rama-bhaṭṭāarakasya pā-*
4. *dānudhyāta parama-mā-*
5. *hēśvara Para[mē]śvara Pa-*

6. *llavāditya śrī B[ā]di-*
7. *rājula andu Palle-*
8. *yari koḍuku Bādi[rā]*
9. *j=envānru rājam[ānam]*
10. *bu mūnru vuṭṭu ārla*
11. *paṭṭu kṣētra[m]bu pa[la¹]-*
12. *si Paḷleyāri-[dā]-*
13. *yana[m]bunāku icce*
14. *dāni rakṣiñcinavāni[ki]*
15. *aḍug-aḍug*
16. *aśvamēdha[m]bunā*
17. *palamb=agu*
18. *dāni laccina-*
19. *vāniki ekaḷu*
20. *śriparvvatambu*
21. *laccina pāpaṁ*
22. *b=agu Vā[cco]*
23. *lāḷa koḍuku*
24. *Pallavācā*
25. *rjyasya liki*
26. *tam [||*]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! Paramēśvara Pallavāditya, a devoted worshipper of Mahēśvara, meditating on the feet of the Supreme Master, the Lord Arhat, (in his time), he who was called Bādiraju, the son of Paḷleyaru, having obtained from Śrī Bādirājulu, land sowable with three *puṭṭis* of paddy, by the royal measure gave (it) as the gift of (his father) Paḷleyaru. He who preserves this (gift) will have the reward of performing the horse-sacrifice often. He who destroys it will ever have the sin of destroying the Śrīparvvata. (This is) written by Pallavācārya, son of Vacco . . . lāḷu.

No. 17².

673-681 A.D.

ANDHRA PATRIKA ANNUAL, 1941-42, p. 15.

1. *Maṇaya śammaṇa Gaṇaya sammaṇa Vṛiddha sammana i*
2. *muvvura okāḍu bōḷa cēta śavaṇa goṇiri [|||*] irḷa*

1. Reading of N. Lakshmi Narayana Rao.

2. Telugu portion at the end of a Sanskrit inscription of the time of the Eastern Calukyan king Vishnuvardhana II.

3. *kā verugu vāru [||*] samati bōḷumu paṇti*
4. *mukuna raṭṭorlu Puṇyasārḷu vanṛi bōḷumu indoṛu diniki*
5. *sakṣi [||*] Aḷugarālanvāru Viṣayabōḷa koṇiri [*]*

TRANSLATION

Maṇya śammaṇa Gaṇaya sammaṇa Vṛiddha sammana, these three (persons) took śavaṇa (sale-price ?) from a bōḷu. Those who know this are Samati bōḷu and Paṇtimukuna raṭṭorlu, Puṇya-sārḷu and Vanṛi bōḷu; all these are witnesses to this.

1. 5. A person called Aḷugurālu took (the sale-price ?) from Viṣaya bōḷu.

No. 18.

c. 680 A.D.

EI. XXIX, pp. 160-164

At-Turimella, Kurnool Dst.

1. *Ōm [||*] Svasti [||*] Śrīmat Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivī-*
2. *vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Vikramāditya-Paramē-*
3. *śvara-Bhaṭārulākun Śrīmad=unnata pravarddhamāna-vijaya*
4. *rājya-samvatsarambuḷ ā-candra-tāra purassaram*
5. *dvitīya-varṣam pravartamānam kānu [||] Goggi Bhaṭāraḷa*
dakṣiṇa
6. *bhujāyamānuṁr=ayina Ālakuma[ra] priya tanayimṛ=ayina*
7. *Ujēnīpiśāca nāmadhēyimṛu [Turu]tatāka-nām-ābhi*
8. *dhāna-nagar-adhiṣṭānuṁr=ayi Ēruva-[viṣa]yam̄b=ēḷan tasya*
9. *mātā dattam Gōvriṣāṇa Bhaṭṭāraho śata-paṁcāśat kṣētram [||*]*

TRANSLATION

Om! Hail! In the second year of the ever increasing years of the victorious reign of the illustrious Satyāśraya-Śrī-Prithivī-vallabha-mahārājādhirāja - Vikramāditya - Paramēśvara - Bhaṭāra, when he who was called Ujēnīpiśāca, the dear son of Ālakumara and the right hand man of Goggi bhaṭāra was ruling over the Ēruvaviṣaya (i.e. province) with the city of Turutatāka as its capital, his (Ujēnīpiśāca's) mother made a gift of 150 units of land to Gōvriṣāṇa bhaṭṭāraka.

No. 19

681 A.D.

SII. X. No. 24

At-Dimmagudi, Anantapur Dst.

1. *Svasti [1*] Śrī Vikramāditya Satyā-*
2. *śraya Pṛthivīvallabha ma-*

3. *hārājādhirāja paramē-*
4. *śvara bhaṭāraḷakun vijayarā-*
5. *jya samvatsarambuḷ irubhadi-ē*
6. *ṇḍu agun=ēṭi*
- 7-11. *.*
12. *. . . icciri dēni lacuvānru pātaku . .*

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the twenty-seventh year of the victorious reign of the illustrious Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Prithivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭāra. . . .

1. 12. . . . gave. Those who obstruct incur the sin . .

No. 20

c. 681 A.D.

BHARATI, Vol. 5, pp. 935-946

At-Lakshmipuram, Kistna Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. *Svasti Śrī Magidogarajulu muḍlu*
2. *Viṭrajula pratama rā-*
3. *jyāmbuna Kaḍuvaṁ[ḍlu?]-*
4. *la iccina renḍuvaṭi*
5. *Miriyampu bōḷa-*
6. *jaku Rengari pe-*
7. *ḍaśina renḍuvaṭṭi*
8. *padēndumbu āḍlu pa-*
9. *ṭṭu Druggādēvi nēlayu*
10. *Uruvuṭuri bōḷa*
11. *renḍuṭṭiyu tūrpu*

SECOND SIDE

12. *īrenḍuṭṭi lacuvaru*
13. *kaḷarēni Bāranāsi*
14. *vēgavilāḷu vēḍḷu-*
15. *mu vēśeruvuḷu*
16. *vēvuru parānu*
17. *campina cannaṁgu*
18. *.*
- 19-24. *Imprecatory verses in Sanskrit.*

TRANSLATION

Hail ! In the first year of the reign of Viṭrajulu, officer of Magi Dogarajulu, Ṛengari having obtained two *puṭṭis* of land sowable with fifteen *tūmus* of paddy in the village of Kaḍavaṁḍlu, granted (it) to Miriyampu bōḷaja. The land belonging to Durgādēvi, and the two *puṭṭis* of land of Uṛuvuṭūri bōḷa (i.e. the bōḷa of Uṛuvuṭūru) are (the boundaries) on the east. If there are any who obstruct (the grant of) these two *puṭṭis* (*paṭṭi*?) (they will suffer) in the manner (of those) who killed a thousand cows, destroyed a thousand temples, and a thousand tanks, and killed a thousand brahmins in Bāranāsi.

No. 21

ARE. 1933-34, p. 41

In characters of about the 7th c.

At- Bodanampadu, Nellore Dst.

1. *Svasti* [|*] *Śrī-Sati-*
2. *ki datti nālu-*
3. *nu vuṭṭu pa-*
4. *ndu[ṁ]bu aḍra*
5. *baṭṭu rājamā-*
6. *nambu Haṁgu-*
7. [*ṇu*]vula *Dē[va]-*
8. [*ṇa*] *y[i]ce*
9. [*dī**]niki *pra*
10. [*rō*]mamb[*u*]
11. [*va*]ccinav[*ā*]-
12. . . . *Bhāṇa[rā]-*
13. . . . *vracci[na]-*
14. . . . *rupa.*
15. . . . *goṭu-*
16. [*vā*]ru [||*)

TRANSLATION

Hail! Haṁguṇuvula Dēvaṇa gave as gift to the glorious (Goddess) Sati (= Durga) land sowable with four *puṭṭis* and ten *tūmus* of paddy according to the royal measure. Whoever violates this (gift) will commit the sin of demolishing Bāraṇāsi.

The purport of the imprecation following this (ll. 14-16) is not clear.

No. 22

EI. XXVII pp. 236-238

Beginning of the 8th c. A.D.

At- Chilamakaru, Cuddapah Dst.

1. Svasti[||*] Śrīmat-
2. Vikramāditya
3. Cōlamahārā
4. jul ēlan Cō
5. lamahādēvuḷ
6. Uttam[ā]ditya-sā
7. mantakamuḷ Cirum̄-
8. buru ēlan ūra
9. elupār̄la [Pā]-
10. kātuluna vaṇam̄ [pa]-
11. riyāramu maru[tu].
12. ṇḍu pā . . . [pra]-
13. sādacēsiri āca-
14. ndradararkambu nilva[nu] [||*]
15. Tolpa-Kāmi-Raṭṭaguḷḷu
16. Cōliya-Raṭṭaguḷḷu
17. Atiśa[ya-Ra]ṭṭaguḷḷu
18. Al̄ikō ri-
19. ikki prasāda
20. pūrvvama
21. tēni laccu
22. hāpāta[ka] [gu]

TRANSLATION

Hail! During the reign of the illustrious Vikramāditya Cōla mahārāja, while the queen Cōla mahādēvi, with Uttamāditya as *sāmantaka* was ruling at Cirumbūru, they gave to the seven brahmins of the village, the (tax?) *vanam pariyāramu* in Pākāṭulu and a marutu (of land), (the gift) to stand as long as the Sun, Moon and Stars exist. Tolpa-kāmi-Raṭṭaguḷḷu, Cōliya-Raṭṭaguḷḷu, Atiśaya-Raṭṭaguḷḷu . . . (those obstructing) which (gift) . . . incur the (five) great sins.

No.23

EI. XXVII pp. 238-240

Beginning of the 8th c. A.D.

At- Nallaceruvupalle, Cuddapah Dst.

- 1-3.
4. r[ā]ju.

5. *ṇḍu ēḷa Īnt[e]-*
6. *ddivāḍi Eriga-*
7. *llu-Mutt[u]rāju*
8. *ēḷa Kaṅgaḷūnru ē-*
9. *ḷa Cōḷamahā-*
10. *rājuḷa tēvuḷ Ma-*
11. *m̄khi [ṇci?] [po]rri-*
12. *yāru [U]ṇḍē-*
13. *lu Ujjayi-*
14. *ni icci[na*] pannavī*
15. . . . *ga [m̄] ji[pā]ra mā-*
16. . . . *ḍiyāriki tēni*
17. *[ni*]ki . . . nrugō*
18. *[ṇḍapu . . . lva]*

SECOND SIDE

19. . . .
20. *kaḷuṇje*
21. *[t]tēni ḷaccuvā-*
22. *[ḍi] valvar — āca[ndrā]-*
23. *ḍirru Bāraṇā-*
24. *si vēvura vadhi[*]-*
25. *sinavanru Aḷu[bā?]*
26. *paṣiṇḍi mire-*
27. *koḷoce [||*]*

TRANSLATION

II. 1-16 During the reign of . . . king . . . , while Īnteddivāḍi Erigallu-Mutturāju was ruling Kaṅgaḷūnru, the queen of Cōḷamahārāja, Mam̄khi (nci ?)-porriyāru gave a *pannavīsa* in Uṇḍēlu Ujjayini, to the brahmin Mā . . . ḍiyāru of . . . gamji.

II. 17-20. Unintelligible.

II. 21-25. Refers to the usual imprecation, but the exact meaning is not clear.

II. 25-27. Aḷubā paṣiṇḍi mire engraved (the inscription).

No. 24

Second quarter of the 8th c. A.D.

EI. XXVII pp. 240-242

At- Veludurti, Cuddapah Dst.

1. *Svasti Śrī [||*]*

2. *Uttamā-*

3. *ditya-Cō-*
4. *la-mahā-*
5. *rāju pri-*
6. *thivirājya[m*]*
7. *cēya*
8. *Immadi-*
9. *Īto¹ icci-*
10. *na pannavi-*
11. *sa Kōsiya-*
12. *para Cēdi-*
13. *śarmmak = occiri*

SECOND SIDE

14. *Eya[ra]-*
15. *kallu Kula-*
16. *gattulu*
17. *Vendarambu-*
18. *lu Vēna-*
19. *vōja-*
20. *nru cakṣi [||*]*
21. *[dē]niki va-*
22. *krambu va*

THIRD SIDE

23. . . .
24. *pañca-ma-*
25. *hāpāta-*
26. *kunruḡu*
27. *Kacēru pā-*
28. *la Erama*
29. *[vrā]siri [||*]*
30. *kottali*
31. *Kuṇandā-*
32. *luvānru*
33. *kotte [||*]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! While Uttamāditya-Cōlamahārāja was ruling the earth, Immadi Īto gave to Cēdiśarmma, the brahmin of Kōsiya

1. May be read as rato (Ed.).

(i.e. of the Kauśika gōtra) a *pannavīsa*, Eya (ra)kallu-Kula gaṭṭulu, Vendarāmbuḷu and Vēṇavōjanru being the witnesses. He who destroys this (gift) becomes guilty of the five great sins. Erama, the brahmin (?) of Kacēru wrote this. (This is) engraved by the engraver (*kottali*) Kuṇaṇḍāḷuvānru.

No. 25*

Bharati Vol. V Pt. 2, pp. 96-110

719-755 A.D. ?

Ahadanakaramu

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

1. *Svasta Prithivī-pallava-paṭṭanabuna ūri*
2. *vāru Karigaḷḷa Vaḍavarikī ūri svāmuḷ iccina stiti*
Reṇḍuvāḍalapattānāvuraku
3. *ariyu ḍagu tereyu siddhāyāmbu daṇḍu dasaparādhambunu*
sarvvabāda pa-
4. *riyāruvu ūru dāyasēsi icci¹ dīniki vakraṃbu lēdu vaccina-*
vāru gaḷar=ēni uri stiti
5. *dappinavāru dīniki vakraṃbuvaccina gaccuru Reṇḍuvaḍala*
elē muvarulēmula cē-
6. *sinadiyu cannu vīripayin=āḍuvaru gaḷgina ēlēmula cēsina*
sēyudū sanu

THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE

7. *Mahānabiyuḷ Narālōka Mahāsattavaḷ Virāpava Mahānabiyuḷ*
Gajñāmbu se-
8. *ḍla naḍupuḷ Śamasta-bhuvana-śriya Kanāḍiraju Badra Pereya*
ūri panina vrasivara
9. *Vayyēṭi Mahānabhiḷ Vayyēṭi Mahābhiḷ panikoḷu cēnēraka*
pañcina vrasī
10. *Vayyēṭi Mahānabhiyuḷ marala koṇḍukaḷ Savvalōkaśraya*
Mahāsattavaḷ
11. *perḍaḷ Neravadya Mahāsartthavaḷ paṣiṇḍi muḍlu Veṭandala*
Caruvayya Viṣṇuwardhana Ma-
12. *hāsattavaḷ Pasukṣēvula koṇḍukaḷ Accakurṛavanīyu*
koṇḍukaḷ Gajña seḷlala

* Telugu portion in a Sanskrit-Telugu copper plate inscription of the time of the Eastern Chalukyan king Visnuvardhana III(?) First published by Fleet in IA. XIII. The situation of the village Ahadanakaramu in the Madras Presidency where the inscription is said to be found originally is not known.

1. May be for 'icciri'.

13. *Nadupuḷ Prithimi Mahāsarṭṭhavaḷ Veṭandaḷ Ponikandīramu
koḷanaḍupu Viṣṇuvarddhana*

FOURTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

14. *Mahāsatthavala koṇḍukalu niravadya Pridhivi Kanadīrajul
Gunavana Mahānabhiyuḷ*
15. *Muddakañcikolḷ Ramisvanā-prithivī-Mahāsarṭṭhavaḷ
Apayajanuvakola koṇḍukaḷ korindikolḷ*
16. *Karigala Pridhivī Mahāsatthavala koṇḍukaḷ
Nadimahānavilanadu ŚrīMahā*
17. *satthavala Sakalōkaśrayya Prithivī Mahāsarṭṭhavala
Divakarsyaya Pañca*
18. *koḷ Śrī Jaṣṭi Pedattarra gandāṇḍu.*

TRANSLATION

Il. 1-7. Hail (This is) the grant made by the elders of (the town of) Prithivīpallava paṭṭana to the God of (the village of) Karigallu. They have granted (the village, town?) Reṇḍuvāḍa-lapaṭṭana as a gift free of all including *ari*, *ḍagu*, *tere*, *siddhāyambu*, *daṇḍu* and *dasaparādhambu*. There should be no violation of this grant. If there are any who violate it they transgress the custom of the village, and they will perish. Whatever action the three officers of Reṇḍuvāḍala protecting the grant take against those violating it, will prevail. If there is any authority over these officers, (even then) the action taken by the latter will prevail.

Here follows a list of names, probably witnesses, with their titles, some of which are not clear. The translation is tentative.

Il. 7-18. *mahānabhiyuḷ Narālōka mahasatthavaḷ, Virāpava mahānabhiyuḷ, Gajñambu seḍla nadupuḷ, Samasta bhuvanaśriya Kanadīraju, Badra Pereya, Vayyēṭi mahānabhiḷ* toiling in the service of the village, (another) *Vayyēṭi mahānabhiḷ* in the service of the village at the instance of (the first) *Vayyēṭi mahānabhiḷ* who could not carry on the work, their sons, *Sarvvalōkaśraya mahāsatthavaḷ*, the respected *niravadya mahāsarṭṭhavaḷ, Veṭandaḷa Caruvayya Treasury officer, Viṣṇuvarddhana mahāsatthavaḷ, Pasuksēvulu*, the son of *Viṣṇuvarddhanamahāsatthavaḷ*, and his son, *Gajñasedlala nadupuḷ, Prithimimahāsarṭṭhavaḷ, Veṭandaḷ, Ponikandīramu Koḷanaḍupu, niravadya prithivi Kanadīrajul* — son of *Viṣṇuvarddhana mahāsatthavala, Gunavana mahānabhiyuḷ, Mudda-*

kañcikoḷ, Ramisvarā prithivī mahāsartthavaḷ, Korinḍikoḷ — son of Apayajanuvakolu — son of Karigala prithivī mahāsartthavalu, Nandimahānavilanaduḷu Śrī mahāsartthavaḷa (mistake for val?), Divakarayya Pañcakoḷ of Sakalalōkāśraya prithivīmahāsartthavalu, Śrī Jaṣṭi Pendaṭṭarra gandāḍu.

No. 26

734 A.D.

EI. XXX, pp. 12-17

Tippalūru, Cuddapah Dist.

FIRST SIDE

1. Svasti [||*] Śrīma[t*]
2. Vikramāditya-Satyā-
3. śraya-Śrī-prithivīva-
4. llabha-mahārājā-
5. dhirāja-paramē-
6. śvara-bhaṭāralaku pri-
7. dhivirājya[m]bu pra[tha]-
8. ma saṅvatsara[m]bu prava-
9. rtilla Śrī-Pō[r*]mukharāmuḷ Vā
10. ṇarājula pāḷa Penna-mari
11. yāda eḷucu Aṅṅā[rā]-
12. puli-vāmbuḷu Dārmunṛi

SECOND SIDE

13. Vēṅgi-pāra Ī-
14. śvarunāku Marra-
15. lūra bannāsa pra-
16. sādañ-cēsi icciri [||*]
17. Amlutalālu ce[m]gā
18. lu ko[rū]kālu Pa[rkku]ḷugu cō[rḷa]kālu
19. gulicinavāru [||*] sapu
20. ruṣuru[nrē]
21. kulopiñcinavāru [||*]
22. Tiṅgavelli-pāru Paḷu
23. gu-bāru vārāṅṭa-pā-
24. ru Jāya-Pāru jūci-
25. navāru [||*] Dēniki vakra[m]bu]-
26. vaccuvānru gaḷānr̄ ē-
27. ni Muḍibi[yam]bu

THIRD SIDE

28. Vāraṅāsiyu ḷa

29. *cinavaṅṅ=agu pa-*
 30. *ñca-mahāpataka-*
 31. *saṁyuktunṅ=agu [||*]*

TRANSLATION

ll. 1-16. Hail! During the first year of the reign of the illustrious Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrī-Prithivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Bhaṭāra, when Pōrmukharāma was ruling over the territory upto the limits of the Penna on behalf of the Bāṇarāja, Aṅṅārāpuḷi Vāmbuḷu granted a *pannasa* at Marṅṅalūru to Īśvara, the Vēngi brahmana of Tārumunṅi.

ll. 17-25. Aṁḷutalālu, Ceṁḅālu, Ko (ṅ)kālu, and Parkkaḷugu-Cōṅḷakālu were the persons who measured (the gift of land). Sapuruṅḅu (nṅ) caused the measurement (of the gift land). Tiṁgaveḷḷi-pāru, Paḷugu-bāru, Vārāṅṅa-pāru and Jāya-pāru were the witnesses.

ll. 25-31. If there are any who obstruct (this gift), they will incur the sin of destroying Muḅḅibiyambu and Vāraṅṅāsi. (And) they will incur the five great sins.

No. 27

c. 740 A.D.

JSVO. V. pp. 41-52

At-Kapileswarapuram, Kistna Dst.

1. *Śvisti Śrī Bejeitta*
2. *bhaṭaraḷa nilpina datti*
3. *Kaḅandala Īsaraya nilpina*
4. *guḅiyu vari koḅuku Bādaya*
5. *koḅuku Mattiśaku tabunṅ¹ Śaka*
6. *Vaiśravanu koḅukul Pōlaya²*
7. *Bhaṭaraḷa panneśalaku*
8. *vagrabu vaccuvaru Ba[raṅṅāsi]*
9. *vevuru pa[ra]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! (This is) the grant made by Śrī Bejaitta bhaṭāra. And the temple raised by Kaḅandala Īsaraya. The *pannasas* (are

1. May be for *tambunṅ* (Ed.)
2. May be for *Koḅukul Pōlaya*

the gifts) of Pōlaya bhaṭāra, son of Śaka Vaiśravanu, the younger brother of Mattiśa (who is) the son of Bādaya (who is) the son of Kaḍandala Iśaraya. Those who obstruct these gifts, (incur the sin of killing) a thousand brahmins in Bāranāsi.

No. 28

c. 750 A.D.

El. XXVII pp. 242-244

At-Chamaluru, Cuddapah Dst.

FIRST SIDE

- 1-3. *Svasti Śrī [||*] Prithivīvallabha-Vijayādi[tya*]*
Cōlarājul iru-
4. *[vādire]ṇḍu [ca]va-*
5. *ccarambul pravartti-*
6. *llan Vāṇarājul Pā-*
7. *m̄buliggi ēḷucu Palla-*
8. *vādirājula [Kū]capō-*
9. *ṛiyāri tāmbul Cō-*
10. *lamahārājula amma*

SECOND SIDE

All lines lost.

THIRD SIDE

11. . . *pāgadanra . . .*
12. *lōḷuru Kūcapōriki-*
13. *[nētra] . . da . . icci a[na]nta-*
14. *nāka . . de [rlana] rācamā*
15. *nambunan ēbhādi maru-*
16. *nturḷu nēla Ala[gha] cinta u-*
17. *[ttara]bu kaṭṭu Kaṇḍilya-gōtrasya pe-*
18. *nbāra Rēvasarmāṇa [pu]ttrasya Aggi-*
19. *sarmārik-iccina dati [||*]*

FOURTH SIDE

20-23. Imprecatory verse in Sanskrit

TRANSLATION

ll. 1-10. Hail! Prosperity! During the twenty-second year of the reign of Prithivīvallabha Vijayāditya Cōla, when Vāṇarāja was

ruling (at) Pāmbuḷḡḡi, the mother of Cōlamahārāja (who was the younger brother (*taimoul*) of Kucporiyāru (the queen?) of Pallavādhurāja.

ll. 12. to Kūcapōri

ll. 14-19. Fifty *marunturs* of land by the royal measure with Alagna cinta to the north as the boundary was granted to Aggīśarma, son of Rēvśarma, the great brahmin of Kaundinya gōtra.

No. 29

Second half of the 8th c. A.D.

EI. XXVII pp. 244-246

At-Budidigaddapalle, Anantapur Dst.

1. Śrī Mahēndran M[ā*]naravi māṛurāpi[ḍugu]
2. maganru Pudali ēḷuvānru Kāpi-Boḷa-Mutturāju
3. acca[r*]vvuganu Arivarajamunru anvānru
4. Dantiyamma-Maṅgu tōlan poḍuci paḍiyen [||*]

TRANSLATION

To the wonder of Kāpi-Boḷa-Mutturāju, son of Śrī Mahēndan Mānaravi (who is) thunderbolt to enemy kings, the ruler of Pudali, he who was called Arivarajamunru (death to the best of enemies) fought with Dantiyamma-Maṅgu, and fell.

No. 30

C. 8th c. A.D.

JTA. 24. pp. 158-162

At-Arakatavemula, Cuddapah Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. Svasti Śrī Prittivipati rājulla dēvuḷa . . . munru
Pritivipatulla
2. iccina pannaśā Karuve[m]ggala Naḷu-Cāmulaku Mōrayāku
Mutṭaku muppadi marūtū kri raccamānambuna
3. kulocinaṭṭi podopuḷu Raccakālu [U]rupenakālu Purranūrullu
Mācūrullu . . . rullu Koṇḍuparu
4. dēni lāccuvānru pañcamahāpātakasa . . . ktur=agun

SECOND SIDE

5. tēni rakṣiñci kuḍḍipi vānru asvamēdaṅbuna pallambu kāñcun
aḍugu aḍugu

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! Prithivipati . . . of the queen of Prithivī-patirāja gave a *pannasa* of thirty *marutus* by the royal measure to Karuveṃggala Naḷu Cāmuḷu, Mōraya and Muṭṭa. The intermediaries who measured (the gift land) are Raccakālu, Urupena-kālu, Purranūrullu, Mācūrullu, . . . rullu and Koṇḍuparu. He who destroys the gift will incur the five great sins. He who protects and maintains it acquires the merit of performing the horse-sacrifice often.

No. 31

C. 8th c. A.D.

JTA. 24 pp. 158-162

At-Arakatavemula, Cuddapah Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. *Svasti* [,*] *Śrī Vallabhamahārājādhirāja paramahēśvara bhaṭṭara*[!a] *pritivi rājya-*
2. *ñcēya*[n] *per-Bāṇa va*[m]śa *Bhujamgadibhūpādityula*
3. *Viṇṇa śarmma*!aku *Nidugaṭambuna pannasa icciri Vēguḷūrḷu*
4. *Pe*[nru]kōlu *Nakakōḷu Kaccarḷu i nnavuru sākṣi*

SECOND SIDE

4. *dēniki vakraṃbu vaccuvānru pañcamahāpātaka sayyuktunṛ=*
5. *agu*[n]
- 5-7. *Imprecatory verse in Sanskrit.*

TRANSLATION

Hail! While the illustrious Vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramahēśvara bhaṭṭara was ruling, Bhujamgadibhūpāditya of per-Bāṇa dynasty gave a *pannasa* at Nidugaṭambu to Vinnaśarmma, son of Caruvaśarmma of Vaṃgunūrḷu. Vēguḷūrḷu Penrukōlu, Nakakōḷu and Kaccarḷu, these four (persons) are witnesses.

He who obstructs this (gift) will incur the five great sins.

The same inscription as published in SII. X. No. 604 contains the following readings:

1. 1. prithivi for pritivi
1. 4. dīniki for dēniki

No. 32¹8th c. A.D.
Cuddapah Dst.

1. Śrī Baṇḍa
2. ya pā
3. la Paldam
4. bu vē
5. ṇḍi ko
6. ṇi Pu
7. rranū
8. rla
9. Kūviya
10. raṭodla
11. paṭṭi Mā
12. rāmmāca
13. lki raṭṭa-
14. guḍi ni-
15. lpe

TRANSLATION

Having prayed (permission from) Paldambu, the subordinate of the illustrious Baṇḍaya, Mārāmmā Caḷki raṭṭaguḍi, daughter of Kūviya raṭṭaguḍi, made the grant in Purranūrlu.

No. 33¹8th c. A.D.
Cuddapah Dst.

1. Svasti [|*] Śrī
2. Baṇḍaya
3. ru dēn=niḷpi
4. ri i pa
5. la lasi
6. rāju go
7. ṇina Indu
8. luna kampu-
9. naku Nayo
10. rra Ani-
11. ganga raṭṭa

1. Text of the inscription furnished by M. S. Sarma from the original at the Madras Museum.

12. *gudḷu Kurri-*
13. *mma Vallava ra-*
14. *ṭtaguḍi pa-*
15. *ṭṭambu gaṭṭi*
16. *nilpe*

TRANSLATION

Hail! When the grant that was made by the illustrious Baṇḍa-
yaru was superseded by the king, Aniganga raṭṭaguḍu (and)
Kurrimma Vallava raṭṭaguḍi restored the title and (re)established
the *kāmpu* of Induḷu in Nayoṛru (*induluna* may be interpreted
as (the Kāmpu) of this place.

No. 34¹

NI. Vol. II, pp. 606-607

First half of the 9th c. A.D.

At- Kandukur, Nellore Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. *Svasti [||*] Śrī [Du]girāju [ma]ga*
2. *nru Konḍivillu Raccayi*
3. *[rri]ki iccinadi pandu*
4. *[mbu] ārlapaṭṭu sēnu [Peda]*
5. *ru Rerayurāju[l] dayasē*
6. *siri [||*] dīni Inmalūri ra*
7. *[tōḍi] kāmpu[ḷu] kācuvā[ru] [||*]*
8. *[Be]ḍagi pandum̄bu ā-*
9. *rlapaṭṭu [||*] dīni ceru-*
10. *[ñcu*]vāru gaḷarēni Bhā*
- 11-12.

SECOND SIDE

13. *Praburā-*
14. *munru kḷoce*
- 15-16.

TRANSLATION

Hail! (Peda)ru Rerayurāju, son of the illustrious Dugirāju
granted land sowable with ten *tūmus* of paddy in Beḍagi to Konḍi-

1. Reading furnished by M. S. Sarma.

villu Rayccayirri. The *raṭōḍi kampuḷu* (farmers) should protect (it). If there are any who destroy this . . .

ll. 13-14. Prabhurāmunṛu engraved (this inscription).

No. 35

848 A.D.

EI. XIX pp. 271-275

At- Addanki, Guntur Dst.

1.
2. *bhūpālakuṇḍu* [1*]
3. *paṭṭambu gaṭṭina prathamambu nēṇḍu bala — garvvaṃb=0*
4. *ppaga bailēci sēna* [1*] *paṭṭambu gaṭṭiñci prabhum*
5. *Baṇḍaramgu ba[ṇci]na, samatta-paḍuva[tō] Bōya*
6. *kottambul — vaṇḍrenḍu goṇi Vēṅgināṇṭi goḷelciya*
7. *Tribhuvānāṃkuśa bāṇa nilpi* [1*] *Kaṭṭepu du[r]ggambu gaḍu*
8. *bayaḷ — sēsi Kaṇḍukur — Bbejav[ā]ḍa gāviñce mecci* [11*]
9. *Paṇḍaramgu parama-Mahēsvaruṇḍu Āditya-baṭārani-*
10. *ki iccina bh[ū]mi enubōḍi vudlu adlu paṭṭu nēla Da-*
11. *mmavurambuna dammuvulu vīni rakṣiñcināv[ā]riki asva*
12. *mēḍambu palamb[u] agu*

TRANSLATION

l.2. The king

Verse 1. In the first year after coronation, [the king] being proud of his strength and elated [thereby], having anointed the mighty Pāṇḍuraṅga, to the command of the army and sent [him], with the army of the subordinates he [i.e. Pāṇḍuraṅga] captured the twelve Bōya principalities [*kottambu*] and having destroyed Vēṅgi-nāṇḍu planted the flag of Tribhuvanāṃkuśa [there]. He utterly demolished the fort of Kaṭṭambu and with pleasure made Kandukur [as famous] as Bejawada.

ll. 9-12. Pāṇḍuraṅga who was the best of the Māhēsvaras gave to [the God] Āditya-Bhaṭāra, land sowable with eighty *puṭṭis* of paddy. These are the charities at Dammavuram. Those who protect these charities will acquire the merit of [having performed] the horse sacrifice.

No. 36

848-892 A.D.

NI. Vol. II pp. 544

At- Kandukur, Nellore Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. *Śrī Niravadyuṇḍu . .*
2. *sita . . samuṇḍu Śiva*

3. *padavara — sēvitunḍ=a-*
4. *khilunḍ=anṛita ripuba-*
5. *luṇḍ=āhava [Rāmunḍ] adha [gha] ranḍ=a*
6. *yōgyāsīṅghāsanunḍ=a*
7. *gaṇita dānāsanunḍu gaja*

SECOND SIDE

8. . . . *layunḍ a . . . hasaṇna*
9. *na Paṇḍaramṅu . . . ṇiyu gāṇci*
10. *koladi lēni koṭṭāmbul vōḍi[ci]*
11. *goṇikenalāta[ni]paksapāti*
12. *salalita . . .*

TRANSLATION

Paṇḍaramṅu, the faultless, the equal of Manmatha (in beauty), worshipper of the excellent feet of Śiva, the mighty, strong against the enemy of untruth, (powerful) in battle (as) Rāma, the occupant of the throne of Ayōdhya, respected for (his) numerous gifts.

I. 10-11. the favourite of Goṇikenalla, having subdued innumerable forts . . .

No. 37

848-892 A.D.

Bharati V. pp. 613-620

At- Dharmavaram Nellore Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. [Vi]jayādi[tyapādapa]
2. [dma] bhramarāyamāna Śrīmat — Kaḍeyarāju
guṇagaṇābharaṇunḍu [da]na
3. keni Īsvaruna[kuṁ] Gārttikēyunḍum bōle cauṣaṣṭi
kalavisāradun[ṇḍa]
4. yna [A]yyapayyayu sakala [śā]strārttha [pā]ragul-ayna
pe [ʔda]
5. Paṇḍaramṅulu Aylama perggeḍalum gara[na]mmuna
Paṇḍaramṅun ī dha
6. rmma ni[rvva][ha*]nōdyōuammuna[ku]Bṛihaspati
samānulayna perggeḍa Ka[ʔdeya]
7. gāri[koḍu]ku [Be]jeyarāju sama[rtthu]ṇḍ=ani
ātmānmatāmbunam — bancina vra
8. sā[dam]b=ani samastarā[jyabha]ranirūpita
mahāmantrādhīpati [ma*]

9. [hē]śvara pakṣapāti dēvabrāhmaṇa guru[bha]kti parunḍu
sakti[traya]
10. sampannunḍu maya Bejeyarāju Bejeyēśvarambu galasa
nirvva[?ha*]
11. nambu sēsi disaguḍḷum brākārambu maṭambunu nemiymci

SECOND SIDE

12. ?[bunvā] vraccinavaru
13. dambu [salpi]navarudi . . . mbu gadyambula
14. nalasasvatambu [yanu]
15. i bhūmilōna

TRANSLATION

On the personal recognition and recommendation of Ayya-
payya, expert in the sixty-four arts, peda Paṇḍaramgu well-versed
in all the śāstras, Aylama perggeḍa, and Paṇḍaramgu the *kara-*
namu, the illustrious Kaḍeyarāju (who is) a bee at the lotus-
feet of Vijayāditya and adorned by numerous good qualities, (having
considered) Bejayarāju (as) equal to him, even as Kārttikēya is
to Īśvara, entrusted him (Bejayarāju) with the execution of these
righteous deeds. The son of minister Kaḍeya who is a peer of
Bṛihaspati—Bejayarāju, the great chief of the ministers bearing
the burden of the whole kingdom, a devotee of Mahēśvara, devot-
ed to the Gods, brahmins, and the *gurus*, possessed of the three
powers (*śaktitraya*), assenting to it gracefully, established pinna-
cles on (the temple of) Bejayēśvara, constructed temples in all
directions, and a *prākāra* and a *maṭha*.

1. 12. those who obstruct
1. 13. in prose
1. 14. for eternity
1. 15. in this world.

No. 38

EI. XV. pp. 150-159, 366-367

890 A.D

At-Bezawada, Kistna Dist.

FIRST SIDE

1. Svasti nṛp-āmkuś=ātyanta-va[tsa]-
2. la satya-Trinētra | vistara-śrī-Yu[ddha]-
3. Mallunḍ=anavadya-vikhyāta-kīrtti |

4. *prastuta-rāj-āśrayuṇḍu dri-bhu*
5. *van-ābharanuṇḍu sakala- vastu-sa*
6. *[mē]tuṇḍu rāja-Salki-bhū-vallabhu-*
7. *ṇḍ=arttin [|| v. 1*] paragaṃga Bejavāḍaṃ Goma*
8. *ra-svāmiki bhaktuṇḍai guḍiyu ni*
9. *rupama-mati nṛipa-dhāmuṇḍ=etticce*
10. *n[e]gi-dī[rcce] maṭhambu | goragal=gāk=oru-*
11. *l=indu viḍisi brindabu goni-yu-*
12. *ṇḍu vāru[||] . ragāka yab-Bāra-*
13. *nāsi vraccina pāpambu go-*
14. *ṇḍru [|| 2.*] velayaṃgan=iy=yotṭu lassi*
15. *malinur-ai viḍisina(m) brō-*
16. *la[|*]gala tāna-patulunu rā-*
17. *j[u]-paṭṭabum-gaṭṭina pati-*

SECOND SIDE

18. *yu-[|*]n=aliyaṃ bay-vārāla*
19. *velvarimcinan=aśvamēdhambu[|*]*
20. *phalamb=upēkṣimcinā liṃgamb=a*
21. *lisina pāpambu damaku [|| 5. *] ja-*
22. *[na]-nuta Cēbrōlan-uṇḍi Beja-*
23. *vāḍa-jātraku vacci [|*] Triṇa-*
24. *yanu-sutuṇḍ=onḍu-sōṭu me*
25. *ccaka tiviri yin-nelava | yanaghu*
26. *ṇḍu sēkoni yindu vratyaksha[m]*
27. *bayannan=icca- | gani Mallanḍ=e*
28. *tti[m]ce guḍiyu maṭhambu-*
29. *nuṃ Gārttikēyunaku [|| 4 *] dīniṃ Jēmbro-*
30. *lu yēleḍu[vāra tiraṃ]b=eḷu-*
31. *[vā]r=onḍu-sōṭi goraga-*
32. *[lū]nu [be]ṭṭu veruganu ja-*
33. *[na] yī stiti sēkoṇi kācu-*
34. *[vā]ra dīnin=dāru nilpina-vāru*
35. *[nī]ti dappi yaḷipuṭa vā-*
36. *[pa]mbu-gā[na] [||*]*

THIRD SIDE

37. *ramanatō Bejavāḍak=ella*
38. *beḍaṃgunu rakṣayum gānu-*
39. *n=dama tata Mallapa-rāju vē-*
40. *r=eru dānum gaṭṭimcem | grama-*

41. *m̄buna-dāniki kalaśab=idḍa-*
 42. *ṭlugā mogamāḍu- | v=ama-*
 43. *ra[m̄]ga Srī-Yuddhamalluṇḍ=etti*
 44. *m̄cen=amita-tējuṇḍu [| 5 *] tana*
 45. *dharmmuv=oḍabaḍi kācu nripu-*
 46. *lakunda*

TRANSLATION

(Verses 1 & 2). Hail! (King) Yuddhamalla of great prosperity, extremely kind (to his subjects), an elephant-goad to kings, a very three-eyed god in truthspeaking, of extensive wealth, of established spotless fame, the asylum of renowned kings, an ornament to the three worlds, possessed of all things, the lord of the imperial Salki country, of matchless intelligence and royal glory, built with pleasure in Bejavāḍa a temple to Komarasvāmi being (His) devotee and erected a *maṭha*. Whosoever, not being śaiva mendicants, occupy and congregate in this (building) incur the sin of killing (cow or men) in the (celebrated) Bāranāsi.

(V. 3). Should any be so wicked as to defy this interdiction and to dwell (here) the local temple authorities and the chief anointed by the kings (will) by forcibly expelling (these) outsiders (earn) the merit of (performing) a horse-sacrifice. By neglecting they (shall incur) the sin of breaking the *liṅga*.

(V. 4). Having come from the celebrated (town of) Cēbrōlu to (attend) a *jātra* at Bejavāḍa, the sinless One (i.e) the son of the three-eyed God Śiva preferred and manifested Himself in this very place (Bejavāḍa), not liking (to stay in) any other place. Finding this out, Malla erected with pleasure a temple and a *maṭha* to Kārttikēya.

ll. 29-26. The purport of these lines seems to be that the rulers of Cēbrōlu should administer the grant. Also the śaiva mendicants of other places (should administer the grant). Those who undertake to protect this grant are (i.e. acquire the same merit as) those that have instituted the grant. For, swerving from right conduct, to destroy a grant is a sin.

(V. 5). His grandfather Mallaparāju having built (the temple) as an ornament and protection to the whole of Bejavāḍa, the glorious Yuddhamalla in course of time erected a front tower to the same (temple) which (tower) looks like a *kalaśa* crowning the temple.

Il. 44-46. The kings who recognise the maintain the charity.
(This is incomplete)

Meaning as given by K. V. Lakshmana Rao, (V. 5). The highly glorious Mallapa with pleasure (originally) caused (the temple) to be built with elegance completely (*eru*) in the name of his grandfather Mallaparaju as an ornament and protection to the whole of Bejawada and in course of time suitably raised (to it) a front tower as though he placed in Kalasa on the same temple. Il. 44-46. The pillar (*kunda*) is meant for kings that recognise (*odambadi*) and maintained his (*tana yuddhamalla's*) as charity.

No. 39

A.D. 892-922

Bharati V. pp. 613-620

At-Dharmavaram, Nellore Dist.

1. *Śvasti Sarvvalōkāśraya . . . [kya] Bhīmamahārā[jula vi*]*
2. *jayarājya sa[m*]vatsarambu . . . [? yē]nagun=ēṅṅhi
utta[rā]yana sa[mkrā*]*
3. *[nti*] stiti Dharmmāvurammuna [svastya]nēlca
gu[ṅa-]gaṅ-ālamkrita [sa*]*
4. *[ma*]sta-mahimaṅḍala-prakāśita-kīrtti śrīmāt
Paṅḍaramgu || . . .*
5. *nnēlun ala Rāmanibhunitōlan eḍari[na Bō*]yalan=aḍavi
so[?npe] [|*] lōhāsa[nam]*
6. *b=ekki Rāhanun=oḍicina vallabhū kolpuna nella
neruṅga [|] Kannarābhū[pati]*
7. *venn=ājilōm-jūpe¹ Samkilāṅḍanu [?rē]ni [?bi*]
[mka]m uḍi[se]* [da]ṅḍuvai vaccina [beṅḍai]*
8. *[na*] Cōlanim jēkonī kāce bhū[lōkam]beruṅga [|*]
Kiranapuramu dahala ni*
9. *rutambu Dalenāḍu [|*] n=Acalapuramu [?so]ccen
calituṅḍu [|*] vallabhu*
10. *ṅḍu guṅakenalluṅḍu [vanci]nam [|*] Baṅḍaramga cūre
Paṅḍaramgu || [nā ba]ra[gi]*
11. *nareyamarevo nānni nallātaṅḍayna Ayyaparāju tammūṅḍu
Bejeya*
12. *rāju ī pūramu nāśānambuna guḍi nilpe naḍiya ?
sēyakunna sē . . .*

1. Must be a mistake for Cūce.

TRANSLATION

Hail! The grant made on the occasion of uttarāyaṇa sankrānti at Dhammavuramu in the fifth year of the victorious reign of Sarvvalōkāśraya . . . (kya) Bhīmamahārāja . . .

Hail! The illustrious Paṇḍaramṅgu adorned by numerous good qualities, whose fame illumined the whole earth . . he drove away to the forest the Bōyas who opposed him (i.e. Paṇḍaramṅgu), the equal of Rāma. Having ascended the throne at the instance of the king, (who is) the conqueror of Rāha, he openly defeated Kannarābhūpati, destroyed the pride of the king called Saṁki-lāṇḍu and protected the Cōla (king) who came against him with an army but surrendered. He conquered Kiranapuramu, Dahala, Nirutambu, Dalenāṇḍu and entered into Acalapuramu as the king Guṇakenalla ordered him. Veritably is Pāṇḍuramṅgu (the God) Pāṇḍuraṅga himself.

II. 11-12. Bejeyarāju, the younger brother of Ayyaparāju the truthful, erected a temple to the northwest of this town.

No. 40

9th c. A.D.

EI. XXIV, pp. 183-193

At-Veligallu, Chittor Dist.

1. Svasty=anēka-samara-saṅgaṣṭan-ōpalaboda-jayā-la
2. kṣmi-samaliṅgita-[vo]kṣa-stala Gaṇḍa-Treṇētra [Śrī]-
Baiydumba-Mahā-
3. raju Rēnāṇḍ-ēḷu-vēḷim ēḷucum Nolambitōḷi kayyambu[nā]
Mudumaḍuvuna
4. pōṭunā Maharaju cantamāna-Daḍini vadhimcina paṇi gaṇi
paḍalve-
5. [la]m=boḍice Kō[ra]-Dēsiniṅambu ēḷina rēnikin=edarayna
Gaṇḍa-Treṇētrani
6. . . . raṇa[m̄bu] [|]

TRANSLATION

Hail! When the illustrious Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatrinētra whose breast was embraced by the Goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, was ruling over Rēnāṇḍu seven-thousand, having seen the act of the Mahārāja killing Cantamāna-Daḍi in a conflict at Mudumaḍuvu during the fight with Nolambi,

Kōra-Dēsiṅgaṃbu attacked the general of Gaṇḍatriṅētra who had opposed the king that ruled over him.

No. 41

9th c. A.D.

El. XXIV, pp. 183-193

At- Peddatippasamudram, Chittor Dst.

1. *Svasti Śrī* [||] *Svasty*=*anēka-samarasaṅga-*
2. *ṭṭan*=*ōpalabḍa-jaya-lakṣmī-samā*
3. *liṅgita-vakṣa-tala* *Kaṇḍatriṅē-*
4. *tra* *Vayḍumba-Mahārājula*. *Mu*
5. *ṭṭamale* *Dōcayya mānisi*
6. *yemmakāla meresi prabhū*
7. *celvunru* *Māhārājulayu*
8. *Noḷombiyu* *Sōremaṭi*
9. *kayyambuna meresi prabhū*
10. *celvunru* *Noḷombi-vāgū tā-*
11. *nki poḍici* [*vīra-lō*] *kā . . pōye* [||*]

TRANSLATION

Servant Dōcayya of Muṭlamale of Vaidumba Mahārāja Gaṇḍatriṅētra whose breast was embraced by the Goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, distinguished himself sportively (*yemmekāla?*) and became confident of the king (*prabhū celvunru*). This confident of the king shone off in the battle of Sōremaṭi (fought) between the Mahārāja and Noḷambi; and having met and attacked the Noḷambi army he went to the world of heroes (i.e. died).

No. 42

C. 9th c. A.D.

JTA. 24 pp. 158-162

At- Peddamudiyam, Cuddapah Dst.

1. *dēvasvaṃbu laṅcaṃbu*
2. *goṇṇavānru* *Vāra-*
3. *nāśi* *vḷaccina* *pā-*
4. *paṃbu* *goṇṇavānru*

TRANSLATION

He who misappropriates the property of the God will incur the sin of destroying Vāranāśi.

No. 43

C. 9th c. A.D.

JTA. 24 pp. 158-162

At- Peddamudiyam, Cuddapah Dst.

1. Svasti Śrī nū (ṭa) yeṇu-
2. bonrra idḍa sa-
3. mayambu . rru
4. [pā?]la [ā?]je[vi?] yanta yē
5. niyu rō goṇnavānrun=icci-
6. navānru ceḍuvānru krocī[na] . .
7. vānru Venṭha vaḍḍaci . . .
8. kun Bramma vaḍḍa[ci] . . .

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! The convention made by the one Hundred and Eight (persons) . . . He who takes or pays money (bribe), even if (a very small amount?) will be damned. Venṭha vaḍḍaci engraved (this inscription).

1. 8. . . . Bramma vaḍḍaci

No. 44¹

892-922 A.D.

At- Koravi, Warangal Dst.

FIRST SIDE

1. Śrī Vikramāditya-nrpā
2. gra-tanayunḍ-ayna Cālukya
3. Bhīmunaku śauca-kandarppu
4. naku vē[m*]gīśvarunaku rana
5. marddanvaya-kula-tilaku
6. ṇḍ-ayna Kusumāyudhunḍu ga
7. nnara-Ballahunik-astaprāptaṁ
8. b-ayna rana-mardda kaṇṭhiya[m] dana
9. bhujā-vīrya-bala-parākra
10. maṁbunan decci kaṇṭhiyaṁ gaṭṭi
11. paṭṭaṁb-etti khalga-sahāyu
12. ṇḍai nēla yellaṁ gāvam būni
13. Maṁcikōṇḍanāṇḍ-āṁdiga
14. Veṁgi dēsamu Viṣṇuva

1. Text of the inscription furnished by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya from the original.

15. rddhanutōn arddha rājyambu sē
16. yucunna Kusumāyudhu pe
17. dda koḍuk anēka-ripu-nṛpati
18. maṇi-makuṭa-makarikā
19. kaṣana-maśṛṇita-carana yu . . .
Vindama yamma kaṭṭi
20. paṭṭambu gāvaṁ būni dha
21. ral-ēḷē Rāmuṇḍai tana ce
22. ti vāla tōḍugān anuṁgu
23. Goṇaṁgaṇḍanu pēritō ja
24. ḷukya Bhīmuṇḍun dagu[da?]

SECOND SIDE

25. gala kalāvarttambu rā
26. jyambu sēyucun iṣṭha-vi
27. ṣaya kām-ōpabhōgaṁbul-a
28. nubhaviṁcucu sukhambu -
29. ṇḍi yokka nāṇḍu Koravi Nalla
30. mēleya koḍuku Peddana
31. rāvīnci nīvu nā prāṇa-sa
32. mānuṇḍav-aina celivi [nī]
33. cēsina yupakāraṁbunā
34. ku bratyupakāraṁbu sēya
35. valayumgāna nīk-ēmi va
36. layu dāni vē
37. ṇḍi-komm-anna [nī]
38. śrī nāk-ellam galad ēmi lē
39. kunna vēṇḍikoṇḍum-aynanu
40. barōpakāraṁbu poṇṭhe nā
41. ni koravi yannadi mudu
42. goṇḍa sa[lku]lakulasana . . .
43. gālambuna . . . [lō]
44. kāmntarituṇḍai canina nā
45. tani tammunḍu sakala[lō]
46. kāśraya maṇi-kaṇaka[mu]
47. ktālaṁkāra calukya-ku[lō?]
48. dbhavēsitaga calukka pi

THIRD SIDE

49. saṁtānegalla śrī nirava
50. dyuṇḍ anēka-samara-sa[m]gha

51. *ṭṭaṇa bhujāsi-bhāsuru*
52. *ṇḍai tama yanna rājyaśrī*
53. *k-ellan dāna yaruhunḍai*
54. *cēkoni nilci Bhīmasaku*
55. *kiyand anēka-vastu-vā*
56. *han-ōtsava[m]bul vaḍayu*
57. *cu tama yanna Goṇa[m]gayya*
58. *cēsina dharmmuvulu nasa*
59. *m̄bunu negalpanu gāvanu*
60. *rakṣimpanu valayun-ēni*
61. *cēkoni Koravik-iccinā*
62. *stīti salpi śilāsthamba[m]*
63. *bu bratiṣṭhi[m]ci Bhimīśva*
64. *ra[m]bunun ātani kolpim̄ci*
65. *na ceruvulu mariyu ye*
66. *vviyenin ātani cēyambādi*
67. *. valadi a*
68. *iccina stītiyu paliyalā*
69. *yu[m] cēyu dereyambu ji*
70. *ṭṭari yallan dakki cāmbōdi*
71. *cina nūṭayiruvadi dra*
72. *mmalu mana[m] bodicina*
73. *n-aruvadi drammalu*
74. *akkasalaku karakūli*
75. *lēdu*

FOURTH SIDE

76. *mukku dariginanu cari*
77. *cinānu curiyu verikinā*
78. *nu mu (mū?)rcilinānu ram̄k-ādi*
79. *nanu iravādyadi enū[m]*
80. *drammalu māṇisi cēsina*
81. *dōsam̄bunaku vāni jīvita[m]*
82. *ba daṇḍuvu variyāra[m]ba[m]*
83. *bu paḍuvara[m]bu vellāra[m]*
84. *bapu era gadyāṇa[m]bu pē*
85. *r-āmaṇi punnama nāṇḍu ē*
86. *nūru[m] drammal ari ve*
87. *ṭṭi sukha[m]bu manuvāru*
88. *nāyakunḍayna kāpulayna*
89. *verarā[ju]lu jocci ma*

90. *ṇajanadu [yī]stiti yaḷi*
 91. *silkonna rājul galarēni*
 92. *yu [yī]stiti yaḍasina kava*
 93. *ṇasaka indu manna ka[m̄]pu*
 94-100. Imprecatory verse.

TRANSLATION

II. 1-38.

Kusumāyudha, ornament of the family that conquered enemy kings, regained by the strength of his arms the Goddess of Victory from Kannaraballaha that went into his hands, and anointed as king Cālukya Bhīma, the eldest son of Vikramāditya, spotless as Manmatha, the Lord of Vēṅgi, after putting on (the insignia of kingship) in his neck, and undertaking to protect the whole country with the help of his sword he began to rule the Vēṅgi kingdom including the territory of Mamcikoṇḍa along with Viṣṇuwardhana as a joint ruler.

At this time the eldest son of Kasumāyudha (who is) ruling the country destroying the enemy kings by removing their heads containing jewelled crowns and enjoying all pleasures at his will and living happily, one day called Peddana, the son of Koravi Nallamereya (and said to him) 'You are a friend, dear to me as life, I should help you in return for the help that you have done to me, ask me what you desire'.

No. 45

909 A.D.

JTA. Vol. 7. pp. 227-231

At-Bezawada, Kistna Dist.

1. *Svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya*
2. *Śrī Viṣṇuwardhana mahārājula*
3. *pravarddhamāna vijayarājyasamvatsa-*
4. *rambuḷ padiēḷ=agun=ēṅṭa Vikramā-*
5. *ditya-tanaya Śrī Viṣṇuwardhana prasādā-[cca]-*
6. *ṭṭapākhyēna Yindrakīlē pratiṣṭhitah Pārthīśvaraḥ [|| *]*
- 7.-11. Imprecatory verse in Sanskrit.

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the seventeenth year of the increasing years of the victorious reign of the illustrious Sarvvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuwardhana Mahārāja, he who was called Caṭṭapa set up the (God) Pārthīśvara in Indrakīla, by the grace of Viṣṇuwardhana, son of Vikramāditya.

No. 46*

945-970 A.D.

EI. VII. pp. 177-192

West Godavary Dist.

1. *Peddha-Kalucuvubariti śāsana[ṇ]bu sēsina Bha-*
2. *ṭṭadēvanik=Arahanandi-bhaṭāralu Gumisiya r[e]ṭṭeḍlu-
gāmpulunuṇḍi panu . . . ṇḍa tūmuna ne [?ni¹]vuṭlu vittu-
paṭṭu vrasādañ=cēsiri [|| *]*

TRANSLATION

To Bhaṭṭadēva who made (has written?) the inscription of Pedda-Kalucuvubarṛu Arahanandi Bhaṭāra and the raṭṭeḍlu and the farmers (*Kāmpulu*) of Gumisiya . . . gave (land) sowable with . ? *puṭṭis* of (paddy) measured by . . . *tūmu*.

No. 47

C. 950 A.D.

Trilinga Silver Jubilee Number

At-Dongalasanī, Cuddapah Dist.

FIRST SIDE

1. *Svasti cara [ṇasarōru-*
2. *ha] vihatavi [locana tri-]*
3. *lōcana pramukākila [pri-]*
4. *thivīśvara kārīta Kāvērī-[tī]*
5. *ra Karikāla-kula-ratna pradīpā-*
6. *hitāṃkuśa Śrī Venkayācōla*
7. *mahārājula paṭṭam[bu] gaṭṭina*
8. *pravarddamāna vijayarājyasam-*
9. *vatsarambul=naḷpādyadiyoko-*
10. *ṭi yagun=eṇṭi ciṭṭadi peṇ-*
11. *punaṃd=aṣṭamiyu āditya-*
12. *varambu nāṇḍu Kuruva-*
13. *bhaṭariki Reṇḍurēvulu*
14. *polagarusu gānu*
15. *paḍumaṭan goṇḍa[yu] ga-*
16. *rusu gānu uttarambuna nē[la]*
17. *ku Guruva ḍoṃka lōpali nē-*
18. *layella sarvvaparihāruvu icce*
19. *Śrī [||*] Venkayācōla maḥa*

* Telugu passage at the end of a Sanskrit inscription of the time of the Eastern Chalukyan king; Amma II also called Vijayāditya VI.

1. The Akṣara is perhaps a mistake for the figure 9. — Editor.

20. *raju tenkanādityuṇḍu komaru*
21. *ra Bhīmuṇḍu pusiilladāḷma*
22. *n ī dharmam=ācandrārkatāarakambuna*
23. *vā[rddilucunuṇḍu] [||*]*
24.
25.
26. *vāṇḍu*
27. *vāṇḍu Barana[si] . . li*
28. *na vāṇḍu Śrīparbbatambu[na]-*
29. *ṅgala liṅgambulan=ali[si]-*
30. *[na]vāṇḍu . [vuramurku]*
31. *nnanu galaṇḍu i sta-*
32. *nambu galavāru Isā-*
33. *naśivulu*
- 34.-37. Imprecatory verse in Sanskrit.

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the forty-first year of consecration as king, of the increasing years of the victorious reign of Śrī Venkayācōḷa mahārāja, an elephant goad to enemies, the bright jewel of the dynasty of Karikāla who caused the banks of the (river) Kāveri to be built by various kings including Trilōcana, whose eyes were touched by his (i.e. Karikāla's) lotus feet, on Sunday, the eighth day of the bright fortnight of (the month of) Caitra, he gave to Kuruva bhaṭara all the land with these boundaries, free from all taxes, Reṇḍurēvulu as the boundary (on the east and south), the hill as the boundary on the western side, Kuruvaḍomka as boundary on the north.

ll. 19-23. Prosperity! This gift of Venkayācōḷa mahārāja, (who is) *Tenkanāditya*, *Komarurabhīma*, of unblemished tolerance, may it flourish till the sun, moon and stars exist.

ll. 26-30. . . . (incurs the sin of) him who destroys Varanasi, and of one who destroys the linga at Śrīparvata.

No. 48

EI. XXVIII, pp. 67-70.

971 A.D.

At- Cuddapah Dist.

1. *Svasty=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha-vijaya-lakṣmī-samāliṅgita-viśāla-vakṣasthaḷa Bhu-*

2. *vana-Trinētra-śrīmad-V[ai]dumba-Mahārājulu Sa 893
nēṅṅi Asa[dha]suddha 7 Guruvāraṁbugā[m] Bā*
3. *ka-nāṁṅi Pottepi-viṭa dakṣiṇayana saṁkrānti-
nimittammu[u]nan=Artirēvula [*sannimi]tra Lōkēśvara*
4. *Bha[ṭā]ralakuṁ Gaḍapa-paṅṅentilōni Kāṭiceruvulu . . .
yicci[ri] [|*] dīnikin va*
5. *kkraṁbu vaccinavāru Bāraṅasini Śrīpa[r*]vataṁbunn=
alisinavāru [||*] dīniṁ jēkoni kāci*
6. *kuḍuceduvāru Maṁjaramuna Kucibhaḍālu Bhīmarājunakuṁ
Bācavvari*
7. *ki dharmmavugān=icciri [|*] Aṅati Sirama-peggaḍlu [|*]
Dēsarati Bhimana vrālu [|*]*
8. *Śrī-Abhinuta-vāku [|*].*

TRANSLATION

Hail! The illustrious Bhuvana Trinētra Vaydumba mahārāja whose breast was embraced by the Goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, residing at Pottapi in Pāka nāṁḍu made a gift of the village of Kāṭiceruvulu (situated) in (the tract of) Kaḍapa twelve to the God Sannimitra Lōkēśvara of Ariritirēvulu on account of the dakṣiṇāyana saṁkrānti, on this day, the seventh of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha in the year Śaka 893. Kucibhaḍālu (a resident) of Maṁjaramu is to protect and enjoy the charity. The grant is made for the merit of Bhīmarāju and Bācavvaru. Siramana Peggaḍa gave the order. Dēsarati Bhīmana wrote (this). Praiseworthy speech! (Śrī Abhinuta vāku).

No. 49

972 A.D.

SII. X. No. 636

At-Upparapalli, Cuddapah Dist.

1. *Svasty=anēka-samara-*
2. *sa[m]ghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha-*
3. *vijayalakṣmī-samālimṅgi-*
4. *ta viśāla-vakṣastala Bhuva-*
5. *ṅa Trinētra Śrīmat Va[ydu]ṁba-*
6. *mahārāju sakavarsamma 8 [. ?]*
7. *94 g=agun=eṅḍu prithivi-*
8. *nājya paṭṭabhadduṅḍ=ayi [n ?]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! The illustrious Vaidumba mahārāja Bhuvana Trinētra, whose broad chest was embraced by the Goddess of victory obtain-

2. *vana-Trinētra-śrīmad-V[ai]dumba-Mahārājulu Sa 893
nēṅṅi Asa[dha]suddha 7 Guruvāraṁbugā[m] Bā*
3. *ka-nāṅṅi Pottepi-viṭa dakṣiṇayana saṁkrānti-
nimittammu[u]nan=Artirēvula [*sannimi]tra Lōkēśvara*
4. *Bha[ṭā]ralakuṁ Gaḍapa-paṅṅentilōni Kāṭiceruvulu . . .
yicci[ri] [|*] dīnikin va*
5. *kkraṁbu vaccinavāru Bāraṅasini Śrīpa[r*]vataṁbunn=
alisinavāru [||*] dīniṁ jēkoni kāci*
6. *kuḍuceḍuvāru Maṁjaramuna Kucibhaḍālu Bhīmarājunakuṁ
Bācavvari*
7. *ki dharmmavugān=icciri [|*] Aṅati Sirama-peggaḍlu [|*]
Dēsarati Bhimana vrālu [|*]*
8. *Śrī-Abhinuta-vāku [|*].*

TRANSLATION

Hail! The illustrious Bhuvana Trinētra Vaydumba mahārāja whose breast was embraced by the Goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, residing at Pottapi in Pāka nāṁḍu made a gift of the village of Kāṭiceruvulu (situated) in (the tract of) Kaḍapa twelve to the God Sannimitra Lōkēśvara of Ariritirēvulu on account of the dakṣiṇāyana saṁkrānti, on this day, the seventh of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha in the year Śaka 893. Kucibhaḍālu (a resident) of Maṁjaramu is to protect and enjoy the charity. The grant is made for the merit of Bhīmarāju and Bācavvaru. Siramana Peggāḍa gave the order. Dēsarati Bhīmana wrote (this). Praiseworthy speech! (*Śrī Abhinuta vāku*).

No. 49

972 A.D.

SII. X. No. 636

At-Upparapalli, Cuddapah Dist.

1. *Svasty=anēka-samara-*
2. *sa[m]ghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha-*
3. *vijayalakṣmī-samālimṅgi-*
4. *ta viśāla-vakṣastala Bhuva-*
5. *ṅa Trinētra Śrīmat Va[ydu]ṁba-*
6. *mahārāju sakavarsamma 8 [. ?]*
7. *94 g=agun=eṅḍu prithivi-*
8. *nājya paṭṭabhadduṅḍ=ayi [n ?]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! The illustrious Vaidumba mahārāja Bhuvana Trinētra, whose broad chest was embraced by the Goddess of victory obtain-

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-12. Hail! This is the award (*sthiti*) graciously given by Bhuvana-triṇētra Irugeya-mahārāja of the broad chest, embraced by the goddess of victory won in several battles, on the joyous occasion of his coronation, to the farmers (*kāmpus*) of Vēnāḍu, (comprising) the remission of all the minor taxes inclusive of the *tivul̥desas*, but with the exception of the *Dogarācapannu*, *Paḍevāḷa-pannu*, *Paḍiyēri-pannu* and *Sandhivigrahipannu*, as long as the Wind and the Sun last. He, who destroys this, incurs the sin of having destroyed this temple and Bāraṇāsi (Banaras). (The following are) the recipients of the gift: Vēmbaḷḷi Beytūrēkki, Cēlakāla Āytanna, Rākunḍa Koṇḍeya, Mēlikur̥ti Candiyanna, Pulvēri Sirāmayya, Līpara Gāmuṇḍu, Rakkasa Gāmuṇḍu and again, Malkoṇḍa Cāmi, that (i.e. Malkoṇḍa) Pēreya, Veppari Sirivutti Gāmuṇḍu, Mlāmpaḷḷi Kommaṇa Gāmuṇḍu, Kariyakaṇṭi Vaidumba Raṭṭoḍi, Piccali Vaidumba Raṭṭaguḍi, Vuddini Kommaṇa, Vēnāṇṭi Dāsu Yaḷam̄kāriy=Aripuli. The composer (of this record) is Kabbāda Kēsiyanna; the engravers are Dantiy-ōvaja and Abhinutācari. May it be well!

Lines 13-15. Apprehending adultery red-handed, if a man kills the woman and man (involved), no punishment is to be imposed (on him); but if, without killing (both the persons), he punishes (only) the woman by cutting her nose or by merely distressing her, they (i.e. the *kāmpus* of Vēnāḍu) should levy a fine of sixty-four *gadyas* (from the culprit). This is irrevocable.

UNDATED INSCRIPTIONS

No. 51
SII. X. 23

Undated
At-Kondupalli, Anantapur Dist.

FIRST FACE

1.
2. . . . *bhadi marutudlu icciri*
3.
4. *Svasti Śrī Vijayāditya Satyāśraya Śrī prithivīvallabha mahārājādhirā-*
5. *ja Paramēśvara Bhaṭāra[ḷa]ku vijayarājyasa[m]vatsaram-*
buḷ=irubādi[mūm]ḍu prava-
6. *[r]ttilla Balikulatilaka Narasiṃha Bāṇādhirāja pri[ya]suta*
Vikramā-
7. *ditya Bali [Indra Bāṇarāju[la] Turumara visayambu*
yēḷuvāri [māmōri).

SECOND FACE

- 8 to 11.
12. *Pullagi Ceruvuna Cika[ṭṭa] pulla[m]buna rācamāna[m]buna*
13. . . . *kōvubōḷu Anantaśōbhūḷu [tyā]vallakāma*

TRANSLATION

l.2. gave . . . marutus (of land).

ll.4-7. During the twentythird year of the victorious reign of the illustrious Vijayāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭāra, Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, the dear son of Narasiṃha Bāṇādhirāja (who is) the ornament of the Bali dynasty, ruling over the Turumara division.

ll.12. In Pullagiceruvu in Cikaṭṭapullambu, by the royal measure. . .

ll.13. . . . Kōvubōḷu, Anantaśōbhūḷu, . . . (names of persons, probably witnesses).

No. 52

Undated.

SII. X. No. 29

At-Malepadu, Cuddapah Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī Nitya-
2. varuṣa Pritivivalla-
3. bha Mahārājādhirāja Paramē-
4. svara paramabhaṭararā [yu]ttarō[ttā]-
5. rābhivrid̄dhi pravaddhamāna .
6. Śrīmat vallavarājula . dē[vu]-
7. [lā] mūnūrunū lērā yēnūru viripa-
8. riti nūtenmaṇḍakunu icina [datti]
9. . nayakunaku tūmeṇḍu pralūnu [māne[-
10. ṇḍu neyunu mēyu su[ci] manusulaku
11. [ru] . . pralūnu ādamāneṇḍunu neyu
12. iccuvāru . Kala[ṇḍa]nāyyayū Śica . ya-
13. nū [A]ṅgarayyayū [mā] Gollaṇḍunu Ketti[co]yya-
14. yū Yeriya Mādavayyayū [jō]giyayū
15. Doḍaciṁkiyayū [Do]ḍa Eḍayayū . .
16. Yelammayū [Rē]riya Cāmuṇḍiyunu Erracamu .
17. yayū Guṇḍu Śrī Darayayū Ramāpriyayū Prittivi .
18. yū Erravummayunu Ku . [ja]viyayū Gorigoṇḍu [Kēti]
19. . . . [ṇajja]ṇḍunu Kariya Marammayū Ciriyanayunu
20. Pa[m̄ba]yayū Kēsariyū Pu[li]yayū [Si] luḡiṇḍu
21. nu Duggayyayū indorunu [li] iccina datti
22. dīnin=alisinavāṇḍu Śrīpa[rvvā]tamunu Bārānā
23. . . . [vi] lālanu brāhmaṇulanu alisina . .
24. mulastana ṁ ali . .
25. . . . kunu Erakunu veliyai ma . . .
26. . . . gaṇaṁgi nūṭaye[ṇma] . . .
27. . . . dīni vrasivāṇḍu . . .
28. . . . yō[gi]ju

The inscription states that during the reign of Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara paramabhaṭāra, Sri Nityavaruṣa, the queen of Vallavarāja, (together with?) the three-hundred persons, and the five-hundred persons made a grant to the hundred-and-eight persons of Viriparu.

II. 12-21. Contains a list of names of persons who seem to have collectively made a gift.

II. 22-25. Imprecation.

No. 52

Undated.

SII. X. No. 29

At-Malepadu, Cuddapah Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī Nitya-
2. varuṣa Pritivivalla-
3. bha Mahārājādhirāja Paramē-
4. svara paramabhaṭararā [yu]ttarō[ttā]-
5. rābhivrid̄dhi pravaddhamāna .
6. Śrīmat vallavarājula . dē[vu]-
7. [lā] mūnūrunū lērā yēnūru viripa-
8. riti nūtenmaṇḍakunu icina [datti]
9. . nayakunaku tūmeṇḍu pralūnu [māne[-
10. ṇḍu neyunu mēyu su[ci] manusulaku
11. [ru] . . pralūnu ādamāneṇḍunu neyu
12. iccuvāru . Kala[ṇḍa]nāyyayū Śica . ya-
13. nū [A]ṅgarayyayū [mā] Gollaṇḍunu Ketti[co]yya-
14. yū Yeriya Mādavayyayū [jō]giyayū
15. Doḍaciṁkiyayū [Do]ḍa Eḍayayū . .
16. Yelammayū [Rē]riya Cāmuṇḍiyunu Erracamu .
17. yayū Guṇḍu Śrī Darayayū Ramāpriyayū Prittivi .
18. yū Erravummayunu Ku . [ja]viyayū Gorigoṇḍu [Kēti]
19. . . . [ṇajja]ṇḍunu Kariya Marammayū Ciriyanayunu
20. Pa[m̄ba]yayū Kēsariyū Pu[li]yayū [Si] luḡiṇḍu
21. nu Duggayyayū indorunu [li] iccina datti
22. dīnin=alisinavāṇḍu Śrīpa[rvvā]tamunu Bāranā
23. . . . [vi] lālanu brāhmaṇulanu alisina . .
24. mulastana ṁ ali . .
25. . . . kunu Erakunu veliyai ma . . .
26. . . . gaṇaṁgi nūṭaye[ṇma] . . .
27. . . . dīni vrasivāṇḍu . . .
28. . . . yō[gi]ju

The inscription states that during the reign of Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara paramabhaṭāra, Sri Nityavaruṣa, the queen of Vallavarāja, (together with?) the three-hundred persons, and the five-hundred persons made a grant to the hundred-and-eight persons of Viriparu.

II. 12-21. Contains a list of names of persons who seem to have collectively made a gift.

II. 22-25. Imprecation.

No. 56 Undated
SII. X. No. 41 Bhairavakoṇḍa, Nellore Dist.

Śrī Dāmōdharēśvarambu

Records the name of the shrine Dāmōdharēśvarambu

No. 57 Undated
SII. X. No. 45 Bhairavakoṇḍa, Nellore Dist.

Śrī Mārīśvarambu

Records the name of the shrine Mārīśvarambu

No. 58 Undated
SII. X. No. 46 Bhairavakoṇḍa, Nellore Dist.

Śrī Tribhuvanādityan Śrī Maruvakatrenētra . . mainru

Records the name of persons Śrī Tribhuvanādityan and Śrī—

No. 59 Undated
SII. X. No. 48 Bhairavakoṇḍa, Nellore Dist.

Śrī Nāranarēndruṇḍu.

Records the name Nāranarēndra

No. 60 Undated
SII. X. No. 593 At- Muddanuru, Cuddapah Dist.

1. [Sva]sti haridurddharāva . . .
2. . . . dyōtara dinakara . . .
3. . . . Śrīmat Sōḍa mahā
4. . . . malla Ayya . . .
5. . . . Sirumūra . . .
6. [Rē]yamayyaru Aditya gri[ham]bu
7. [ni]lpi śūrjya grahana nimit[ta]mbuna
8. Cōḍa mahārāju vēṇḍikoni yā-
9. . . . [bha]ṭaralakun=iccinad=iyyūri paḍuma-
10. . . . ṇṭha yuttarambuna rājamānaṁ . . .
11. vrituḍlu nēlayun=okko gānu (gu)
12. [n=i]ccina dīniki vakrambu vaccinavāru
13. . . . raṇāsiyu Śrīparvvatambu vracci-
- 14.-18. Imprecatory verses in Sanskrit

States that a certain Rēyamayyaru raised a temple for the Sun (God), and made a gift of land by the royal measure, and an oil press, with the permission of the illustrious Cōḍa mahārāja.

ii. 12-13. Imprecation.

No. 61

Undated

S.I.I. X. No. 594

At-Mutukuru, Cuddapah Dist.

1. *Srī haridurdāharāvāra-*
2. *[bhu]jjāsi-bhāsu[ra] prasaṅga-praāyōta-[dī]-*
3. *nakara-k[uīla-]nandana Kāśyappa-gōtra Ka[r]i-*
4. *kālānvaya śrīmat Cōḍamahā-*
5. *rājulu Rēnāṇḍu ēḷuvēlu*
6. *n=ēla Śrīmat Bhikirāju ni-*
7. *lpina datti Apimanago-*
8. *ravalk=iccina nēla nū-*
9. *ṭayiruvadi maru-*
10. *tuḍlu rājamānambu*
11. *dīni yarivāṅambu pa-*
12. *ṇḍreṇḍu vuṭlu golugu*
13. *dīniki vakraṅambu vaccu[vā]-*
14. *ṇḍu Bhāranāsiyu Si[ddhava]*
15. *[ḍa]ṅbunu mahana[ndi]*
16. *vḷācina papāṅbu . . .*
17. *vāṇḍu vḷāsinavāṇḍu*
18. *lleya kroccinavāṇḍu Arutu-*
19. *rēvurllaya Haśca[mpu]ṇḍu*
20. *. . . bhēnāyutō gājju maga-*
21. *llamasiri*

TRANSLATION

While the illustrious Cōḍamahārāja of the dynasty of Karikāla, of Kāśyapa gōtra, belonging to the Solar race, shining with the sword in his arm which is irresistible to enemy kings, was ruling the Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand, Śrīmat Bhikirāju made a gift of one hundred and twenty marutus of land to the saiva mendicant (*goravālu*) Apimana, fetching twelve puṭṭis of paddy.

ii. 13-17. Imprecation.

ii. 17-19. . . . lleya wrote (the inscription); Aruturēvurllayya engraved (it).

No. 62

Undated

SII. X. No. 595

At- Prodduturu. Cuddapah Dist.

FIRST FACE

1. Svasti haridurddharāva bh[u]jāsi
2. bhāsura-pracaṇḍa-pradyōtira . . .
3. dinakara-kulanandana Kāsyapagō-
4. tra Karikālānvaya . . .
5. hārājul=Rēnāṇḍ=ēlu vēlun=ēla
6. Śūryyagrahanastiti guṇḍa
7. . . . vwayya Cōla . . . vēṇḍi . . .
- 8.12. Illegible

SECOND FACE

13. skarayya Kummarkuṇṭha
14. nūyini sākṣi nālugu
15. stānāmbulavārunu dīni-
16. ki vakraṁbu vaccuvāru
17. vevur=ggavilala Bhāranā-
18. siyu vraccinavāru tō
19. ṇṭayi nilpaṭṭu siddhayāmbu
20. reṇḍu gadyalu ervvōka punna-
21. ma[m] beṭṭuvāru

The inscription states that with the permission of the Cōla king of the dynasty of Karikāla (name lost) who was ruling the Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand, someone made a gift on the occasion of the Solar eclipse, the witnesses to the grant being the people of the four *sthānas*.

ll. 16-18. Imprecation.

ll. 19-21. States that a tax of two *gadyas* has to be paid on the *ēruvāka punnama* day.

No. 63

Undated

SII. X. No. 596

At- Peddamudiyam, Cuddapah Dist.

1. [Svasti] ariduddharavara-bhujāsi
2. [praca]ṇḍa-pradyōta-dinakarakula-
3. . . . syapa-gōtra Karikālānvaya
4. Śrīmat Cōlamahārājula
5. [dē]vulu bedda . vvaru . . .
6. . . . sakavarsāmbulu . . .

7. *avun=ēṅṭi uttarāyaṇa saṁkrā[ṁti]-*
8.
9. . . . *rajamā* . . .
10. . . . *icciri* . . .
- 11-13. Illegible.

Refers to a grant (of land) by the royal measure on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti by the queen of the illustrious Cōlamahārāja, of the dynasty of Karikāla.

No. 64

Undated

SII. X. No. 597

At- Muddanuru, Cuddapah Dist.

FIRST FACE

1. *Haridurdharāva[jā]*
2. . . . [ra] *pracaṇḍa-pradyōdi* . . .
3. . . . *lanandaṇa Kāsyapagō* . . .
4. . . . *ḷānvaya śrīmat Cōla*
5. . . . *jalu Velkanūri [ti]* . . .
6. . . . *ḍi koḍukuna*
7. . . . *ni paṭṭaṁbuga* . . .
8. . . . *ja mānaṁbu* . . .
9. . . . [badi] . . .

SECOND FACE

10. . . . *madvikalaru* . . .
11. . . . *kaṁbulu Cā-*
12. *ṁgeya bōyu-*
13. *ṅḍunu Śrī yte-*
14. *yari koḍuku*
15. *Maramayu*
16. *muduṅḍu innēla*
17. *ku vakraṁbuva*
18. *cinavāru Bhārana-*
19. *si vṛaccinavāru*
20. *Karāyutuṅḍu kro-*
21. *cce.*

States that during the reign of a certain Cōlamahārāja. some private persons made a gift.

Il. 16-19. Imprecation.

Il. 20-21. States that the inscription was engraved by Karāyutuṅḍu.

No. 65

SII. X. No. 598

Undated

At- Kosinepalle, Cuddapah Dist.,

1. *Svasti haridūrdha-*
2. *rāvāra bhujāsibhā-*
3. *sura pracanḍa-*
4. *pra[gdū]ta dinaka-*
5. *ra-kula-nandana*
6. *Kāśyapa gōtra*
7. *Karikālānvaya*
8. *Śrīmat Cōla-*
9. *mahārāju*
10. *Rēnāṇḍu ēlu[vē]-*
11. *lun=ēliṅgā*
12. *Turummunūḍla*
13. *Bādeyya raṭṭoḍlu*
14. *guḍlu ettiñciri*
15. *vāri peṇḍla[m̄bu]*
16. *Maraka[ṇa]ru vā-*
17. *ri koḍuku*
18. *Cāmunḍeya*
19. *satyābhi-*
20. *māni pe-*
21. *ttiñce sā-*
22. *sana [b=i]-*
23. *[di] gallu*

TRANSLATION

Hail! While the illustrious Cōlamahārāja, of the dynasty of Karikāla, of Kāśyapa-gōtra, belonging to the Solar race, shining with the sword in his arm which is irresistible to enemy kings, was ruling the Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand, Bādeyya raṭṭoḍlu of Tirummunūḍlu raised a temple. His wife Mārakaṇaru and his son Cāmunḍeya (who is) a lover of truth, put up this stone inscription.

No. 66

SII. X. No. 599

Undated

At- Ramesvaram, Cuddapah Dist.

1. *Śrī Vyālacandra*
2. *Svasti Śrī Maśiya . . .*
3. *dīnin=alīsina[vāru] va-*
4. *ranāsi Vraccinavāru*
5. *Svasti Śrī Mayam [kadaḷa]-*

6. *bhaṭaralu [Na]ṅgalūri polambu-*
7. *na Vānapōtula Mucciya-*
8. *ku[ka]ppada[m]bu gaṭṭina ni[cci]-*
9. *ri paṇḍreṇḍu martulu nēla.*
10. *indula tapasulaku[bani]*
11. *sēsi manuvaṇḍu*

TRANSLATION

ll. 5-11. Hail! The illustrious Mayamkādala bhatāra gave to Vānapōtula Mucciya twelve marutus of land in the field of Naṅgalūru (in return?) for the payment of *kappaḍambu* (?). He should live by rendering service to the devotees of the temple.

No. 67

Undated

SII. X. No. 602

At- Budidigaddapalli, Anantapur Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī Cōlamahārāju . . .*
2. *magunru Aravaḷamahā . . .*

Mentions Aravaḷa, son of a Cōlamahārāja.

No. 68

Undated

SII. X. No. 603

At- Chilamkuru, Cuddapah Dist.

1. *[Svasti Śrī] Dānasirḷa Mārama [dha]nima[ṅgiyāri] pa[ḷli]*
2. *ceruvu*
3. *Cōlamahādēvuḷa yiccina stānambun=icciri*
4. *. . . vu vānru pañcamahāpātakunru*

Refers to the endowment of a tank. A Cōlamahādēvi is mentioned.

No. 69

Undated

SII. X. No. 606

At- Malepadu, Cuddapah Dist.

FIRST FACE

1. *Svasti*
2. *Śrī [E]ri*
3. *Kalmu[tu]-*
4. *rāju*
5. *lana .*
6. *ruma .*
7. *. . . nna .*

SECOND FACE

8. ēle[ri?]
9. pāra_{ka}
10. . . . irupa-
11. diyadi-
12. ēnu ma-
13. runtu[_dla]
14. rācamā
15. nam̄buna
16. iccina
17. datti dī .
18. lacu vā
19. [nru]

States that during the reign of Eri_{ka}l Muturāju a grant of twenty-five marutus of land by the royal measure was made to a brahmin.

No. 70
SII. X. No. 610

Undated
At- Kamanuru, Cuddapah Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī Puliya-
2. [_di]yamakanru E-
3. mmu[_du]ru eḷuv_{ari}
4. koḍuku uppādula cā
5. kalagunḍu gudaliya
6. kaḷvanru

Refers to the son of a certain Puliyāḍiyamakanru, ruler of Emmuduru.

No. 71
SII. X. No. 614

Undated.
At- Muttukuru, Cuddapah Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī
2. A[_bhi]ccuramga-
3. [nru] Muttukūrānu [vu]
4. paḷḷaparāna ga[rru]
5. ka kaṇḍapotuna
6. [va] ko[_tti] mallura
7. poḍicci [podi]

States that a certain Abhiccuramganru fought a battle at Muttukūru with wrestlers (*malluru*).

No. 72

Undated.

SII. X. No. 615

At- Mopuru, Cuddapah Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī*
2. *Millirājula*
3. *icina nēla*
4. *nūru marutu . . .*
5. *[kṣa]triyya kuḍanā[ti]*
6. *[mrō]pōra sivasī . pra . . .*
7. *nilpinavāru sri . . .*
8. *taṁbu nilpinavāru . .*
9. *dapinavāru dvi*
10. *.*

Refers to the grant of a hundred marutus of land by one Millirāju.

No. 73

Undated.

SII. X. No. 616

At- Sompalli, Chittor Dist.

1. *. . . [pa]nasa*
2. *para[du]laku [dī]-*
3. *nipayi anni-*
4. *ya[m]bu voḍicina-*
5. *vanru Baranasi vē-*
6. *vuru para [la]ci-*
7. *na[ca]rukātu*

Refers to a gift of pannasa to brahmins of the Bhāradwāja gōtra and contains the imprecation that he who acts unjustly against it will incur the sin of having killed a thousand brahmins at Baranasi.

No. 74.

Undated.

SII. X. No. 617

At- Chilamkuru, Cuddapah Dist.

1. *. bu[pe]*
2. *[vi]kramā[di]*

3. *tya* [bē] .
4. *tya* . *rāju*
5. *prathamapri-*
6. *ya pu-*
7. *trunru icci*
8. *na kṣētram̄bu*
9. . . . *sa*
10. *pu* . . .
11. *saṭiraṭṭa*
12. *kudiki* .
13. *mukara* .
14. [pa]tteḷu .
15. *vāru* [ada]
16. *giyusa*
17. *vakram̄buvaccu-*
18. *vāru nāya-* .
19. *nda Vāraṇāsi*
20. *vēvurānu*
21. [vēyi] *dēva* .
22. . [guḷu]
23. . *nu lacci*
24. *vanru* [pendu]

Refers to a gift of land by the eldest dear son of Vikramāditya and contains an imprecation.

No. 75

Undated.

SII. X. No. 621

At- Chinnatippasamudramu, Chittor Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī Gaṇḍamaykali-*
2. *yya maganru . culpa[ti]*
3. *maganru Goccicopatiya*
4. *kayambuna poḍicci viru-*
5. *ga* . . [hi]paḍi *Intra lō-*
6. *kamb=ēge*

TRANSLATION

Hail! The son of culpati, (who is) the son of Sri Gaṇḍamaykaliyya (Gandamalikavya ?) fought in the battle of Goccicopatiya . . .fell and went to the world of Indra.

No. 76

Undated.

SII. X. No. 622

At- Madanapalle, Chittor Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī Mahārājula dha[r]mmuzuna brāhmaṇuḥ
2. Ve . ki[pā]ra candrādityunru pasulaku
3. [po]ḍici erāsi [vī]-
4. ralōkam[bu]
5. saniye
- 6-7. . . .

TRANSLATION

Hail! Candrāditya, the brahmin of Ve . ki fought for (the sake of) the cattle given as gift to the brahmins by the illustrious king, and went to the world of heroes.

No. 77

Undated.

SII. X. No. 623

At- Bisinikonda, Chittor Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī lōṅkuḷa . . .
2. ḷki kumbandu kala celvu . . .
3. . [ppa]na [pe]ggedaḷ Ādityana
4. prabhugaḷa goṣṭi [bi]rakayi[lō]
5. . . vikramarāmanamaḷuvakkadhū-
6. [r]ttan a . nabaladakaya lo-
7. ṅkuḷa prākāra . Mavumaḍuvuka-
8. yyambuḷōna ēnugu taṅki
9. poḍici paḍiye[n]

The inscription refers to the lōṅkuḷa family, and a discussion (goṣṭhi) between the minister Āditya, and the king.

States that a certain person attacked an elephant in the battle of Mavumaḍuvu (i.e. Mudumaḍuvu), and having fought with it fell.

No. 78

Undated.

SII. X. No. 624

At- Chippili, Chittor Dist.

1. . . . dañcakere
2. [yu]ttu sūragati naḍaci
3. amaralōkamb=ēnge.

TRANSLATION

... dancakere yuṭṭu walked (i.e. fought) after the manner of the warriors and went to Heaven.

No. 79

Undated.

SII. X. No. 625

At- Kurubalakota, Chittor Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī Gaṇḍa[se]ṅkali-*
2. *nru sōlapariyya-*
3. *na pallalo sembali*
4. *na sōluḷa ca*
5. . . . macu

Mentions a certain Gaṇḍaseṅkali.

No. 80

Undated

SII. X. No. 626

At- Kurubalakota, Chittor Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī Gaṇḍasa[ṅka]liyya*
2. *maṇḍi Koḷanaḍippi Bī-*
3. *reya Vallesappa yēḷuvāṅru*
4. *Sōḍulatōḍa poḍicci vīralō-*
5. *kamb=ēge*

TRANSLATION

Hail! Koḷanaḍippi Bīreya, ruler of Vallesappa, (and) younger brother-in-law of Sri Gaṇḍasaṅkaliyya fought with the Cōḍas and went to the world of heroes.

No. 81

Undated.

SII. X. No. 627

At- Gollapalli, Chittor Dist.

FIRST FACE

1. *Svasti Śrī Pōrirā[ju]*
2. *la ē . vilō[gō]yu*
3. *Ḷēmaṇḍa eḷapi . . .*
4. *ni poṭṭuna . . . dāniko*
5. *ḷisā . nape . . rāju*
6. . . . na panasa
7. *ci[ra]kullu . . [ve]ṭṭiri*
- 8 to 10. . . .

SECOND FACE

11. [va]kra[m̃]buvacuvānru
12. Bharanasi padunrru .
13. salā campinavanru
14. pādiga . niluvurēlu
15. canda . [vra] . . . luba
16. Ma[ha]ḷa dārunru
17. kroce.

Refers to a certain Pōrirāju and the grant of a pannasa.

ll. 11-13. He who obstructs this incurs the sin of killing ten (cows ?) at Benares.

ll. 16-17. Mahaladārunru engraved (the inscription).

No. 82

Undated

SII. X. No. 628

At- Mudivelu, Chittor Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī Candra-
2. gaṇḍa Triṇētra Vīrama-
3. hārāju pritivirājya-
- 4 m̃bu sēya Kurrama[ḍu]
5. v=ēḷuvānru [Gā]gullakā[ḍa]-
6. mma Śrī me[ddi] Sōravāḍi
7. kayyambuna poḍi-
8. ci paḍiye

TRANSLATION

Hail! While the illustrious Candraganḍa Triṇetra Vīramahārāja was ruling the earth, Śrīmeddi of Gāgullakāḍamma, ruler of Kurramaduḍu fought in the battle of Sōravāḍi and fell.

No. 83

Undated.

SII. X. No. 629

At- Mudivedu, Chittor Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī Kalivade-
2. jamunru vāri maganru
3. Śrī Vāṇakabhāru
4. maganru vōri cē-
5. ta paṭṭa[m̃] kattabaḍi-

6. *navānru Śrī Ēḷuḷa*
7. *kāla Vilmere*
8. *Sōramaḍi kayyambu-*
9. *na boḍici paḍiye*

TRANSLATION

Hail! Śrī Ēḷuḷakāla Vilmere who was anointed by the son of Śrī Vāṇakabhāru (who is) the son of Śrī Kalivadejamunru fought in the battle of Sōramaḍi and fell.

No. 84

Undated

SII. X. No. 630

At- Mūdivedu, Chittor Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī [Sē]vuṇḍūre . . .*
2. *[gonḍa] koḍuku Aribā' . menṭha cō-*
3. *la gada[si] poḍici surālayamb=ēge*

Mentions that the son of some one attacked a certain person and having fought with him went to heaven.

No. 85

Undated.

SII. X. No. 631

At-Gangireddipalli, Chittor Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī Vira-*
2. *mahārājula-*
3. *prithivi rājyañ=cē-*
4. *ya Lēmaṇḍala Śrī Jaya*
5. *mā[yi] Reseraḷu kumbala*
6. *ko[ḍu]ku Kuḷammañ=Cē-*
7. *ramaṅgalambuna to-*
8. *rru koṇṇan poḍici*
9. *pettiñci paḍiye*
10. *bī[ralō]kamb=ēge*

TRANSLATION

Hail! While the illustrious Vīramahārāja was ruling the earth, Lēmaṇḍala Śrī Jayamāyi (i.e. Śrī Jayamāi of Lēmaṇḍala) having fought with Kuḷamma, son of Reseraḷukumbala for having taken away the cattle at Cēramaṅgalambu (and) having restored them fell (in the fight), and went to the world of heroes.

No. 86

Undated.

SII. X. No. 633

At- Budidigaddepalle, Anantapur, Dist.

1. Svasti Śrī Vaṇavrōla Apimanagaṃgu kessaraju
2. n=iccina datti i ceruvuḷa vitara[tti] ve-
3. ṭanivāru Baranasiyu ceruvu kavila-
4. yun=alisinavāri [pā]pa[m]bu goṇḍru veṭaniva-
5. ru Bu[ṭe]limarammacari sēse

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! Apimanagaṃgu Kessaraju made the grant at Vaṇavrōlu. Those who do not (protect ?) these tanks will incur the sin of those who destroy Baranasi, a tank and a cow. Buṭeli-marammacari did (i.e. engraved this inscription).

No. 87

Undated.

SII. X. No. 635

At- Gudupalle, Chittor Dist.

1. Svasty=anēka-sama-
2. ra sa[m]ghaṭṭaṇōpa-
3. labdha jayalakṣmī-
4. samāliṃgita vakṣa-
5. sthala Gaṇḍa Triṇētra
6. Śrī Baydumahārāju
7. Sabbēta[vva ū]ri Me[yke]
8. ṭivinakuccava pāra-
9. cāriki iccina pannasa
10. ḷaccivānru Bāranāsi racci-
11. navāru

TRANSLATION

Hail! Gaṇḍa Triṇētra Baydumba Mahārāju, whose breast is embraced by the Goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, gave a pannasa to Meykeṭivinakuccava Pāracāri of Sabbētavva village. He who destroys (it) incurs the sin of destroying Bāranāsi.

No. 88

Undated.

SII. X. No. 637

At- Peddatippasamudram, Chittor Dist.

1. Svasti [a]nēkasamara-śaṃgaṭṭaṇ-ōpaladha jaya-
2. lakṣamī-samāliṃgita-vakṣastala [ra]triṇēṭṛṇḍu

3. *Śrī[vava]mā . [sē]nāpati Vīrāmāhārāju yagṛisutuṇḍu*
4. *nā[nda] . putr [malla]dēvu māga . . . laṅgasamagi*
5. *[Ē]lupakāla ēḷuvāṇḍu poḍici paḍiye.*

The inscription refers to a Trinētra with the usual praśasti of the Vaidumba kings and the eldest son of his commander Śrī Vīramahārāju.

l. 5 states that the ruler of Ēlupakālu fought and fell.

No. 89

Undated

SII. X. No. 640

At- Mudivedu, Chittoor Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī*
2. *Vaidumba mutturājula*
3. *[su]trōdārabuddhi[n]*
4. *[sō]magrahaṇa . . .*
- 5 to 9. . . .

10 to 17. Imprecatory verses in Sanskrit.

Refers to a Vaidumba Mutturāju (who made a grant ?) with a liberal mind on the occasion of the lunar eclipse.

No. 90

Undated

SII. X. No. 639

Tsadumu, Chittoor Dist.

1. *Svasty-anēka-samara-sa[m]gaṭṭaṇ-ōpaladda jayalakṣmī-samā-*
2. *liṅgita-vakṣasthala Manujatrinētra Śrī Baidumbamahārāju*
3. *Rēnāṇṭi ēḷuvēḷu ēḷucun[ḍi] rājusamarambu Alagi*
4. *ṇḍina*
5. *cōjalgo . . . algi*
6. *gurambu paḍigira .*
7. *ḍi talagoni koṭṭambu*
8. *Vajjirāju bala[m] bu*
9. *ōḍaṇ=galaḡici pakko . ṇ vadhi-*
10. *[mci]suralōkaṁb=eṅge*
11. *ka[llē]ga[ṇḍa] . Rāmaṇḍu taṇa . .*

Refers to Manuja Trinētra Baidumba mahārāja, with the usual praśasti of the Vaidumba kings, ruling the Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand, and a battle at Alagiṇḍi the details of which are not clear. Some one is said to have defeated and destroyed the army of Vajjirāju, and having killed Pakko...went to Heaven.

No. 91

Undated.

SII. X. No. 638

Rangasamudamu, Chittoor Dist.

1. *Svasti Śrī Kalivadeja-*
2. *muni maganru Śrī Sa[ja]ḷa*
3. *koḍuku Gaṇḍara Mutrāju*
4. *Vaidu[m]buḷa cēta[m] baṭṭa[m]kaṭṭaba-*
5. *ḍi yē[li] Kumu[ḷu] kayya[m]buna bo-*
6. *ḍici paḍiye Ḷōṅkuḷāku*

TRANSLATION

Hail! Gaṇḍara Mutrāju, son of Śrī Sajala, (who is) the son of Kalivadejama, having been anointed by the Vaidumbas and having ruled, fought with the Ḷōṅkuḷas in the battle at Kumulu and fell.

No. 92

Undated

SII. X. No. 641

Peddatippasamudramu, Chittoor Dist

1. *Svasti Śrī Mai . . .*
2. *rājula koḍuku*
3. *maganru mada[m]buri . . .*
4. *madavunru . . .*
5. *mahārājula ya . . .*
6. *poḍici paḍi[ye] . . .*
7. *kallī . . .*

States that some one fell in a battle.

No. 93

Undated

SII. X. No. 642

At- Ramanayanikota, Chittoor Dist

1. *Svasty=anēka-samara-śaṅghaṭṭōpa[labdha] jaya-*
2. *lakṣmī samāliṅgita vakṣastala Śrī Ma-*
3. *nu[jē] Trinētra Vaidumbi mahārā-*
4. *jula Va[va]harāju pritivirājya*
5. *ñ=cēya Vāṇarājupai vō[yi] [vo]ḍici rana[mu]-*
6. *[khadhātri] . kuru[reḷa]remma poḍici*
sūralōkamb=eṁ-
7. *ge . . .*

TRANSLATION

Hail! While Vavahārāju (on behalf) of the illustrious Manuja Triṇētra Vaidumba mahārāja, whose breast is embraced by the Goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, was ruling the earth, Kurureḷaremma attacked Vāṇarāju in the battle-field and went to Heaven.

No. 94

10th C. A.D.

JAHRS. I. pp. 81-85

At- Gurindagūnta, Kistna Dist.

1. *Svasti Rimaraju noguna Sudrakuṇḍu gnrindagūṇṭa*
2. *raṭṭoḍaki enu rukalu*
3. *nalva cimmanaku drammanu Remiyaku drammanu*
4. *Devanojjalaku mūṇḍu drammanulu Darapaku drammanu*
5. *siddhāyabu Dakiri srīslaku bandumu vadḷa paṭṭu*
6. *nalvaru pannasa karura [pacu] varu*
7. *raṭṭoḍlu nevvandēni rakṣincu-vanida dharmavu*

TRANSLATION

Hail! To the merit of king Rima, Sudraka (made the gifts). To the headman of Gurindagunta five rukas, to Nalva Cimmana one drammanu, to Remiya one, to the temple priests three dramma to darapa one—as 'free' income to the Lakshmi temple of Dakiri, land which can be sown with ten tumus of grain, this pannasa tenure shall be enjoyed free from obstacles. Whoever among the village headman will portect this gift will be the actual donor of it.

No. 95

Undated

SII. X. No. 608

At- Kalamalla, Cuddapah Dist.

1. *Śrī Bhāradvāja gōtrasya [prapē] Rē-*
2. *cupa sarmmasya putra [ḥ] Rēvaśarmmasya ḡuḍi*

The temple of Rēvaśarmma, son of Rēcupaśarmma of Bhāradvāja gōtra.

No. 96

Undated

SII. VI. No. 593

At- Chejarla, Guntur Dist.

1. . . .
2. . . . [na] la

3. . . . *yu [mā]ki pōṭiyu a[ya]*
4. . . . *[Dē]vanayu dēvana kūntul iruvuru.*
5. *Dugganāyu Bādipōṭiyu Lōkammayu anyatha*
6. *lokamma yanna mḷēkavaruvuḍu okko mōdolu*
7. *rana candruṅḍ-anvāṅḍu ācāriyu idam*
8. *Viṣamasiddhi dattam[|*] dīniki Vakkrāmburaccuvāriki*
9. *Bhāranāsi ḷaccina [ca]ṅṅku gaṭṭun [|*]*

No. 97

Undated

SII. V. No. 58

At- Bhimavaram, Godavary Dist.

FIRST FACE

1. *Kēdārarāsi paṅḍitu*
2. *lakum brahmahatya śra[pi]-*
3. *ṅci poḍici koṅi caccina*
4. *candrarāsi[bha]ṭārāla rūpu*

SECOND FACE

5. *svasti Rudra [ṅḍārrka]*
6. *di śrī*
7. *[mō]ju Bhīmavro-*
8. *li*
9. *hōrāju vi[ḍci]*
10. *[na] sthiti ḍāguṅṅu mḍugadu [jē]*
11. *ṭiyu [ve]ṭṭiyum gona*
12. *kunḍa sariyiṅcēdi*
13. *[ni]ndeppi cēsinaṅḍu*
14. *pañcamahāpatakāmbu*
15. *[sē]sinavāṅḍu Bāranā*
16. *si[vaccina]vāṅḍu ||*

No. 98

Undated

SII. V. No. 1128

At- Mukhalingam, Ganjam Dist.

1. *Svasti śrī [|*] Paṭṭapināmtti visi-*
2. *Kurikiparuṅḍu maṭamva vē[yu]*
3. *ratō konipō[yeṅka śrī jē] namaha*
4. *stadhavalu nrpatu dhanrāsi mi-*
5. *ccinaṅḍu [|*]*

ADDITIONAL DATED INSCRIPTIONS

No. 99

700 A.D.

EI. XXX. pp. 69-71

At- Kotturu, Anantapur Dist.

1. *Svasti [1] Śrī-Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrī-Pṛthuvīval-
mahārājā-dhirāja-paramēśvara-*
2. *bhaṭāraḷa-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarambu nālugu varittamānam-
bugānu vāṇarājul vaṅganūr-vviṣaya[m]bu ēḷa[n]*
3. *cappiḷē[nru]-rājula samakṣambuna pūllamukki Bōḷakaṇa-
mayāru Peṇukaparuti-pule[m]buna rā[ca]...*
4. *ē[mbha]di ma...pannāsa rājaśrāvitaṁ kāviñci icciri [1*]
Bhāradvāja-Sagōtra[m]buna uñca...*
5. *Kumāraśa[rmma]riki udaka-pūrvva[nkēsi] icciri [i] bhōga
vṛddhi-kā[mani] enragotttu konrūri mu...*
6. *korunā[rḷu] inu[vū]ri [sā]kṣi gānu iccinadi [||] dēniki
vakra[m]bu vaccuvāru pañca mahāpāta...*
7. *ka[ngāde]peḍuñku pū...di [||] imprecatory verse in Skt.*
8. *vipra[si]...tu...ka[ñca]gārlu koṭṭiri.*

During the fourth regnal year of the reign of Śrī Pṛthuvīval-
labha mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, (at
that time) while Vāṇarāja was ruling the Vaṅganūr viṣaya, Pūl-
lamukki Bōḷakaṇamayāru made a grant of eighty units of land in
Peṇukaparuti to Kumāraśarmma of the Bhāradvāja gōtra after an
announcement of the royal order (to this effect) and in the pre-
sence of Cappiḷēnru.

The inscription also refers to names of witnesses and of
another who is said to have engraved it.

No. 100

Middle of 10th C.

Bharati March 1967, pp. 10-17

At- Gangadharam,
Karimnagar Dist.

After a passage in Kannada.

- 1.9. *jina bhavanambul ettimcuṭa jinapūjal sēyuc-unki jinamunula-
kun-attina yannadānamb-ivutaṁ jinavallabhu bōlaṁgalare*
- 1.10. *jinadharmmaparul [1*||] dinakarusari velgudum-ani jina-val-
labhu-eṭtu nettujitakavinananu manujul-galarē dhātriṁ vinit-
iccudunaniya vṛttaviḷbudha kavīndrul [2*||] okkoka guṇ-
ambu kalgudur-okkaṇḍani gāk-okkalakkalēv-evvarikiṁ lek-
kimpan-okka lakkaku mikkili guṇapakṣapāti guṇamaṇi
guṇambul [3*||].*

Then again follows a Kannada passage.

WORD INDEX

(The first number indicates the serial number of the inscription in the text, and the second number the line.)

A

- akun 9-4, will become, aor. 3. sg. of aku- agu- to become, > agun 30-4, 31-4, agu 6-8, 7-7, 16-17, 22; 24-26, 26-29, 31, 35-12: agun 13-7, 19-6, 39-2, 45-4, 47-10, 49-7 aor. part. > ann in ann-ēṅṅi 10-3, ann-ēṅtan 11-5; -g- > -v- : avun 63-7; ayi 18-8, pp., > ai 37-8, 15 etc.
- ayina 18-6, other forms: ayna 37-3, 4, 6, 44-2, 6, 8, 68: aina 39-7, 44-32 d.pp.; aynanu 47-34 even then, (-nu conj. suff.).
- ayin 49-8 mistake for ayven, became, past 3 sg. ayinavānru 12-4 pp.m.sg., derives adjectives from nouns e.g. uttamōttamunṛ-ayinavānru
- kāka 38-10 not being, neg. part. of agu
- kāna 38-36, 44-35 therefore
- kānu 2-3, 9, 10-10, 12-5, 10, 13-15, 14-18, 18-5, 47-14, 16, 50-5 so as to be, infin. of agu, kān 48-2.
- akhilunḍu 36-3 the mighty one, adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- agaṅitadānāsanunḍu 36-6 adj.s.m.sg.nom. one respected for his numerous gifts (SLW).
- agṛi sutunḍu 88-3 eldest son, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- Aggisarmāriki 28-18, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
- Acalapuramu 39-9, s.pr.n.sg.nom.
- acalitunḍu 39-9, the strong one, adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW).
- Accakurravaniyu 25-12, s.pr.m.sg.gen. + u conj. suff.
- atlu 38-41, 4-14, in that manner, adv.
- adavi 39-5, forest, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
- aḍugu aḍugu 16-15, 30-5, at every step, often, adv. Later Tel. aḍug-aḍugunānu > aḍug-aḍugunā
- aṅapotulu 9-2, officer, s.m.pl. (hon.) nom. (SLW)
- Annarāpuli vāmbuḷu 26-11, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Atiśaya raṅṅakūṭṭa 8-2, proper name.
- Atiśaya raṅṅaguḷḷu 22-17, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

- aditya grihaṃbu 60-*, mistake for āditya-, temple for Sun God, s.n.sg.nom.
- adhagharāṇḍu 36-5, adj. (SLW)
- anaghunḍu 38-25, the sinless one, adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- Anantaśōbhulu 51-13, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- anavadya vikhyāta kīrtti 38-3, one of established spotless fame, adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- ani 37-7, 8, having said, adv.pp. of anu — to say
 anu 39-7, aor.part. of anu — to say as is en-vānru 16-9 aor. part. noun.
 anvānru 29-, aor.part. noun, m.sg.; anvāru 17-5, pl.
 annan 38-27 (= aninan), ānantaryārthaka
- Aniganga raṭṭaguḍḍu 33-10, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- anubhaviṃcucu 44-28, enjoying, adv.pp. of anubhaviṃcu — to enjoy
- anēkaguṇaguṇālamkrita samasta mahimaṇḍala prakāśita kīrtti (39-3), mistake for — mahīmaṇḍala-, one adorned by numerous good qualities and whose fame illumined the whole earth, adj.
- anēka vastu vāhanotsavambul 44-55, many things and pleasures, s.n.pl. nom.
- anēka — samara — saṅghaṭṭan — ōpalabdha (vi) jaya — lakshmi—samāliṅgita (viśāla) vakṣasthala—whose broad chest was embraced by the Goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles. Praśasti of the Vaidumba kings; occurs with some minor variations in spelling in the following inscrr. Nos. 40, 41, 46, 49, 50, 87, 88, 90, 93.
- anēka — samsara — saṅghaṭṭana bhujāsi bhāsuruṇḍai 44-50, shining with the sword in hand used in several conflicts of battles. -bhāsuruṇḍu + ai < ayi pp. of agu — to become.
- anna 44-57, elder brother, s.m.sg.nom.
- Annarāpulivāmbulu 26-11, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- anniyāmbu voḍicinavanru 73-3, mistake for -voḍicinavānru, he who does injustice, pp.n.3.sg. of anniyāmbu voḍucu
- anniyu 10-24, all, adj. + u conj. suff.
- Annuvayan 15-4, s.pr.m.sg.acc. annuvayan -cēsi will also yield the sense of 'setting it right'.
- anṛitaripubaluṇḍu, 36-4, strong against the enemy of untruth, adj. s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- anvayambunavāru 11-13, descendants, s.m.pl.nom. (SLW)
- apayajanuvakola 25-15, s.pr.m.sg.gen.

- Apimana gaṃgu Kessaraju niccina datti 86-1, the gift made by
Apimanagaṃgu Kessaraju
- Apimana goravalaku 61-7, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
goravalu = śaiva mendicants, cf. goragalu 38-10, -v-/-g-
Abhinutācariyu 50-9, mistake for Abhinutācāriyu, s.pr.m.s.
nom. + u conj.suff.
- amaraṃga 38-42, fittingly, adv.
- amaralōkamb-ēṅge 78-3, went to the world of immortals, past 3.sg.
of amaralōkamb-ēṅgu. cf. ūr-ēgu (later Tel.), sukhaṃb-uṇḍu
(Nannaya), etc.
- amita tējuṇḍu 30-44, one of great power, adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- amma 28-10, mother, s.f.sg.nom.
- Amḷutalālu 26-17, (= Amṛtalālu ?), s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- aṃgambunan 50-13, in the organ, in the act, s.n.sg.loc. (SLW)
- Aṃgarayyayu 52-13, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
- Ayōgyāsiṃghāsanuṇḍu 36-5, mistake for Ayōdhyāsiṃghāsanuṇḍu,
occupant of the throne of Ayōdhya. adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- Ayyapayyayu 37-4, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
- Ayyaparāju tammuṇḍu 39-11, brother of Ayyaparāju, s.m.sg.nom.
- Aylama pergedalun 37-5, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom. + un conj.suff.
- Aravaḷamahā . . . 67-2, proper name
- Arahanandi bhaṭāralu 46-2, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Arahanta bhaṭāralāku 11-10, to Arahanta bhaṭāra, Buddhist or
Jain God or medicant
- Aribha . menṭha 84-2, proper name
- aṛiyu 25-3, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
- Arivarajamunṛu 29-3. proper name, literally "Death to powerful
enemies" s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- arivāṇambu 61-11, income
- ari veṭṭi 44-66, having paid the tax, pp. of ari veṭṭu.
- aruhuṇḍ-ai 44-42, having become fit, adv.pp.
- arttin 38-7, with desire, adv.pp.
- arddha rājyaṃbu sēyucunna 44-15, while ruling half the kingdom
- armmapūṇṇama nāṇḍu 10-3, on the day of ambā (= Gaurī)
pūrṇima, s.n.sg.nom.
- Aruturēvullaya Haśvaṃpuṇḍu 61-18, proper name.
- aṛuvadinalugu 50-15, sixty four, num.adj.
- Artirēvula 48-3, s.pr.n.sg.gen. Identified with Attirāla in the
Rajampet taluk, Cuddapah dist.
- ala (39-5) in prasiddhārtha
- Alagiṇḍina (90-23) place name, s.pr.n.sg.loc.

Alaghucinta (28-76) place name.

aliyan 38-18, forcibly, infin. of alayu — to be wearied

Aḷamkāriyaripuliyu, 50-12, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

Aḷugurālanvāru 17-5, he who is called Aḷugurālu, s.m.pl.(hon.)
nom.

aśvamēdhambu phalambu 38-19, the merit of performing a horse
sacrifice; aśvamēdambu palambu 35-11. aśvamēdhambunā
palambu 16-16, (the first member of the compound is in the
loc. case); aśvamēdambuna pallambu 30-5, mistake for -pha-
lambu, cf. anvayambunavāru 11-3.

aṣṭamiyu 47-11, the eighth day (in lunar month), s.n.sg.nom. +
-u conj.

asaḍha suddha 7 guruvarambugān 48-2, mistake for āṣāḍha śuddha-
on Thursday, the seventh day of the dark fortnight of (the
month of) āṣāḍha

Asivairuvu 7-8, 9-5, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

astaprāptāmb-ayna 44-7, = hastapraptamb-ayna, that (which) has
come into possession,

ahitambu cintiñcuvāru 11-5, those that think ill, aor.p.n.pl.

Alikālā ūriṇḍavāru 1-9, people of the village of Alikālā. ūriṇḍa-
vāru = ūrivāru

aḷinām janaduyi 44-70, "

aḷipuṭa 38-35, causing destruction, verbal noun, √aḷi- to destroy.

aḷisina 38-20, d.pp.; aḷisina . . . 52-23.

aḷisinaṅḍu 47-29, 50-5, 52-22, pp.n.m.sg.

aḷisinaṅḍu 48-5, 66-3; pl.; aḷisinaṅḍu 86-4, pl.gen.

Forms from the same root with ḷ initial (by metathesis);
ḷassi 38-14, d.pp.

ḷaccina 16-21, d.pp.; ḷacina 73-6, mistake for ḷaccina; ḷaccina
vānru 7-6, 9-2 pp.n., sg.; ḷacinavaṅḍu 26-28; mistake for
ḷaccinaṅḍu; ḷaccinaṅḍu 87-10, mistake for ḷaccinaṅḍu;
ḷacci . vānru 74-23, = ḷaccinaṅḍu; ḷacinavaṅḍu 54-7, mistake
for ḷaccinaṅḍu; ḷaccinaṅḍu 50-6, mistake for ḷaccinaṅḍu;
ḷaccinaṅḍu 87-10, mistake for ḷaccinaṅḍu; ḷaccinaṅḍu
16-18, pp.n., m.sg.dat. ḷaccinaṅḍu (87-10), mistake for ḷacci-
naṅḍu.

ḷaccinaṅḍu 19-12, 30-4, aor.p.n., sg.nom.; ḷaccinaṅḍu 69-19, mis-
take for ḷaccinaṅḍu; ḷaccinaṅḍu 23-21; ḷaccu . . . 22-21; ḷaccu-
varu 20-12, mistake for ḷaccinaṅḍu, pl.nom.

ā 50-10, that, adj. denoting remoteness, shortened form a (as in a-b-Bāranāsi 38-12).

ācandra-tāra-purassaram 18-4, as long as the moon and stars exist, adv.

ācandradararkambu 22-13, mistake for ācandratārārkaṃbu, as long as the moon, stars and sun exist.

ācandrādirru 23-22, mistake for ācandrādityunru, as long as the moon and sun exist.

ājilōn 39-7, in battle, s.n.sg.loc. (SLW).

ājeviyantayēniyu 43-4, even as much as the ear of a cow, i.e. even a small amount.

āḍuvaru 25-6, mistake for āḍuvāru, those who speak, aor. p.n., pl.

āḍlu paṭṭu 20-8, (land) sowable with āḍlu (a variety of paddy); aḍlu paṭṭu 35-10, mistake for āḍlu-. The first constituent may be in the oblique case as in the following instances:

aḍla paṭṭu 10-29, 33, 53-6, mistake for āḍla-, aḍra paṭṭu 21-4, mistake for āḍla-; -ḍ- < -r-; āṛla paṭṭu 10-7, 16-10, 34-4; āṛla paṭṭu 34-8, mistake of āṛla paṭṭu; āṛla paṭṭu 11-12.

āṇatigānu 13-15, as executor, āṇati + kānu infin. of agu; aṇati 48-7, mistake for āṇati (SLW).

āṇḍu 13-7, year, > ēṇḍu (See ēṇḍu).

ātani 36-11, 44-53, 55, his dem.pron. 3. sg.m.gen.

ātmānmatambunan 37-7 by his own will, s.ng.sg.instr. for ātmānmatambunan.

ādamāneṇḍunu 52-11, half a māna (a kind of measure), s.n.sg. nom. + -nu conj.suff.

ādiga 44-13, beginning with, adv.

Ādityana prabhugaḷa 77-3, of the chief Āditya, s.m.pl. (hon.) gen. The gen. suffixes -na, -gaḷa indicate Kan. influence.

ādityavarambu nāṇḍu 47-11, on Sunday, s.n.sg.nom.

āyambu 10-1, income, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW).

āru 11-12, six, num.adj.

āṛla paṭṭu. See āḍlu paṭṭu.

Ālakumara priyatanayimru 18-6, the dear son of Ālakumara, s.m.sg.nom.

āli 50-14, wife s s.f.sg.gen. Later Tel. āli (with l < !); ālini 50-13, acc.

Ālubāpaṣiṇḍi mire 23-25, name of engraver, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

I

- i 17-1, 31-3, 33-4, 38-14,25, 44-72, 53-3, 60-9, 64-16, shortened form of *ī*, dem. adj.prox.; 37-15, 47-31, 86-2 mistake for *ī*
- icca 38-27, wish, desire, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
- icci 10-10, 28-13, having given, adv. pp. of iccu — to give, icci 25-4, mistakes for icciri?
- iccina 2-4,9,12; 6-3,5; 7-3, 9-2, 14-12, 20-4, 23-14, 24-9, 25-2, 28-19, 30-2, 35-10, 44-50, 52-21, 61-8, 68-3, 69-16, 74-7, 86-2, 87-9, d.pp.
- iccina 60-12
- icina 52-8, 54-2, 72-3, mistake for iccina
- iccinadi 13-16, 34-3, 53-7, 60-9, pp.n.3.sg.n.
- iccinavānru 43-5, pp.n.3.sg.m.
- icciri 10-9, 11-10, 19-12, 24-13, 26-16, 31-3, 48-4, 48-7, 51-2, 63-10, 66-8, 68-3, they gave, past.3.pl
- icce 16-13, 47-18, gave, past.3.sg.
- iccuvaru 52-12, mistake for iccuvāru, aor.part.n.pl.
- iḍḍa 43-1, that was placed, = iḍina, d.pp. of iḍu — to place
- iḍḍaṭṭugā 38-41, like having placed, adv.
- idi 65-22, this, pron.prox.dem.n.sg.
- Intralōkambu 75-5, the world of Indra, s.n.sg.nom. Intra -- for Indra —
- indu 38-11,26; 44-73, in this place, adv.
- indula 66-10, of this place, s.n.sg.gen.
- induluna kampunaku 33-7, mistake for induluna kāmpunaku, to the farmer of this place, genitive compound with the first member in the loc. case, cf. aśvamēdhambuna phalambu (16-16), anvayambunavāru (11-3)
- innelava 38-25, this very place, *ī*+nelavu (= place, residence) + a emphatic.
- Inpuḷōli 9-1, of Inpuḷōlu, place name, puḷōlu > prōlu in later Tel.
- Inmaḷūri 34-6, s.pr.n.sg.gen.
- Immaḍi Īto 24-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- iyyūri 60-9, of this village, s.n.sg.gen.
- iravadivadi yādi nālku 2-13, twenty four, num.adj.
- irugaṇḍugu 2-13, two gaṇḍus (i.e. a kind of measure of paddy)
- Irupadiyadi ēnu 69-10, twenty five, num.adj.
- irubādi mūmḍu 51-5, twenty three, num.adj.
- irubhadi ēṇḍu, 19-5, twenty seventh, ordinal num.
- iruvādi reṇḍu 28-3, twenty two, num.adj.

iruvuṭṭi 10-29, two puṭṭis

irḷakāveruguvāru 17-2, those who know that it is like this, i.e. witnesses = iṭlukā + eruguvāru

irḷakānu 10-10, r seems to be a mistake here for ṭ, iṭlakānu < iṭlu in this manner + a emphatic + kān. infin. of agu., adv.

ilupāḍunun 54-3, house-site, s.n.sg.nom. + nun conj.suff.

Īserēnikin 9-3, name of donee, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

iṣṭhaviṣayakāmabhōgāmbul-anubhaviṃcucu 44-26, enjoying pleasures at will, pres.part.

Isānaśivulu 47-32, mistake for Īsānaśivulu, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) .nom.

ī 10-29, 20-12, 37-5, 38-33, 39-12, 47-22, 50-6, this, prox.dem.adj., shortened form is i.

Īnteddivāḍi Erigallu mutturāju (23-5), s.pr.m.sg.nom.

īsānāmbuna 39-12, on the north-east, s.n.sg.loc.

Īsvarunakun 37-3, to God Īsvara, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

Īsvarunāku 26-13, name of donee.

U

Ujēnīpiśāca nāmadhēyimṛu 18-7, he who is called Ujēnīpiśāca, note the vowel i for u in the word nāmadhēyimṛu which seems to indicate the pronunciation in the colloquial language.

uḍice 39-7, dispelled, past 3.sg. of uḍucu

uḍuvāru 38-11, those who will remain, aor.p.n., 3.pl. of uḍu — to remain

uḍuvānṛu 14-30, 3.sg.

-uḍi 38-22, ablative case suffix, pp.

uḍḍelu Ujjayini 23-12, s.pr.n.sg.nom. (loc.sense)

Uttamāditya Cōḷa mahārāju 24-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

uttamōttamunṛu 12-4, the noblest of the noble

uttarabu kaṭṭu 28-16, northern boundary,

uttarambuna 10-6, on the northern side, loc.; uttarambuna 47-16, 60-10.

uttarāyana samkrānti 39-2, the northern solastice, (SLW); uttarāyana samkrānti 63-10.

uttarōttarābhivridhhi 52-5, increasing prosperity, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

upakārambunakun 44-28, for the help, s.n.sg.dat. (SLW)

upēkṣimcinā 38-20, if (they) neglect, conditional form of the verb upēkṣimcu — to neglect, < upēkṣincinān

Uppadula 70-4, place name, s.pr.n.sg.loc.

Urupenakālu 30-3, s.pr.m.sg. (hon.) nom.

Uruvuṭūri 20-10, s.pr.n.sg.gen.

Ūru 25-24, village, s.n.sg.nom.

ūra 22-2, loc.

ūri 25-4-8; 60-9, 87-7, gen.

ūriṇḍavāru 1-10, = ūrivāru ?

ūrivāru 25-1, people of the village

ūrisvāmuḷ 25-2, elders of the village

ūḍḷandu 10-29, in the villages, pl.loc.

ūrḷu 14-23, mistake for ūrḷu, villages.

E

ekaḷu 16-19, mistake for ēkālamu ? always.

ekki 39-6, having climbed, pp. of ekku — to climb

eḡarina 39-5, that rose against, d.pp. of eḡaru

eṇumbodi 10-3,7, eight, num.adj., another form eṇbodi 11-5.

enubodi 35-10, eighty, num.adj. -n < -ṇ-

etticce 39-9, mistake for ettiṁce,

ettiṁce 38-27, caused to be erected,

ettiṁcen 38-42, past 3.sg. of —

ettiṁcu — to cause to erect

ettiṁciri 65-14

edarayna 40-5, that came in front, that opposed, d.pp. of eduragu

— to come in front

eni 37-2, = ena ? equal

enubodi 35-10, eighty

envānṛu, (in Bādirāj-envānṛu) (16-9) he who is called (Bādirāju).

aor.p.n., m.sg.

emmekāla 41-6, mistake for emmelan ? in sports, cf. later Tel.

emmekāḍu

Emmuduru 70-3, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

Eyarakallu kuḷagaṭṭuḷu 24-14, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.).nom. The first member is probably same as Erikal.

eragadyāṇambu 44-64, a kind of coin, s.n.sg.nom.

erāsi 76-3, mistake for merāsi ? having shone,

Erikal muturāju 69-12, the eldest prince (after the yuvarāja) of Erikal. mutu 'old' cf. mudimi 'old age', mudusali 'old person'. c. Tam. muttaraiyar, Kan. muttarasa. Erikal (> Erigal) is the name of territory identified with the region of Niḍugal in the Puvagada taluk, Tumkur dist. (EI. 27-p. 222). Occurs as first member in the descriptive compounds like Erikal mutturāju, Erigal dugarāju (see below).

Erikal mutturājulla 2-1, pl.(hon.).gen.

- Erikal muturāju 8-1, pl. (hon.) .nom.
 Erikal mutturājuṛla 6-2, pl. (hon.) .gen.
 Erigal dugarājuḷ (7-3), the crown prince of Erigal, s.m.pl. (hon.) .nom.
 Ergal tugarājuṛla (6-2), Erigal < Erikal, tugarāju > dugarāju
- Eriya mādavayyayu 52-14, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
 eruganu 38-32, so as to know, adv.
 eruguvāru 17-13, aor.p.n.; ēveruguvāru 10-10, those who know which, ē interrogative adj. = dēnini
 erunga 39-6, 39-8, so as to be known, infin. Note the spelling of ṛ and r in the same word.
- Erakunu 52-25, proper name? + nu conj.suff.
 Erama 24-28, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Erracamu . yayu 52-16 s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
 Erravummayunu 52-18, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
 Elammayu 52-16, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
- ella 38-37, 47-18, entire, whole
 ellan 44-12, 33, 42
 ellan 39-6, used for ellaru, all persons.
 ellā 50-5, final long vowel due to compensatory lengthening for loss of druta n. < ellan.
- evvaraiyumu 11-14, whoever it be, interr.pron. evvaru + aiyumu, ai < ayi, pp. of agu, -umu, conj.suff. original m in the conj. suff. retained here, otherwise m > n.
- eḷupārḷa 22-9, of the seven brahmins, s.m.pl.gen. (dat. sense?).
 ē 10-10, which, interr. adj.
- ēge 75-6, 80-5, 84-3, 85-10, went.
 ēnge 78-3, 90-10; ēmge 93-7, past 3 sg. of ē (m) gu 'to go'. Note the loss of preconsonantal nasal, in the above.
- ēṭi 19-6, of the year, s.n.sg.gen. All other forms of this word preserve the nasal.
 ēṅṭi 10-3, 47-10, 482, 63-1; ēṅṭhi with spontaneous aspiration.
 ēṅṭa 45-4, loc.; ēṅṭan 11-5,
 ēṅḍu 35-3, 49-7, nom. < āṅḍu 13-7. cf. Tam. āṅḍu year, āru 'river', āḷ 'to rule', ānai 'elephant'—Tel. ēru, ēlu, ēnūgu.
- ēni 20-13, 25-4, 26-26, 34-10, 44-49, conditional particle.
 -ēniyu 43-4, 44-71, with the conj.suff. -u.
- ēbadi 6-4, fifty, num.adj.; ēbhadi 8-3; ēbhādi 28-15; ēmbadiye 12-11, e may be emphatic particle, if so the only occurrence of

its kind in OT, the regular emphatic particle being a. The nasal is preserved in this form.

ēmi 44-33, what, interr.pron.ntr.

ēmi cēsiniadiyu 25-5, whatever is done.

Ēruvaviṣayambu 18-8, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

ēḷan 1-5, 7-2, 9-1, 18-8, 22-4,8, while ruling, infin. of ēḷu — to rule (cf. Tam. āḷ) absolute construction; ēḷa 6-2, 23-5, 8.

ēḷimḡā 65-11, mistake for ēḷarṅā, while ruling.

ēḷina 22-4, 8; 40-8, d.pp.

ēḷucu 12-5, 26-11, 28-7, pres. part.;

ēḷucun 40-3.

ēḷucunṛi 14-9, mistake for ēḷucunḍi, pres. perfect participle.

ēḷuvānṛu 80-3, 82-5, he who rules, aor.p.n., m.sg. ēḷuvāṅḍu 88-5.

ēḷuvāri 51-7, aor.p.n., pl. (hon.) gen.; ēḷuvari 70-3, mistake for ēḷuvāri.

ḷ of $\sqrt{\text{ēḷu}} > \text{ḷ}$ in the following instances;

ēḷa 61-6, 62-5, infin.;

ēḷi 91-5, pp.

ēḷu 39-5, aor. part.

ēḷuvāru 38-30, aor.p.n.; ēḷeḍuvāra 38-39, = ēḷeḍuvāru aor.part. + a emphatic particle; ēḷē 25-5, 6 (< ēḷeḍa/ēḷeḍi by dropping the final syllable with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel).

Ēḷupakāla 88-5, place name, s.pr.n.sg.acc.

ēḷēri 89-8.

ēḷuvēla 14-8, seven thousand, num.adj. acc. ēḷuvēḷum 40-3, with -um conj.suff, ēḷuvēḷun 62-5, 65-10, with -un conj.suff. ēḷuvēḷun 61-5, mistake for ēḷu- ēḷuvēḷu 90-3, nom., ḷ < ḷ.

O

oka 44-24, one, num.adj.; okko 60-11, okāḍu 17-2, one person, num. appell.noun.; okkoḍu 50-13, 14.

oṭṭu 38-14, oath, injunction, s.n.sg.nom.

oṅḍu 38-24, 31, another, num. noun.

orulu 38-10, others, num.appell.noun.

oḍabaḍi 35-45, having agreed, pp. of oḍabaḍu.

oḍicina 39-6, that defeated, d.pp. of oḍucu — to defeat.

oppaga 35-3, so as to be fit, adv.

ōḍan 90-9, so as to run away, infin. of ōḍu — to run
 ōpaka (in kāvan -ōpaka) 44-72, neg.part. cf. ōpu, to be able
 ōm 18-1, used at the beginning of the inscr. as an auspicious sign.

K

Kaṅguḷūnru 23-8, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

Kacēru pāla 24-27, mistake for Kacēru pāra, the brahmin of (the
 village of) Kacēru

Kaccarlu 31-3, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

Kaṅcagārlu, Kotturu inscr. l. 8 s.pr.m.pl. with two honorific end-
 ings -gāru, lu.

kaṭṭi 44-10, having tied, built, adv.pp. of kaṭṭu — to tie.

kaṭṭina 35-3, 38-17, 50-2, d.pp.

kaṭṭinan 66-8.

kaṭṭinci 35-4, adv.pp. of kaṭṭincu — to cause to build

kaṭṭimcen 38-40, past 3. sg.

kaṭṭu 28-17, boundary, limit.

Kaṭṭepu durggambu 34-7, the fort of Kaṭṭemu, s.n.sg.nom.

Kaḍandala Iśaraya 27-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Kaḍapa paṅrentilōni 48-4, the twelve villages or divisions of Kaḍapa
 Mdn. Cuddapah.

kaḍān 31-2, near, adv.

kaḍu 35-7, much, adv.

Kaḍuvamḍlula 20-3, s.pr.n.sg.gen. (loc. sense).

Kaḍeyagāri 37-6, mistake for kāḍeyagāri, s.pr.m.sg. (hon.) gen.

kani 40-2, having seen, pp. of kaṅ — to see, > kani 38-21.

Kaṅṭhiyan 44-10, neck ornament, s.n.sg.acc.

kaṅḍa poṭuna 71-5, some fight? loc.

Kaṅḍukur 35-8, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

kadapinanu 50-14, 14, if moved, if distress is caused, conditiona
 form of verb kadapu- to move (trans.).

Kadaladēvani 54-2, s.pr.m.sg.gen.

kadasi 84-2, having met, pp. of kadiyu — to meet.

kani 38-21, having seen, pp. of kanu — to see.

Kannara ballahuniki 44-6, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

Kannarā bhūpati vennu 39-6, the back of king Kannarā.

kappaḍambu 66-8, a kind of tax?

kabbada Kēsiyanna 50-9, s.pr.m.sg.nom., the gen. form.

kabbada shows Kannada influence.

kammari 13-21, blacksmith, s.m.s.nom.

- kayyāmbuna 40-3, 41-9, 53-4, 82-7, 73-8, 91-5, in the fight;
kayambuna 75-4, mistake for kayyambuna; kayyambulōna 77-7,
s.n.sg.loc.
- karanammuna Paṇḍaramṅunu 37-5, Paṇḍaramṅu, the karaṇamu
(i.e. an officer), genitive compound with the first member
with the loc. case suffix, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + nu conj. suff.
- Karāyutuṇḍu 64-20, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Karigala prīdhivī mahāsattavala 25-16 s.m.sg.gen.
- Karigaḷḷa vaḍavariki 25-2, to the God of (the village) Karigaḷḷu,
vaḍavaru may be connected with the word oḍaya, lord, king,
the initial v- being the on-glide. Karigalla is a title of
Eastern Chalukyan kings.
- Kariya marammayu 52-19, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj. suff.
- Karuveṅṅala Naḷucāmuḷaku 30-3, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
- Kariyakāṇṭi Vaidumba raṭṭōḍiyu 50-11, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.
suff.
- kala 10-31, 47-29, which exists, aor.part. of kalugu, to possess, to
happen.
- kaladu 44-33, exists, aor.verb 3. sg.ntr. of kalugu -- to exist.
- kalaṇḍu 47-31, aor.3.sg.m.
- kalar-ēniyu 44-71, even if they are, aor.3.pl. + conditional
-ēni + conj. -u
- kalavāru 47-32, aor.p.n.3.pl.
- kaḷar-ēni 20-13, 25-4, 34-10.
- kaḷgina 25-6, if happens, conditional form.
- kaḷavanṛu 70-6, mistake for kaḷavānṛu, he who has, aor.part.
noun 3.sg.m.
- Kalaṇḍanāyyayu 52-12, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
- kalaśab-iḍḍaṭṭugā 38-41, as a pinnacle that was placed, adv.
- kalasanirvvahanambu 37-10, erection of a pinnacle, s.n.sg.nom.
- Kalimuḍirājul 10-4, the chief of Kalimuḍi, s.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Kalimuḍi ... (10-23), place name.
- Kalcivīla 10-5, s.pr.n.sg.nom.
- Kalyānandasānula 11-9, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen. for nom.
- kallu 65-23, stone, (i.e. inscribed stone).
- Kallēgaṇḍa Rāmaṇḍu 90-11, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- kaḷā-kaṇḍug-umu 10-10, kaḷa and kaṇḍugu — two kinds of taxes?,
-umu conj.suff.
- kavilala 62-17, cows, s.amap.l.acc.; kavilalā ... (10-33)
kavilayun 86-3, s.amahat.sg.nom. -un conj.suff. (acc.sense)

kavilālu 20-14, pl.

kavula 10-32.

kaḷagici 90-9, may for kaḷaginci (for later Telu. kaḷaci) having caused confusion, adv.pp. of kaḷacu.

kāka 38-10, not being, neg.part. of agu.

kāci 8-6, 48-5, having protected, adv.pp. of kācu — to protect
kācu 38-45, aor.p.

kācuvāru 34-7, they that protect (they should protect), aor.
p.n.3.pl.; kācuvāra 38-33, with emphatic a,

kāce 39-8, past 3.sg.

kāvan 44-12,71; infin.; kāvanu 44-59.

kāñcun 30-5, will obtain, aor.vb.3.sg. of kāñcu — to obtain
kāñci 36-9, having obtained.

Kāṭiceruvulu 48-4 s.pr.n.sg.nom.

Kāpibōḷa mutturāju 29-2, s.p.m.sg.nom.

Kāmpulun-uṇḍi 46-2, from the farmers,

kampunaku 33-8, mistake for kāmpunaku, sg.dat.

kāmpu 44-73, farmer, nom. sg.

kāmpuḷu 34-7, nom.pl.

kāmpulaku 50-3, pl.dat.

The nasal is dropped in the following instance:

kāpulu (44-68)

Kārttikēyuṇḍum bōle 37-3, even as Kārttikēya, s.pr.m.sg.
nom. + um conj. + pōle

Kārttikēyunaku 38-29, s.m.sg.dat.

Kālambuga 10-31, so long, adv.

Kālpariti Barariyaku 54-5, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

kāviñce 35-8, (he) did, past, 3.sg. of kāviñcu, to cause to do

Kāśyapa gōtriniki 14-11, to him of Kāśyapa gōtra,

Kāśyapa gōtruṅru 14-6, one of Kāśyapa gōtra, adj.s.m.sg.nom.

Kiranapuramu 39-8, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

Kilēvuru Kattiśarmmaku 12-7, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

Ku.javiyayu 52-18, proper name, -u conj.suff.

Kuḍipinavāru 8-6, those who maintain, pp.n., m.pl.

kuḍdipivānru 30-5, mistake for kuḍipinavānru, pp.n., m.sg.

kuḍucuvāru 10-10, they who will enjoy, they should enjoy,
aor.p.n., pl.

kuḍuceduvāru 43-6, aor.p.n., pl.

kuḍumu 10-23, a kind of food offering for God?, s.n.sg.nom.

Kuṇaṇḍāḷuvānru 24-31, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Kuṇḍikāḷḷu 2-3, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

Kuṇḍikāḷḷula 2-11, gen. Skt. form would be Kuṇḍipādāḥ
kuntur 5-2, daughter, s.f.sg.nom. Later Tel. kūturu

Kumuḷu kayyāmbuna 91-5, in the battle at Kumuḷu

Kummaṅkuṅṭha nūyini 62-13, place name, s.pr.n.sg.loc.

Kurureḷaemma 93-6, personal name.

kuriti 10-29?

Kuruva bhaṭariki 47-12, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

Kurrimma Vallava raṭṭaguḍi 33-12, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Kurramaḍuvu 82-4, place name.

kulicinavāru 26-19, those that measured, pp.n., pl.

kulocinaṭṭi 30-3, that measured, kulocina d.pp. of kulocu, later

Tel. kolucu — to measure, aṭṭi, of that manner, possessive adj.

kulopiṅcinavāru 26-21, those who caused to be measured, pp.n.,

pl. of kulopiṅcu — to cause to measure

Kusumāyudhuṅḍu 44-6, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Kusumāyudhu pedda koḍuku 44-16, the eldest son of
Kusumāyudha

Kuḷḷamman 85-6, s.pr.m.sg.acc.

Kūcapōriki 28-12, s.pr.f.sg.dat.

Kūcapōriyāri 28-8, pl. (hon.) gen. -pōri, -porēri, -porri- occur
at the end of names of females as suffixes: Goyindaporēri
(5-1), ... japorēri (5-2), Vasanti pōri (13-7), Mamkhiporri-
yāru (23-11).

Kūviya raṭṭola 32-9, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.

Ketticoyyayu 52-13, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.

Kēsina 4-1, that did, d.pp. of kēy — to do

kēsiri 3-2, past 3.pl. (hon.); kēy > cēyu in all other instances
in OT. and the later lang.

Kēsariyu 52-20, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.

Kocciya pāra 7-4, brahmin of Kauśika gotra, s.m.sg.nom.

koṭṭambu 90-7, a territorial division, koṭṭāmbuna pāraḱu 2-10, to
the brahmin of the territorial division

koṭṭāmbul 36-10, forts, s.n.pl.nom.

koṭṭali 24-30, engraver, s.m.sg.nom. √koṭṭu

koṭṭe 24-33, past 3.sg.

koḍuku 16-7,23; 27-4,5, 37-7, 44-16,25, 53-4, 54-2, 64-14, 65-17,
70-4, 84-2, 85-5, 91-3, 92-2.

koḍukuna 64-6

koḍukuḷ 14-5, pl. (hon.)

koḍukuḷ- 27-6, mistake for koḍukuḷ, pl. (hon.)

Forms with the nasal appear only in Ahadanakara inscr:

konḍukaḷ 25-10, 15,16, with the plural l; konḍukalu 25-14, with plural l.

koṇḍa kārṭṭiya 12-8, s.n.sg.nom.

koṇḍayu 47-15, hill, s.n.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.

Koṇḍivillu Raccayirriki 34-2, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

Koṇḍaparu 30-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

koṇi 35-6, adv. pp. of koṇu, to take

koṇina 33-6

koṇnan 85-8

koṇṇavānru 42-2,4, he who took pp.n., m.sg.;

koṇṇavānrun 43-5, with the conj. -u.

kiṇiri 17-2,5, past.3.pl.

koṇuvāru 50-15, they who take, they should take, aor.p.n., pl.

koṇḍru 38-13, 86-4, they will take, aor.3.pl. of konu, mistake for koṇḍru

ṇ > n in the following instances;

konna 44-71, d.pp. of konu < koṇu

koni 38-11, adv.pp.

Komarasvāmiki 38-7, to (God) Kumārasvāmi

Komaripāra 14-9, the brahmin of Komari, s.m.sg.nom. used in apposition with Rēvaśarmma

komarura Bhimuṇḍu 47-20, a title

Koraviki 44-50, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

Koravi Nallamereya 44-24, s.m.sg.nom. (gen. sense)

Koraviyanna 44-36, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Korindikoḷ 25-15, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

Korukālu 28-18, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

koladilēni 36-10, mistake for koladilēni? not a few, neg.p.

Kolanadupu 25-13, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Kolanadippi Bīreya 80-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

koḷalciya 35-6, having destroyed, adv.pp. of koḷalcu — to destroy + a

koḷoce 23-27, past 3.sg.; kḷoce 34-14;

koḷpimcina 44-53, that caused to be dug, d.pp. of

koḷpimcu — to cause to dig, -l- > -r- in the following instances

krocinaṇṇavānru 43-6, he who destroyed pp.n., m.sg.

krocce 64-20, past.3.sg.; krocce 81-17, mistake for krocce

-l- > -r-:

- kroccinavaṇḍu 61-15, mistake for -vāṇḍu, pp.n., m.sg.
 kōṭan 10-7, on the boundary (of the village), s.n.sg.loc.
 kōṭi 10-8, of the boundary, s.n.sg.gen.
 kōra Dēsīmṅambu 40-5, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 ... kōvubōḷu 51-13, proper name, pl. (hon.)
 Kōsiya pāra 24-11, brahmin of Kausika gotra s.m.sg nom.
 Kaunḍilya gotrasya penbāra 28-17, the great brahmin of Kaunḍinya.
 gōtra.
 kramambuna 38-40, gradually, in course of time, s.n.sg. loc. used
 as adv.
 kri 30-2?
 Kṣatriyyakuḍanāṭi Mrōpōra 72-5, Mrōpōru in the territory of
 Kṣatriya-kuḍanāḍu
 kṣētram̐bu 16-11, land, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW); kṣētram̐bu 74-8
 khalga saḥāyuṇḍai 44-11, mistake for khaḍga-, with the help of
 (his) sword, adj.s.m.sg.nom. + ai, pp. of agu

G

- gaccuru 25-5, will perish?
 Gajña seḍlala naḍupuḷ 25-12, proper name
 Gajñambu seḍla maḍupuḷ 25-7, proper name
 Gaṭṭu Viripariti 13-20, place name, s.pr.n.sg.gen.
 Gaṇaya sammaṇa 17-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Gaṇḍa Triṇētrani 40-5, s.pr.m.sg.gen.
 Gaṇḍa Trenētra Śri Baidumba mahārāju 40-2; Gaṇḍa
 Trenētra Śri Baydumahārāju 87-6
 Kaṇḍa Triṇētra Vaydumba mahārājula 41-3, pl. (hon.) gen.
 Gaṇḍara mutrāju 91-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 gaṇḍugu 53-6 s.n.sg.nom. unit of measurement
 gaṇyamānuru 12,2, adj.s.m.sg.nom.
 gadyambulan 37-12, in prose, s.n.pl.loc.
 gadyeḷu 62-20, a kind of coin,
 ... gaṇjipāra 23-15, the bahmin of ... gaṇji
 garusu 14-15, 47-15, boundary, limit s.n.sg.nom.
 garruka 71-4 ?
 Gāgullakāḍamma Śrīmeddi 82-5, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 gāṇambu 10-11, hereditary occupiers (of the land), connected with
 the word kāṇayāci, kāṇācī, a domicile, a hereditary possession
 or right; gāṇambun 10-11, with -un conj.suff.

gānugun 60-11. oil press, s.n.sg.nom. + -un conj.suff.

gāmuṇḍu 50-10, 11, occurs with personal names as a title (like e.g. raṭṭagudī, bōya), cf. Veppari Sirivuṭṭi gāmuṇḍunu, Mlāmpaḷli kommana gāmuṇḍunu etc. in this inscr.

gāru, as in pergeḍa kāḍeya gāri 37-6, honorific
guḍi 39-12, temple, s.n.sg.nom.

guḍiyini 50-6, acc. for the regular form guḍini,
guḍiyu 27-4, 38-8, 28, with -u conj.suff.

guḍlu 10-22, 65-14, pl.; also cf. Vēḍlumu 20-14, mistake for
vēguḍlumu, with -umu conj.suff., vēguḷḷuvu 14-2, guḷḷugu 53-1

Guṇḍu Śrī Darayayu 52-17, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.

guṇakenalluṇḍu 39-10, lover of virtue, cf. Kan.form. guṇakke nallān
guṇagaṇābharanuṇḍu 37-2, one adorned by numerous good
qualities, adj.s.m.sg.nom.

gudaliya 70-5 ?

Gunavana mahānabhiyuḷ 25-14, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) .nom.

Gumisiya reṭṭeḍlu 46-2, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) .nom.

Guruva ḍomka 47-17, place name, ḍomka — a bush

Guruvārambu 48-2, Thursday, (SLW)

gelci 44-38, having won, pp. of gelcu,

Goccicopatiya kayabuna 75-3, mistake for — kayyambuna, in the
fight at Goccicopatiya

Goggi bhaṭaraḷa 18-5, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.

. . goṭuvāru 21-15, aor.p.n.

Goṇaṃgayya 44-46, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

goṇnikenal-ātani 36-11, cf.

guṇakenalluṇḍu 39-10

gommalōviḍi samudrambu 10-21, the tank at Gommaloḍi, tanks
are often called samudra, sāgara etc. in inscrr. eg. santāna
sāgara caused to be constructed by the queen of Pedakōmaṭi
Vema Reddi in 1410 A.D.EI.XI

goragalu 38-10, saiva mendicants, s.m.pl.nom.

goragalūnu 38-31, with -nu conj.suff.

goravalaku 61-7, dat. (-V- < -g-)

Gorigoṇḍu kēti . . 52-18, proper name

golugu 61-12 for kolucu? paddy

Gollaṇḍunu 52-13, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + nu conj.suff.

gōṣṭi 7714, conversation, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

gōvadya 14-26, murder of a cow, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

gōvriṣāṇa bhaṭṭāra- 18-19, proper name

C

- caccinavānru 53-5, he who died, pp.n, m.sg. of caccu — to die
 campaka 50-14, without killing, neg.part. of campu — to kill
 campina 20-17, 50-13, d.pp.
 campinavānru 13-20, pp.n., m.sg.; campinavanru 81-13, mistake
 for -vānru.
- caniye 76-5, went, past 3sg. of canu — to go, to prevail, canu 25-6,
 will prevail, take effect, aor.verb 3.sg.; cannu 25-6 cannu
 cannaṃgu 20-17?
- cana 38-32?
- Cantamānadadini 40-4, s.pr.m.sg.acc.
- ..andrādityala kalayanta gālambuga 10-31, as long as the sun and
 moon exist.
 candrādityunrū 76-2, the moon and the sun s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- caranasarōruha vihitavilōcana Trilōcana pramukākila prithivīśvara
 kārīta kāvēritīra Karikālakularatna pradīpāhitāṃkuśa Śrī
 Venkayācōla mahārājulu 47-1, -prāmukākila — mistake for
 -pramukhākhila-, praśasti of the Telugu Cōla rulers
- carukaṭu 73-77
- Cākalagundu gudaliya 70-5, place name?
- Cāmaṇakāla 12-11, s.pr.m.sg.gen.
- Cāmunḍeya 65-18, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Cāṃgeya bōvundunu 64-12, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + nu conj.suff.
- Cālukya Bhīmunaku (44-2), s.pr.m.sg.dat.
- Cikaṭṭa pullāmbuna 51-12, name of a place -pullāmbu mistake for
 pulāmbu — field, s.n.sg.loc.
- ciṭṭadi peṃpunāṃdu 47-10, in the bright fortnight of (the month
 of) caitra
 cita...samunḍu 36-2, may be read as cittajāta
 samunḍu, the equal of Manmatha (in beauty), adj.
- Ciriyanayunu 52-19, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + nu conj.
- Cirplaiya 12-5, cirpali itself, s.pr.n.sg.nom. + a emphatic particle,
 Identified with Chippili in the Madanapalle taluk, Chittor dist.
- ciru deral 50-5, minor taxes, s.n.pl.nom.
- Cirumbūri 14-13. proper name, s.pr.n.sg.gen.
 cirumburu 22-7, mistake for Cirumbūru, nom.
 cirumbūri 1-6, with r for ṛ, gen. Identified with chilamakūru
 in the Kamalapuram taluk
- cikuna 12-8, in the dark fortnight, s.n.sg.loc.
- curiya 44-57, sword, s.n.sg.nom.
- Cuvvuṭūru 10-11, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

- Culpati maganru 75-2, the son of culpati
 cūcinavāru 26-24, those who saw, in the sense of witnesses, pp.n.,
 m.pl.
 cūpe (39-7) showed, past 3, sg. of cūpu — to show, mistake
 for cūce 'saw', from cūcu — to see
 cūre 39-10, really! look, cūḍare, > cūre cf. cūḍave, > cūve,
 cūḍumu > cummu > sum-ā, sum-ī
 ceḍuvānru 43-, he who will perish, aor.p.n.m.sg. of ceḍu
 ceḍicinānu 44-56, if destroyed, conditional form
 ceḍuncuvāru 34-10, those who destroy, aor.p.n., pl.
 Cenūrukāju 1-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Cemgālu 26-17, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 ceḍuvu 10-7, s.n.sg.nom. (gen. sense)
 ceḍuvu 53-2, 68-2, 86-3, nom.
 ceḍuvuḷu 14-21, 20-15, pl.; ceḍuvulu 44-54.
 occurs as a place-name ending. Kāṭi-ceḍuvulu
 r > r in ceḍuvuḷa 36-2, pl.gen.
 celivi 44-27, pronominalised noun
 cēkoṇi 38-33, having accepted, adv. pp. of cēkoṇu — to accept;
 -ṇ- > -n-: cēkoṇu 38-26, 39-8, 48-5, 44-43, 50
 Cēdi śarmmakū 24-12, s.pr.m.sg.dat.
 cēnu 10-8, 30; 34-4, 53-6, field, s.n.sg.nom.
 cēnēraka 25-9, being unable to do, neg.p. of cēyanērcu — to be
 able to do
 cēya 24-7, infin. of cēyu; cēyan 31-1
 cēyakunna 39-12, if not done, cēyaka neg.p. + unna
 conditional form of unḍu — to be
 cēyavalayun 44-29 should do, aor. verb, 3.sg. of cēyavalayu
 — to be necessary to do
 cēyucun 44-21, pr.p.
 cēyuḍu 25-6, deed, verbal noun, -ḍu noun derivative
 cēyambāḍi 44-55, having been done
 cēsi 15-4, 35-8, 37-11, 66-11, having done pp. of cēyu
 cēsina 10-5, 25-6, 46-1, 44-28, 47, 60, d.pp.
 cēsinadiyu 25-5, that was done, pp.n., n. + u conj.suff.
 cēsinavāni 14-28, of him who did, pp.n.m.gen.
 cēsinavāru 59ṇ8, they who did, pp.n.pl.
 cēse 86-5, did, past. 3.sg.
 Cēbrōlanuḍi 38-22, from Cēbrōlu, s.pr.m.sg.abl.
 Cēmbrōlu 38-29, nom. The nacal is preserved in this form
 Cēramaṅgalambuna 85-6, s.pr.n.sg.loc.
 Cēlakāl Āytannayu 50-7, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

- cocci 44-69, pp. of coccu — to enter
 coccen 39-9, past 3.sg.
 conpe 39-5, caused to enter, past, 3.sg. of con(u)pu — to cause
 to enter
 cōṭu 38-24, place, s.n.sg.nom.
 cōṭi 38-21, gen.
 Cōḍa mahārāju 60-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom. used for acc.
 Cōḍulatōḍa 80-4, with cōḍas, s.pl.instr. -ḍ- < -ḷ- as in cōḷa:
 Cōḷa mahārājuḷa 6-1, of Cōḷamahārāja, s.m.pl.(hon.) gen.
 Cōḷa mahārājuḷ 7-2, s.m.pl.(hon.) nom.
 Cōḷa mahārājuḷaku 13-4, dat.
 Cōḷa mahādēvuḷu 13-8, the Cōḷa queen, s.f.pl.(hon.) nom.;
 Cōḷa mahādēvuḷ 22-4
 Cōḷa mahārājuḷu 23-9, 28-9, s.m.pl.(hon.) gen.
 Cōḷ rājuḷ 28-3, the cōḷa king, s.m.pl.(hon.) nom.
 Cōḷanin 39-8, the cōḷa, s.m.sg.acc.
 Cōḷa...62-7, 84-2
 Cōḷa mahādēvuḷa 68-3, s.f.pl.(hon.) gen.
 Cōḷa pariyyana 79-2
 Cōḷula...79-4
 Cōḷiya raṭṭaguḷḷu 22-16, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) nom.
 cauṣaṣṭi kalavisāraduṇḍu 37-3, mistake for cauṣaṣṭhi kalāviśāra-
 duṇḍu, he who is an expert in the sixty-four arts. cau- is
 prakritic

J

- jananuta cēbrōlanuṇḍi 38-21, from the celebrated cēbrōlu, s.pr.n.
 sg.abl.
 ...japorēri 5-2, name of female,
 Jayasiṃghavallabha mahārājuḷākun 10-1, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) dat.;
 Jayasiṃghavallabha mahārājuḷāku 11-2.
 jātraku 38-23, to the religious festival, s.n.sg.dat. (SLW)
 Jāyapāru 26-24, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 jīvitamba 44-61, life itself, s.n.sg.nom. + a emphatic particle, (SLW)
 Juggi polagarusu 14-15, boundary of the field of Juggi
 Jogiyayu 52-14, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

D

- ḍagu 25-3, a tax, s.n.sg.nom.
ḍiyāriki 23-16, proper name, dat.

N

...ṅajjaṅḍunu 52-19, proper name, -nu conj.
 ṅaravādyadi enu 44-59, seems to be a mistake for nalavādyadi,
 num.adj.

T

takkambaḍina 50-4, remaining, d.pp. later Tel. takkina
 tata 38-39, mistake for tāta, grandfather, s.m.sg.nom.
 tana 15-2, 38-44, 50-2, reflex.pron.sg.gen.
 tanuku 37-2, dat.
 tāna 44-42, tānu + a emphatic
 tānun 38-40, with -un conj.suff.
 tapasulaku 66-10, to the devotees, s.pl.dat. (SLW)
 tappi 38-35, having swerved, pp. of tappu, to swerve
 tappinavāru 25-5, those who violated, pp.n., pl nom.;
 tapinavāru 72-9, mistake for tappinavāru
 tabunru 27-5, younger brother, s.m.sg.nom. tammunḍu 39-11
 tāmbul 28-9, pl. (hon.)
 tama 38-39, 44-41, 46, reflex.pron.pl.gen.
 tamaku 38-21, dat.
 Tarkkapulōla 12-6, s.pr.n.sg.loc. Identified with Takkavōlu in Sid-
 dhavatam taluk, Cuddapah dist.
 talagoni 90-7,, having undertaken, pp. of talagonu
 tāgiri 14-18, they gave (?) Is it connected with the Tam. verb root
 tar — to give; also in l. 17 of ARE. B 23/1958-59 unpublished
 inscr.
 tānapatulunu 38-16; the local authorities, s.m.pl. nom.2 + nu conj.
 suff. (SLW)
 tānki 41-10, having met, pp. of tānku — to touch, to meet
 taṅki, 77-, mistake for tānki
 tāru 38-34, themselves, reflex.pron., pl.nom.
 Tārumunṛi Vasantīśvarambuna, 13-8, in the temple of Vasan-
 tīśvara at Tārumunṛi
 Tārumunṛi Vēṅgi pāra 26-12, the Vēṅgi brahmin of Tārumunṛi
 tālutōmṭalāyu 10-8, of the palmyrah gardens also, s.n.pl.gen. + -u
 conj.suff.
 Tiṅgavelli pāru 26-22, s.pr.m.sg.nom. note final u for a in pāru
 — brahmin
 tirambu 38-30, permanently, s.n.sg.nom. used as adv. (SLW)

Tiruvuḷa pāraḱu 6-5, to the brahmin of Tiruvuḷu
Tiupalūra 12-7, s.pr.n.sg.loc.

tiviri 38-25, having tried, pp. of tivuru — to try

Tivuldesambu 50-5, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom.

tirce 38-10, completed, past 3.sg. of tircu

Turumara viṣayambu 51-7, s.n.sg.nom.

Viṣayambu — a territorial division, Cf. MT Andhraviṣayambu,
Turutaṭāka nāmābhidhāna nagaradhiṣṭhānumrayi 18-7, having his
seat at the town called Turutaṭāka (SLW)

Turummunūḍla Bādeyya raṭṭoḍlu 65-12, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) nom.

tūmuna (46-2), a kind of measure, s.n.sg.loc.; occurs as tumbu in
compounds padēndumbu 20-8, and pandumbu 21-3, tūmeṇḍu
52-9 with the suffix -eṇḍu meaning — full.

tūrpu 20-11, east, s.n.sg.nom. used for loc.; < turu (> dūru) — to
enter, the direction of sunrise,

tūrppuna 10-8, loc.; turpuna 14-14, mistake for tūrpuna

tecci 44-10, having brought, pp. of teccu — to bring.

temkaṇādityuṇḍu 47-20, a title meaning sun, i.e. Lord of the South,
adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW), later Tel. initial t > ṭ e.g. ṭemkaṇā-
dityuṇḍu (Kus. 1-54)

teral 50-5, in the expression ciru — deral, taxes

terici 50-14, having opened, pp. of terucu — to open

tereyu 25-3, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

tēni 7-5, 9-3, 22-21, 23-16, 23-21, 30-5, interr.pron.n.sg.acc., > dēni,
(see dēni)

tēvuḷ 23-10, queen, s.f.pl.(hon.) nom. < dēvuḷ (SLW)

torru 85-8, cattle, ama.nom.

Tolpakāmi raṭṭaguḷḷu 22-15,, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) nom.

tōṭaḷu 13-11, gardens, s.n.pl.nom.

tōṅṭa- 62-18, nom. the nasal is preserved in this and in tōm-
ṭalāyu 10-8, pl.gen. + -u conj.suff.

Triṇayanu sutuṇḍu 38-23, the son of the Three-eyed (God), s.m.
sg.nom. (SLW)

tribhuvanābharanuṇḍu 38-4, ornament of the three worlds, adj.s.
m.sg.nom. (SLW)

tribhuvanāṁkuśa bāṇa, 35-7, the flag of Tribhuvanāṁkuśa, s.n.
sg.nom.

Tlōmrūru raṭṭaguḷḷa 11-13, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen. Initial conjunct
tl seems to be a mistake.

Tholgoṭṭunan 10-11, s.pr.n.sg.loc.

D

- dakṣiṇa diśa 14-16, southern side, s.n.sg.nom. (loc. sense)
 dakṣiṇa bhujāyamānumru 18-5, a right hand man, adj.s.m.sg.nom.
 dakṣinayana saṁkrānti nimittamunan 48-3, on the occasion of dak-
 ṣināyana saṁkrānti
 ...dañca kereyuṭṭu 72-1; personal name
 daṇḍu 25-3, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom.
 daṇḍuvu 44-62, 50-13, 15, punishment, s.n.sg.nom.
 daṇḍuv-ai 39-7, with army, daṇḍu = army, + ayi pp. agu -v- is
 glidic.
 dati 28-19, mistake for datti 21-2, 27-2, 52-8,21, 61-7, 69-17, 86-3,
 grant s.n.sg.nom.
 datam 54-2, = dattam, in the sense of datti.
 Dantiyamma maṅgutōlan 29-4, s.pr.m.sg.instr.
 Dantiyōvajunun 50-9, name of engraver of the inscr., s.pr.m.sg.
 nom + -nun conj., -ōvaja may be compared with later Tel.
 -ōju used as a title with the names of artisans eg. Kāmōju,
 Lingōju etc. (SN. p. 961).
 Danyavesanu 11-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Dammavuraṁbuna 35-10, s.pr.n.sg.loc. Mdn. Dharmavaram near
 Addanki, Ongole taluk.
 dammuvulu 35-11, gifts, s.n.pl.nom. (SLW)
 daya sēsina 50-3, that was granted, d.pp. of daya sēyu — to grant
 daya sēsiri 34-5, gave, past 3.pl. (hon.)
 dāya sēsi 25-4, mistake for daya sēsi, adv. pp. of
 daya sēyu
 dayāvesanu 11-6, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 dasaparādhambunan 25-3, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom, † nu conj.
 suff. (SLW)
 Dahala 39-8, s.pr.n.sg.nom.
 dāni 44-31, Rem.dem.pron.n.s.acc.
 dāniki 38-41, dat.
 dāyanambunāku 16-11, seems to be mistake for dānambunāku
 (or even dānambukānu, so as to be the gift of)
 Dimuḍu 44-36, proper name
 Divakarayya pañcakol 25-17, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 disaguḍlum 37-11, temples in (all) directions, -un conj.suff.
 diśa 14-14, 16, direction, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
 dīni 8-6, 16-14, 18; 34-6, 9; 52-27, this, prox.dem.pron., n.sg.acc.;
 dīnin 38-29, 34; 48-5, 50-5, 52-22, 66-3, acc.
 dīni 61-11, gen.

dīniki 10-32, 14-22, 21-9, 25-4, 5; 60-12, 61-13, 62-15, dat.;
diniki 17-4, mistake for dīniki; dīnikin 48-4, dīnipayi 73-8, on
this, regarding this

dugarājul 7-3, crown prince, s.m.pl.(hon.) nom. (SLW) tugarā-
jurla 6-2, gen.; (see under Erikal-) — this is an instance of
r in the honorific plural.

Duggayyayu 52-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.

Dujayarājula Mutturājulu 2-5, Mutturājulu (son?) of
Dujayarājulu, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) nom. < Durjayarāja-

dēni 11-13, 14-19, 30-4, which, interr.pron., n.sg.acc.; dēn (in dēn-
nilpiri 33-3; (the form tēni with initial t for d, occurs six
times in the data), dēniki 6-6, 11-15, 13-16, 24-21, 26-25, 31-4,
dat.

dēva brāhmaṇa gurubhakti paruṇḍu 37-9, a devotee of gods, brah-
mins and gurus, adj.s.m.sg.nom.

dēvasvambu 42-1, property of God, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

dēvuḷa 30-1, of the queen, s.f.pl.(hon.) gen.; dēvulā 52-7 dēvulu
63-5, nom.

tēvuḷ 23-10, pl.(hon.) nom. t < d

Dēsarati Bhimana 48-7, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

dogarāca paṇṇunu 50-3, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom.+nu conj. suff.

Doḍa Eḍayayu 52-15, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj. suff.

Doḍa cimkiyayu 52-15, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj. suff.

dōsambunaku 44-61, for the offence, s.n.sg.dat. (SLW)

drammalu 44-60,66, a kind of coins, s.n.pl.nom. (SLW)

(< Gk. drachme)

Druggādēvī nēlayu 20-9, mistake for Durggādēvi, land belonging
to (Goddess) Durgga, s.n.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

dha 12-11, perhaps contraction for dharma

Dhanamjayuru 1-3, s.m.pl.(hon.) nom. the use of -ru as honorific
plural is rare.

dharmma nirvahanōdyōgammunaku 37-5, for the execution of
righteous deed(s), s.n.sg.dat.

dharmamu 47-22, grant, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

dharmmuvu 38-45; dharmmuvugān 48-7, as a gift, kān-infin.
of agu.

dharmmuvuna 76-1, sg.loc.

dharmmuvulu 44-47, pl.nom.

Dharmmāvurammuna 39-3, s.pr.n.sg.loc.

N

- Nakakōḷu 31-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom. (or pl. (hon.)?)
 naḍici 78-2, having walked, pp. of naḍacu—to walk
 naḍiyavālu 10-31?
 nanda vanāmbu 10-22, pleasure garden, s.n.sg.nom.
 Nandi mahānavila naḍupu Śrī mahāsatthavaḷa 25-16
 Naṁgalūri 66-6, s.pr.n.sg.gen.
 . nayakunaku 52-9, to the . nāyaka
 Nayorṛa 33-9, place name, s.pr.n.sg.loc.
 nalvuru 31-3, four persons, num.appell. noun.
 naḷpādyadi yokoṭiyagu- 47-9, forty first, ord.num.
 Navapriya mutturājulu 2-6, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 nasambunu 44-47?
 nā 44-26, my, I pers.pron., sg.gen.
 nāku 44-33, dat.
 nā 39-10, < nān < anan, infin. of anu—to say
 nāni 44-35?
 nāṇḍu 44-13, (as in Mamcikōṇḍānāṇḍu, Rēnāṇḍu etc.) country
 nāṇḍu 10-4, 44-24,65; 47-12, day s.n.sg.nom. cf. Tam. nāl
 nānni nallātaṇḍayna 39-11, mistake for nanni-, he who is a lover of
 truth
 nāya . nda 74-18
 nālugu 62-14, four, num.adj.
 nālunu (in nālunu vuṭṭu) 21-2, four, num. adj. -nu conj.suff.
 Niḍumrani kayyāmbuna 53-4, in the battle of Nidumranu, s.n.sg.loc.
 Nidugaṭāmbuna 31-3, s.pr.n.sg.loc.
 nimittamunan 48-3, by reason of, s.n.sg.instr. nimittambuna 60-7
 niravadya pridhivi Kanāḍirajul 25-14, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 niravadyuṇḍu 36-1, 44-38, the faultless one, adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
 Nirutambu 39-8, place name, s.pr.n.sg.nom.
 nirupama mati 38-8, one of matchless intelligence, adj s.m.sg.nom.
 (SLW)
 nilci 44-43, adv. pp. of nilucu—to stand
 nilpi 10-21, 35-7, 60-7, adv.pp. of the transitive
 verb nilupu—to maintain
 nilpina 5-3, 14-23, 27-2,3; 61-7, d.pp.
 nilpinavāru 38-34, 72-7,8; pp.n., pl.
 nilpiri 33-3, past. 3, pl. (hon.)
 nilpe 15-4, 32-14,16; 39-12, past. 3.sg.
 nilvanu 22-14, so as to stand, infin. of nilucu—to stand

nilpaṭṭu 62-19?

nivabukānu 2-3, nivabu may be connected with Skt. nibha—pretext, reason; so the expression may be rendered 'at the instance of'

nī 44-27,32; II pers.pron., sg.gen.

nīku 44-30, dat.

nīvu 44-26, nom.

nīti 38-35, right conduct, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

nūṭayiruvadi 61-9, one hundred and twenty, num.adj.

nūṭayenubonṛṛa 43-1, of the One Hundred and Eight persons, num.appell.noun.gen.

nūṭayenma . . . 52-26 num.

nūṭenmaṇḍakunu 52-8, mistake for nūṭenmaṇḍrakunu, to the hundred and eight persons, num.appell.noun

nūru 72-4, hundred, num.adj.

nṛpāmkuśātyanta vatsala Satya triṇētra vistara Śrī Yuddhamalluṇḍu 38-1, the illustrious Yuddhamalla, an elephant goad to kings, extremely kind, a very Three-eyed God in truthspeak- ing, of extensive wealth

nṛpadhāmuṇḍu 38-9

nṛpulakunda 38-45 ?

ne (? ni) 46-2, The editor of the inscr. suggests that the akṣara is perhaps a mistake for the figure 9.

negalpanu 44-48, so as to maintain, infin. of negal-, later Tel. negaḍimcu

negi 38-10

nemiyimci 37-11, tadbhava of nirmimci, having built, adv.pp.

neyu 52-11, ghee, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

neyu 52-10, with the conj. -u. Later Tel. neyi with i (not u) final.

Neravadya mahāsartthavaḷ 25-11, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) nom.

nēla 2-14, 13-13, 20-9, 28-16, 35-10, 44-12, 47-17, 61-8, 66-9, 72-3, land s.n.sg.nom.

nēlaku 47-16, 64-16, dat.

nēlayu 20-9, nom. with -u conj.suff.

nēlayun 60-11, -un conj.

Noḷambitōḷi kayyambuna 40-3, in the fight with the Noḷamba
Noḷombi vūgū 41-10, the Noḷombi army
Noḷombiyu 41-8, nom. with -u conj.suff.

P

pakṣapāti 36-11, favourite, s.m.sg.nom.

pañcamahāpātakam 14-27, the five great sins, viz. killing a brahmin, drinking intoxicating liquor, theft or stealing gold, committing adultery with the wife of guru or teacher, association with any one guilty of above crimes (GOKI.)

pañcamahāpātakāmbu 8-7

pañcamahāpātaka saṁyuktunṛu 26-29, one who is possessed of the five great sins, adj.s.m.sg.nom.;

pañcamahāpātaka saṁyuttu . . 11-16

pañcamahāpātaka sayyuktunṛu 31-4, mistake for — saṁyuktunṛu;

pañcamahapatakasaku 1-15, = -saṁyuktunṛ-aku

pañcamahāpātaka sa . . . kturu 30-4, pl.nom., perhaps a mistake for sg. sa . . . ktunṛu for the subject is in the sg. laccuvānṛu.

pañcamahāpātaku 6-7, nom., (without masc. sg. termination) cf. vrddhu, cārvāku < Skt. vrddha, cārvāka etc.

pañcamahāpātakunṛu 9-3, 24-24, 68-4

pañcina 25-9, d.pp. of pañcu — to engage

pañcina 37-7, pañcinan 39-10

paṭṭambu gaṭṭiñci 35-4, having caused to anoint, adv.pp. of paṭṭambu gaṭṭiñcu

paṭṭamb-etti 44-11, having anointed, adv.pp. of paṭṭamb ettu — to anoint

paṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍi 91-4, having been anointed, past passive part.

paṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍinavānṛu 83-5, he who was anointed, p.pp.n.

paṭṭambu gaṭṭi 33-14, adv.pp. of paṭṭambu gaṭṭu

paṭṭambu gaṭṭina 35-3, 38-16, 47-7, 50-2, d.pp.

paṭṭambu . . . 64-7

paṭṭi 20-7, a measure of land, s.n.sg.nom. paṭi 20-4, mistake for paṭṭi

paṭṭi 32-11, daughter, s.f.sg.nom.

paṭṭi 50-13, having caught, adv.pp. of paṭṭu — to catch

paṭu 12-5, mistake for paṭṭu — capital. s.n.sg.nom.

-paṭṭu 10-7, 29,30; 16-10, 20-8, 21-5, 35-10, (land) in the compound āḍlu paṭṭu, āḍla paṭṭu etc.

paḍālvelan 40-4, mistake for paḍavālan?, s.m.sg.acc.

paḍayucu 44-45, obtaining, adv.pr.p. of paḍayu — to obtain, receive.

paḍasinavāru 50-6, those who obtain, pp.n., pl.

... paḍi 75-5?

paḍiye 82-8, 83-9, 85-9, 88-5, 91-6, 92-6

paḍiyen 29-4, 77-9, fell, past 3.sg. of paḍu — to fall; paḍu 8-7, will fall, aor.3.sg. used for mahat pl. paḍuduru

paḍiyēri paṇṇunu 50-4, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom. + -nu conj.suff.

paḍumaṭan 47-15, in the west, s.n.sg.loc.

paḍumāri kōṭan 10-7, on the western boundary, s.n.sg.loc.

paḍuma ... 60-9, west

paḍuvatō 35-5, with the army, s.n.sg. instr. cf. paḍavālu — army commander, paḍāvelan

paḍuvārambu 10-8, probably a kind of tax, s.n.sg. nom.;

paḍuvarambu 44-63, mistake for paḍuvārambu?; pāra

paḍuvarambu (10-9), probably the tax due to the brahmins

paḍevāla paṇṇunu 50-3, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom + -nu conj.suff.

paṇi 3-2, 10-5, 40-4, work, s.n.sg.nom..

paṇiyu 4-2, with the conj.suff. -u. -ṇ- > -n- in the following instances:

panikolu 25-9, works, pl.nom.

panina 25-8, loc. with -a emphatic particle

pani sēsi 66-10, having done the work, adv.pp. of panisēyu

pañcinan 35-5, -ṇ- > -n-:

pañcina 25-9, infin. absolute construction

pañcina 37-7, ānantaryārthaka

pañcinan 39-10.

Paṇṭimukuna raṭṭorlu 17-3, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

Paṇḍaramgu 35-9, 39-4, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Paṇḍaramgu 35-9, 36-9, 39-10, nom.

Paṇḍaramga 39-10, with -a emphatic

Paṇḍaramgun 35-5, acc.; Paṇḍaramgunu 37-5.

paṇḍreṇḍu 61-11, 66-9, twelve, num.adj.; paṇḍreṇḍu 35-6

paṇṇentilōni 48-4, num.s.gen.

paṇṇunu 50-3,4,4,4, tax

paṇṇuḷ 11-5, pl.

patiyun 38-17, and the chief, s.m.sg.nom. + -un conj.suff.

padiēl-agu- 45-4, seventeenth, ord.num.

padunrru 81-12, ten persons, num.appell.noun

padēndumbu 20-8, fifteen tūmus, s.n.sg.nom.

pannasa 2-4, 12; 7-3, 9-2, 87-9.

“Although the exact connotation of the term is not clear, it seems to contain some reference to a tax on account of which the grant is called pannasa” (EI. XXVII-221). The word is

derived from Śkt. *pañcāśat* — fifty. Many variants of this form occur in the inscr.:

panasa 73-1, 81-6; *pannassa* 2-9; *pannavīsa* 24-10; *pannavī* ... 23-14; *pannaśa* 31-3; *pannaśā* 30-2

pannāsa 6-3, 6-6, 26-15

panāśa 12-8

panneśaḷaku 27-7

pani 66-10, (see *paṇi*)

pandumbu 21-3, 34-3,8, ten *tūmus*, s.n.sg.nom.

paṁpu 1-7, order i.e. by the order of, s.n.sg.nom. (for instr.)

Paṁbayayu 52-20, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

paragina 39-10, that shone, d.pp. of *paragu* — to shine, *paragaṁga* 38-7, so as to shine, *paragan*, infin. of *paragu*

paradulaku 73-2, to the brahmins of the *Bhāradwaja* gotra, s.m.pl.dat.

parama mahēśvaruṇḍu 35-9, mistake for *māhēśvaruṇḍu*, best among the devotees of *Śiva*, adj.s.m.sg.nom.

pariyārabāmbu 44-62, a kind of tax?

parikṣa 50-15, questioning, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

parōpakārambu ponṭhe 44-35, for the help of others, s.n.sg.dat. (cf. *ponṭe* in Early Middle Tel., e.g. in *Nannaya*.) The aspiration here is not etymological.

Parkkaḷugu Cōṛlakālu 26-18, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Paldāmbu 32-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom. (acc. sense)

Pallava dukarajulu 2-8, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

Pallavādirājula 28-7, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.

Palleyari 16-7, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen., obviously the same name occurs later in the inscr. as *Paḷḷeyāri* 16-12 with ḷ

Paḷugu bāru 26-22, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Paḷḷapaṛāna 71-3, place name?

paḷḷi 68-1, Buddhist or Jain *vihāra*

Paḷḷināṅṭi 11-5, of the country of *Paḷḷi* i.e. modern *Palanāḍu*, s.pr.n.sg.gen.

paṣiṇḍi muḍlu 15-11, treasury officer, (*paṣiṇḍi* — gold, *muḍlu* = *muṭlu* — officers s.m.sg.nom.)

Pasukṣēvula 25-12, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.

pasulaku 76-2, for the cattle, s.ama.pl.dat. (SLW)

paḷa 33-4, old, (old grant), cf. Tam. *paḷa*, Tel. *prāta*

- paḷasi 16-11, mistake for paḍasi, having obtained
Pākanāmṭi 48-2, s.pr.n.sg.gen.
Pākāṭuḷuna 22-9, in Pākāṭuḷu, s.pr.n.sg.loc.
Pāgadanra . . . 28-11?
pātaku . . . 19-12
pādiga 81-14, quarter, (SLW)
pāpambu 16-21, 38-13, 21, 35; 43-3, 86-4, sin, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
papambu 61-16, mistake for pāpambu
Pāmbuḷiggi 28-6, s.pr.n.sg.nom. Identified with Hāvaḷige in Gooty
taluk, Anantapur dist.
pāyun 11-5, will leave, aor.verb 3.sg.
pāradāya Kilēvuru Kattiśarmmaku 12-6, to Kilēvuru Kattiśarmma
of Bhāradvāja gōtra, s.pr.m.sg.dat.
pāra 7-4, 9-3, 10-9, 13-19, 14-17, 23-15, 24-13, 26-13, 28-17, 76-2,
brahmin, s.m.sg.nom., Tam. pārpān
para 27-9, 73-6, mistake for pāra, later Tel. pārāḍu (Bhr.
1-5-203)
paṛānu (in vēvuru paṛānu) 20-16, mistake for pārānu,
(lengthening of the vowel before the conj.suff. is common
enough).
pānr- (in vēvānrurḷu) 14-23 with a nasal which is not other-
wise seen.
pāraḱa 69-9, with -a emphatic particle
pāraḱu 2-10, 6-5, dat.
pāranu 10-33, acc.
pāru 26-22, 22, 23, 24, with -u (instead of a) in personal names
in this inscr.
pārḷa 22-9, pl.gen. (for dat.)
pāḷa 24-27; mistake for pāra
Pālaśarmmāriki 8-5, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
pāḷa 26-10, 32-2, subordinate, s.n.sg.nom.
Piccali Vaidumba raṭaguḍiyu 50-11, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.
piḍugu as in mār-piḍugu, names ending in piḍugu are said to be
common in Pallava times in Tam. country.
puṭṭi 10-29, a measure, a candy, s.n.sg.nom. occurs as uṭṭi in
reṇḍuṭṭi, with the dropping of p
puṭṭu 16-10, 21-3
puṭḷu 10-7, 11-11; -ṭ- > -ḍ-: enubodi vuḍḷu 35-10; puṭḷu 10-30,
46-2, 54-4, 61-12
-p- > -v-: reṇḍu vaṭi (20-4), reṇḍu vaṭṭi 20-7, nālunu vuṭṭi

- puṅaru puṣyāmbu 12-9, name of star punarvasu s.n.sg.nom. Tam.
 punarpūśam
- Puṅyakumarunṛu 8-1, 12-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Puṅyasārḷu 17-4, s.pr.m.pl. (ho.) nom.
- putra vadya 14-25, murder of a son, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
- putrunṛu 74-5, son, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- Pudali 29-2, s.pr.n.sg.nom.
- Puddaṅakālu 9-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- puramu niśānāmbuna 39-12, to the northeast of the town, gen.
 compound, s.n.sg.loc. (SLW)
- Purraṅnūrullu 30-3, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Purraṅnūrla 32-6, s.pr.n.sg.loc.
- Puliyayu 52-20, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.
- pulombuna 10-6, 13-11, in the field, s.n.sg.loc.; polāmbuna 66-6 later
 Tel. polamu, Tam. pulan
- Pullagi ceruvuna 51-12, place name, s.pr.n.sg.loc.
- Pulvēri Sirāmayyayu 50-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.
- pusi illad-ālman 47-21, mistake for -ālman, Kannada form pusi
 'deceit', illada 'that has not' neg.d.p., ālman 'ruler' i.e. the ruler
 who has no deceit, a title
- pūni 44-12, having undertaken, adv.pp.
- pūrvva vrittiki 15-2, to the previous grant or right of holding
 s.n.sg.dat. (SLW)
- pūlla vaṭṭambunavāriki 13-9, to the people of the flower garden,
 s.pl.dat.
- peggeḍaḷ 77-3, minister, s.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 perggeḍa 37-6, s.nom.; Later Tel. preggāḍa > peggaḍa
- peṭṅanivāru 86-3, mistake for peṭṅanivāru, those who will not place,
 i.e. protect, aor.pn., pl.nom. peṭṅanivaru 86-4 mistake for
 peṭṅanivāru.
- peṭṅiṅci 85-9, having caused to be placed, adv.pp. of peṭṅiṅcu
- peṭṅiṅce 65-21, past 3.sg.
- peṭṅiri 81-7, past 3pl. of peṭṅu — to place
- peṭṅuvāru 62-21, aor.p.n. in the sense of they should pay.
- peḍasina 20-6, mistake for paḍasina, that which was obtained, pp.
 of paḍayu — to obtain
- peṅḍlāmbu 65-15, wife, s.n.sg.nom.
- peda Paṅḍaramṅulu 37-4, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Pedaru Ṛerayurājul 34-4, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- pedda koḍuku 44-16, 53-4, the eldest son, s.m.sg.nom.

- Peddana 48-25, s.pr.m.sg.nom. (for acc.)
 peddha Kalucuvubariti 46-1, place name, s.n.sg.gen.
 Penukōṭ 54-3?
 Penna mariyāda 26-10, (territory) upto Penna
 penpāra 9-3, the great brahmin, s.m.sg.nom. penbāra 28-17
 Penrukōlu 31-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 perggeḍa Kāḍeyagāri 37-2, of the minister Kāḍeya, s.pr.m.sg. (hon.)
 gen. -gāru — honorific suffix added to personal names.
 perddaḷ 25-11, elders, √per- great
 per Bāṇa vaiṇśa Bhujamgadi bhūpādityula 31-2, of Bhujamgadi
 bhūpāditya of the family of the great Bāṇas
 peru veḷpu guḍlu 10-22, big temples for Gods, s.n.pl.nom. cf. later
 Tel. vēlupu 'God'
 perikinanu 44-57, if drawn out, conditional form of peruku — to
 draw out
 Pērarayu 50-10, s.pr.m.sg.nom. † -u conj.
 pērāmani punnama nāṇḍu 44-64, on the full moon day of the month
 of Śrāvaṇa
 pai-lēci 35-4, having become elated, adv.pp. of pai-lēcu
 pai-vārāla 38-18, outsiders, s.ep.pl.acc.
 pogara kuḍumu 10-23, perhaps refers to food offerings to God —
 poṅgali (and) kuḍumu, since 1.24 in the inscr. speaks of
 Prasādambul
 poḍici 36-10, 41-11, 76-3, 77-9, 82-7, 83-9, 84-3, 85-8, 88-5, 91-6,
 92-6, 93-5, 6, having attacked, adv. pp. of poḍucu — to attack.
 poḍuci 29-4
 poḍicinavanru 73-4, -vanru mistake for -vānru, pp.n.m.sg.nom.
 poḍice 40-5, past 3.sg.
 Later Tel, poḍucu means to pierce — sem. change.
 Pottepi viṭa 48-3, s.pr.n.sg.loc. Mdn. Pottapi in Rajampet taluk,
 Cuddapah dist.
 Ponikandīramu 25-13, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 polagarusu 14-15, 47-14, boundary of the field, boundary
 polāmbuna 66-6; in the field, s.n.sg.loc.
 pōṭuna 40-4, in the fight, s.n.sg.loc.
 Pōḍēriivi 53-3, belong to Pōḍēri, pronominalised noun.
 pōyi 93-5, having gone, adv. pp. of pōvu — to go
 pōye 41-11, went, past 3.sg.

- pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra prithivīvallabha Cōla mahārājulaku
13-1 s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat., pōrmukharāma — a Rāma in battle
front
- pōlaya bhaṭaraḷa 27-6, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen. Koḍukul Pōlaya — is
it a mistake for Pḷolaya for Prōlaya
- pōle 37-3, like, adv. of manner
- pratima 53-3, figure, sculpture, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- pratiṣṭhīmci 44-52, having established, adv.pp. of pratiṣṭhīmcu
- pratyakṣamba 38-26, manifestation, s.n.s.g.nom. + -a emphatic
(SLW)
- pratyupakārambu 44-29, return help, s.n.s.gnom. (SLW)
- prathama priya putrunṛu 74-5, the eldest dear son, s.n.sg.nom.
(SLW)
- prathamāmbu nēṇḍu 35-3; the first year
- prathama saṁvatsarambu 26-7, the first year (SLW)
- pratama rājyāmbuna 20-2, = prathama rājya saṁvatsarambuna, in
the first year of the reign (SLW)
- prabhun 35-4, king, s.m.sg.acc.
- Prabhurāmunṛu 34-13, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- prabhū-celvunṛu 41-6, 9, confident of the king, s.m.sg.nom.
celvunṛu derivative noun < celvu
- prarōmāmbu vaccinavā. .21-9, perhaps mistake for pratilōmāmbu-,
(those) who violate
- pralūnu 52-9, 11, mistake for prālu- rice, s.n.sg.nom. + -u conj.
suff.
- pravarttilla 26-8, 51-6, while current, infin. absolute construction;
pravarttillan 28-5
- pravartamānaṁ kānu 18-5, = pravarddhamānaṁ kānu, while
flourishing
- pravarddhamāna 52-5, used in the sense of pravarddhamānaṁ kānu
- pravarddhamāna Vijayarājya samvatsarambul 45-3, the increasing
years of the victorious reign; pravarddhamāna vijayarājya
samvatsarambul 10-2, 11-3, 13-5, 18-3;
- prasāda cēsiri 22-12, granted, past.3.pl. of prasāda cēyu — to grant
prasādan cēsi 26-15, having gifted adv.pp.
prasādan cēsiri 46-2, bestowed, past, 3.pl.
- prasāda pūrvvama . . . 22-10, with pleasure
- prasādambani 37-7, having assented gracefully, pp. of prasādambanu
- prasādambul 10-24, food offerings to God, s.n.pl.nom.
- prastuta rājāsrayuṇḍu 38-4, the asylum of renowned kings, adj.s.m.
sg.nom. (SLW)

- prākārambu 37-11, a surrounding wall, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
 prāṇasamānuṇḍavu 44-26, thou art dear as life, pronominalised
 noun
 prithimi mahāsartthavaḷ 25-13, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) nom.
 Pritivi patulla 30-1, mistake for Prithivīpatula, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) gen.
 Prittivi . . .yu 52-17, mistake for prithivi-, s.pr.m.sg.nom. † -i
 conj.suff.
 prithivi rājyañ cēya 85-3, while ruling the earth, infin. of prithivi
 rājyañ cēyu, absolute construction;
 prithivi rājyañ cēya 24-5;
 pritivi rājyañ cēya 93-4;
 pritivi rājyañ cēyan 31-1;
 prithivi rājyambu sēya 82-3
 prithivi rājya paṭṭabhadduṇḍu 49-7, one anointed as ruler of
 the earth, adj.s.m.sg.nom.
 -th- > -dh-:
 pridhivi rājyambu 26-6, s.n.sg.nom.
 Prithivīdēśa raṭṭaguḷḷu 11-8, s.pr.m.pl (hon.) nom. probably in the
 sense of samastadēśa-
 Prithivīdēśa raṭṭaguḷḷa 11-7, gen.
 Prithivīpallava paṭṭanabuna 25-1, s.n.sg.loc.
 prōlagala 38-15, that exist in the village, prālan, loc. of prōlu, cf.
 54-1.
 phalaṃbu 38-20, fruit, reward, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW); palaṃbu 8-6;
 pallaṃbu 30-5, mistake for phalaṃbu

B

- Badavāri 54-1, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) gen.
 Badra Pereva 25-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 baval sēsi 35-8, having exposed, adv.pp. of bayal sēyu — to expose
 balambu 90-8. strength, s.n.sg.nom.
 bala garvvambu 75-3, pride of strength, s.n.sg.nom.
 Balikula tilaka Narasimha Bānādhirāja priya suta Vikramāditya
 Bali Indra Bānarājula 51-6, of Vikramāditya Bali Indra
 Bānarāja, the dear son of Narasimha Bānādhirāja, ornament
 of the dynasty of Bali
 Bācavvariki 48-6, s.pr.f.sg.dat.
 Bānarājupai vōyi 93-5, having gone against Bānarāja
 Bānarājul 28-6, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) nom.
 Bānarājula 26-9, pl.(hon.) gen.

Bādaya 27-4, s.pr.m.sg. nom.

Bādirāju 16-8, s.pr.m.sg. nom.

Bāraṇāsi 23-23, 38-12, Benares, s.pr.n.sg.nom.; other forms in the inscrr.: Bāraṇāsi 20-13, 27-8, 87-10; the following forms may be regarded as mistakes: Bāraṇāsi 13-18; Bhāraṇasi 64-18; Bharāṇasi 81-12, Baranāsi 27-8, 38-12, Baranasi 47-27, 73-5
Bāraṇāsiyin 50-6, acc.; Bāraṇasini 48-5
Baranasiyu 86-3, with conj.suff. -u; Bhāraṇāsiyu,
.. raṇāsiyu 60-13.

Bhāraṇā ... 10-34

Bhāṇarā .. 21-22

Baranā .. 52-22

bidīya 12-9, the second day after the full moon or new moon, s.n.sg.nom., later Tel. vidīya

binkamu 39-7, pride, s.n.sg.nom.

bira kayilō .. 77-4?

bīralōkambu 85-10, the world of heroes

Buteli marammacari 86-5, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Bejeitta bhaṭaraḷa 27-1, mistake for — bhaṭāraḷa, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.

Bejeyarāju 37-7,10; 39-11, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Bejeyēśvarambu 37-10, temple of Bejeyēśvara, s.n.sg.nom (used for loc.)

Bejavāḍa 35-8, 38-22, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

Bejavāḍaku 38-37, dat.

*Bejavādan 38-37, loc.

beṭṭuvu 38-22 glory, fame (EI. XV Bez. inscr.)

beḍaṅgunu 38-38, ornament, s.n.sg.nom. + -nu, conj.suff.

Beḍagi 34-8, place name, nom. (loc. sense)

beṇḍaina 39-7, that lost heart, became weak, d.pp. of beṇḍagu — to become weak

Bōya koṭṭāmbul 35-5, the principalities of the Boyas, a tribe of people

Bōyalan 39-5, the Boyas, s.ep.pl.acc.

bōḷa 20-10, bōḷu is the pl. (honorific) form of bōya (< Skt. bhōjaka) resident of a village, village officer (See Kondanaguru plates).

bōḷacēta 17-2, instr.

bōḷajaku 20-5, dat.stem bōlaja-, ja < ajja < skt. ārya cf. bhukta village accountant in north Vizag area.

Bramma vaḍḍaci 43-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom., vaḍḍaci < skt. vardhaki
brāhmaṇuḷ 76-1, brahmīns, s.m.pl.nom.

brāhmaṇulanu 52-23, 54-6, acc.

brīndabu goni 38-11, having congregated, adv.pp. of brīndabu
gonu — to congregate

Brihaspati samānulanu 37-6, he who is an equal of Brihaspati,
s.m.pl.(hon.) nom. + ayna

Brahaspati hōra kānu 12-10

bhaktuṇḍu 38-8, devotee, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)

Bhagavad-Arhata parama bhaṭṭārakasya pādānudhyāta parama
mahēśvara Paramēśvara Pallavāditya Śrī Bādirājula andu 16-1,
s.pr.pl.(hon.) loc.

bhaja 54-4?

bhaṭṭāralu 46-2, used as a title for king or God with personal names,
s.m.pl.(hon.) nom.; bhaṭṭāralu 66-6 bhaṭṭāraniki 35-9 dat.;
bhaṭṭāraḷaku 26-6, bhaṭṭāraḷakun 48-4, bhaṭṭāraḷaku 53-7,
bhaṭṭāraḷakun 60-9

bhaṭṭāraḷa 27-2,7; 31-1, gen.; bhaṭṭāraḷa 31-1

Bhaṭṭadēvaniki 46-1, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

... bhanāyuto gājju magallamasiri 61-20?

.. bhadi 51-2, compound numeral with -padi as second member —
shows aspiration (cf. irubhadi, ēbhadi)

Bhīmamahārājula 39-1, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) gen.

Bhīmarājunakun 48-6, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

Bhīma salukiyaṇḍu 44-43, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Bhīmīśvarambunun 44-52, mistake for Bhīmēśvarambunan, in the
temple of Bhīmēśvara, s.n.sg.loc.

Bhujāṅgadi bhūpādityula 31-2, s.pr.pl.(hon.) loc.

Bhuvana Trinētra Śrīmat Vaydumba mahārāju 49-4, s.pr.m. sg.nom.
Bhuvana Trinētra Śrīmad Vaidumba mahārājulu, 48-1,
pl.(hon.)

Bhuvana Trinētra Śrīmad Irugeya mahārāju 50-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

bhūpālakuṇḍu 35-2, king, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW).

bhūmi 35-10, earth, land, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

bhūmi lōna 37-15, loc.

bhūmi dānambu palambu 8-6, the merit of a gift of land.

bhūlōkambu 39-8, earth (SLW).

M

- maganru 29-2, 34-1, 75-2,3; 83-2,4; 91-2, 92-3, son, s.m.sg.nom.;
 magunru 67-2
 maganin 50-13, husband, s.m.sg.acc.
 maga daṇḍuvu 50-15, fine payable by the man, s.n.sg.nom.
 maṭhambu 38-10
 maṭhambunun 38-28, with -nun.conj.suff.
 maṭambunu 37-11, with -nu conj.suff.
 maḍisina 44-72, d.pp. of maḍiyu — to perish, die
 Maṇaya śammaṇa 17-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Mattiśaku 27-5, s.pr.m.sg.dat.
 madana bhujā vīrya bala parakramāmbunan 44-8, by the strength
 and powess of arms
 mada muditunru 12-3, one happy in his pride, adj.s.m.sg.nom.
 cf. Pallava title mattavilāsa
 Maddikadu 10-6, s.pr.m.sg.nom. place name.
 Manuja Trinētra Śrī Baidumahārāju 90-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom. Śrī
 Manujē Trinētra Vaidumbi mahārājula 93-2 gen.
 manusulaku 52-10, to men
 manuvaṇḍu 66-11, he who will live, he should live, aor. p.n.m.sg.
 manna 44-73, (= manina), d.pp. of manu — to live
 manmarālu 5-1, grand daughter, s.f.sg.nom. (Later Tel. man(u)
 marālu)
 Maṁkhiporriyāru 23-11, s.pr.f.pl. (hon.) nom.
 Maṁjaramuna Kucibhaḍālu 48-6, Kucibhaḍālu of Maṁjaramu
 maṁgaḷa 50-9, = maṁgaḷamu, auspiciousness
 Maṁcikonda nāṇḍu 44-13, s.pr.n.sg.nom., name of a territorial
 division.
 maya 37-10?
 Marakaṇaru 65-16, s.pr.f.sg.nom.
 Maramayu 65-15, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + u conj.suff.
 marala 25-10, again.
 mariyāda 26-10, limit, boundary, in Mdn. Tel. it means respect
 (SLW)
 marandi 80-2, husband's younger brother,
 mariyunu 50-11, further, indecl. + unu conj.suff.
 mariyū 44-54, further
 marūtru 14-18, a certain measue of land, s.n.pl.nom. other pl.
 forms:

- marunturlu 2-14, 28-15
 marutuḍḍu 51-2, 61-9
 maruntuḍḍa 69-12, pl.acc.
 martulu 66-9
 marūtū 30-3, sg. used for pl. in muppadi marūtū
 marutu. 72-4, sg.; -r- > -r-:
 marutuḍḍu 22-1, sg.
 maṟuṇṟa piḍuku 12-13, thunderbolt to enemy kings, adj.s.m. sg.nom.
 māṟurā piḍugu, māṟpiḍugu, cf. Title of Pallava Mahendra-
 varman pagāppiḍugu (EI. 27-233).
 Maṟṟalūra 26-14, s.pr.n.sg.loc.
 malinuru 38-15, wicked persons, s.pl.nom.
 Malkoṇḍa Cāmiyu 50-10, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.
 Mallaṇḍu 38-27, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Mallaparāju 38-39, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 mallura 71-6, wrestlers, s.pl.acc.
 Mavumaḍuvu kayyambuḷōna 77-7, in the battle at Mavu-maḍuvu, =
 Mudumaḍuvu cf. (40-3)
 Mahaladārunṟu 81-16, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 mahādēvuḷu 13-8, queen, s.f.pl.(hon.) nom. (SLW)
 mahānabhiyuḷ 25-7, another form mahānabhiḷ 25-5,6, seems to be
 a title or an office
 mahārājula 76-1, 92-5, of the king, s.m.pl.(hon.) gen.
 mahārājulāku 13-2, dat.; mahārājulākun 11-2; mahārājulākun
 10-2,
 mahārājulayu 41-7, pl.(hon.) gen + -u conj.suff.
 maharaju 40-4, mistake for mahārāju.
 mahiminda maripo ... ma .. 10-21, mahiminda may mean 'on earth'
 Mahēśvara pakṣapāti 37-7, devotee of Lord Śiva
 mā 52-13,?
 Mācūrullu 30-3, s.pr.m.pl.(ho.) nom.
 Mā .. ḍiyāriki 23-15, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) dat.
 mānisi 41-5, 44-60, man, servant, s.m.sg.nom.
 māneṇḍu 52-9, a certain measure
 Mārammā caḷki raṭṭaguḍi 32-11, s.pr.f.sg.nom.
 Māriśvarambu 57-1, temple of Māriśvara, s.n.sg.nom.
 māṟurāpiḍugu 29-1, thunderbolt to enemy kings, cf. maṟuṇṟa
 piḍugu 12-3,
 Māṟpiḍugu (raṭṭaguḷḷu) 13-13.
 Māṟpiḍugu raṭṭaguḷḷu 13-13, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) nom.
 māsapurnṇami 8-4, full moon day of the month, s.n.sg.nom.

miṅṅaka 50-14, quietly, = minnaka, neg. part.

minda 10-21, > later Tel. mīda

Miriyampu bōļajaku 20-5 s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat.

mukku 50-14, nose, s.n.sg.nom.

mukkudariginanu 44-76 even if nose is cut

Muṭṭaku 39-2, s.pr.m.sg. dat.

Muṭlamale Dōcayya 41-4, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

muṭṭu 10-8, 9, officer, s.m.pl. (hon.) nom. seems to be nityabahu-
vacanānta. The word may be connected with muṭṭu as in pani
muṭṭu — an instrument, tool

muḍlu 20-1, -ḍ- < -ṭ-

muḷa 26-6, 11, gen., perhaps mistake for muṭla

Muḍibiyambu (26-27) s.pr.n.sg.nom. = Muḍivēmu agrahāra re-
ferred to in CP grants of E. ch. kings. Identified with pedda —
Muḍiyam in the Jāmmalamāḍugu taluk of the Cuddapah dist.

Muttukūrānu 71-3, in Muttukūru, s.pr.n.sg.loc.

muturāju 1-2, 12-1, the oldest prince after the yuvarāja, s.m.sg.nom.

muturājul 8-1, pd. (hon.)

mutturājulla 2-1, pl. (hon.), gen.; mutturājulu 89-2

muduṅḍu 64-16?

Mudumaḍuvuna 40-3, s.pr.n.sg.loc.; Mavumaḍuvu 77-7

Muddakañcikoḷ 15-15

munnūru 13-13, three hundred, num.adj.

munnūrunū 52-7, with the conj. -nū

muppadi 30-2, thirty, num.adj.

muvarul 25-5, three persons, num.appell.noun, pl. (hon.)

muvvuru 17-2, num.appell.noun, acc.

muḷcilinanu 4458, if stolen, conditional form of muḷcilu — to steal

mūḍu 54-4, three, num.adj. mūnru 16-10

mūṭiki 10-6, num.s.n.dat.

mecci 35-8, having liked, mecciyēnin 44-54, meccaka 38-24, neg.part.

meresi 41-6, 9, having shone, for merasi, adv. pp. of merayu — to
shine

Meykeṭi Vinakuccava pāracāriki 87-7, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

mēyu 52-10?

Mēlikurṭi Kandivannavu 50-7, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.

modalugānu, 50-5, beginning with, adv.

mogamāḍuvu 38-42, frontal tower

mōdālunu 54-3, cattle, s.ama.pl.nom. + -nu conj.suff. (< modavulu-)

Mōrayāku 30-2, s.pr.m.sg.dat.

- Mrōpōra 72-6, s.pr.n.sg.loc. place name
 Mlāvimḍirājula 10-4, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
 Mlāvimḍi samudra rakṣaṇāku 10-5, for the protection of the tank
 of Mlāvimḍi
 Mlāvimḍīśvarambuna 10-9, in the temple of Mlāvimḍīśvara, s.n.
 sg.loc.
 Mlāmpaḷli kommaṇa gāmuṇḍunu 50-11, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -nu conj.
 suff.

Y

- Yuddhamallaṇḍu 38-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

R

- rakkāḍinanu 44-58, probably a mistake for ramkāḍinanu, if adultery
 is committed,
 Rakkasa gāmuṇḍunu 50-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -nu conj.suff.
 rakṣaṇāku 10-5, for the protection, s.n.sg.dat. (SLW)
 rakṣayum gānu 38-38, as protection, s.n.sg.nom. + un conj.
 suff. + kānu, infin. of agu
 rakṣiṅci 30-5, having protected
 rakṣiṅcinavāniki 16-14, to him that protected, pp.n., m.sg.dat.
 rakṣiṅcinavāriki 35-11, pp.n., pl.dat.
 rakṣimbanu 44-49, to protect, infin.
 rakṣimban-umna 11-14, if they are (going) to protect (the gift
 made)
 Raccakālu 30-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 raccayillun 53-1, the court-house, s.n.sg.nom. + -un conj.suff.
 raṭṭakuḍiki 74-11, an officer, s.m.sg.dat. (SLW)
 raṭṭakuṭṭa8-2
 raṭṭoḍi 53-7
 raṭṭagullu 13-13, 22-15, 16, 17 pl. (hon.)
 raṭṭoḍi kāmpuḷu 34-6, the reḍḍis and kāmpus
 In several inscr. from 8th c. the word rāṣṭrkūṭa occurs. This
 seems to be a late Sanskrit form of raṭṭagūḍi which is used in
 several earlier inscra. of Telugu Cholas of the 7th-8th c. (See
 EI. VII-221). About 12th c. raṭṭagūḍi > reḍḍi
 raṇambu 40-6, battle, s.n.sg.nom.
 raṇamarddhaka śrī 44-8, the Goddess of Victory

ranamarddanvaya kula tilakuṇḍu 44-4, ornament of the family that
conquered enemy kings

raṇamukha dhātri 93-6,

ramaṇatō 38-37, with pleasure, s.n.sg. instr. used as adv. (SLW)

Ramāpriyayu 52-17, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

Ramisvarā prithivī mahāsartthavaḷ 25-15, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

rācamānambu 21-5, royal measure, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

rācamānambunan 28-14, by the royal measure, instr.;

rācamānāmbuna 6-4, 13-12, 51-12; rācamānāmbuna 30-, mis-
take for rācamānāmbuna

rājamānambu 21-5, nom.; rājamānambu 16-9, 61-10; rājamā-
nām.....60-10

rāja Salki bhūvallabhuṇḍu 38-6, Lord of the imperial Salki coun-
try, adj.s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)

rāju 33-6, king, s.m.sg.nom.

...rāju...23-4

rājul 62-5, pl.; rajul 44-71, mistake for rājul

rāju paṭṭāmbu gaṭṭina patiyun 38-16, the chief anointed by the king

rājyāmbu sēyucun 44-20, ruling the kingdom, adv.pr.p.

rāñjyāmbunan 15-1, mistake for rājyāmbunan, in the kingdom s.n.
sg.loc. (SLW)

rājya śrīki 44-41, for the prosperity of the kingdom, s.n.sg.dat.

Rāmanibhunitōlan 39-5, with the equal of Rāma, s.m.sg.instr.

rāvīnci 44-26, having caused to come adv. pp.

Rāhanum 39-6, s.pr.m.sg.acc.

Rurla 10-6, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

reṇḍu 13-11, 20-4, 7, 25-5, two, num.adj.

reṇḍuṭṭi 20-12, two puṭṭis,

reṇḍuṭṭiyu 20-11, with the conj. -u

Reṇḍurēvulu 47-13, s.pr.n.sg.nom. pl. name

Reṇḍuvādala paṭṭanā vuraku 25-2, to the people of Reṇḍuvādala
paṭṭana

Reṇḍuvādala 25-5, s.pr.n.sg.acc.

Reyamarevo 39-11?

Reseraḷu kumbala koḍuku 85-5, the son Reseraḷu kumbala

Rēnāṇḍu 1-4, 12-5, 14-8, 40-3, 61-5, 62-5, 65-10, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

Roughly the country between the two tributaries of the river
Pennar, the Chitrāvati in the NW. and Cheyyēru in SW. com-
prising a major portion of the Cūldapah and parts of Kolar and

Chittor dists. Rēnāṇḍu explained as the country of the king
rēḍu, cf. mahārājapāḍi in inscrr. after 10th c.

Rēnāṇṭi 90-3, gen.

Rēriya cāmuṇḍiyunu 52-16, s.pr.n.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

Rēvaṇakālu 1-7, 9-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom. "The name seems to be a
Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit name Rēvaṇapādāḥ, the suffix
pāda being literally rendered in Telugu as kālu or kāḷḷu mean-
ing foot or feet" (EL. 27-224). The suffix kālu, or kāḷḷu ap-
pears at the end of a number of personal names in the inscrr.

Rēvaśarmma 14-10, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Rēvaśarmmārikin 7-4, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat.

Rēvasarmmaṇa puttrasya Aggisarmmāriki 28-18, to Aggiśar-
mmāru, son of Rēvaśarmma

raṁkāḍinan 50-13, if adultery is committed, conditional form of
raṁkāḍu — to commit adultery

Rākuṇḍa Koṇḍayayu 50-7, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Rur̥la 10-6, s.pr.n.sg.nom.

Rengari 20-6, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

rēni 39-7, king's s.m.sg.gen.

rēnikin 40-5, dat.

Rēyamayyaru 60-6, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

rō (in rō goṇṇavānrun) 43-5, money, wealth, s.n.sg.nom. later
Tel. rōyi, Na. Damayanti rōyigā jūdam-āḍudamu (Bhr. 3-2-
217) Tam. ur̥ai

L

lancaṁbu goṇṇavānru 42-1, those who take bribe, pp.n., m.sg.nom.

likhitam 7-8, written

likitam 9-5, 16-25

lingambu 38-10, the linga, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

liṅgambulanu 47-29, pl.acc.

Līpara gāmuṇḍunu 50-8, s.pr.m.sg.nob. + -nu conj. suff.

lērā 52-7?

lēkunna 44-33, if there is not, lēka — not being + unna — if there is.

lēdu 50-13, 15, is not; lēdu 25-4, mistake for lēdu

Lōkama 5-2, s.pr.f.sg.nom.

lōkambun 14-29, in the world, s.n.sg.loc. (SLW)

lōpali 47-17, inside s.n.sg.gen.

lōhāsanambu 39-5, throne, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

V

Vakrambu 25-4, obstruction, s.n.sg.nom.

Vakrambu vaccina 10-32, 15-2, that obstructed, d.pp. of vakrambu vaccu — to obstruct

Vakrambu vaccina 25-5, conditional

vakrambu vaccuvaṇḍu 61-13, mistake for -vāṇḍu, he that obstructs, aor.p.n., m.sg.nom.

vakrambu va...24-21

vakrambu rādeṁcu...54-, that is about to obstruct, thinks of obstructing

vakrambu vacinavānṛu 6-6, mistake for — vaccinavānṛu, pp. n.m.sg.nom.

vakrambu vaccinavāru 25-4, 60-12, pl.nom.; vakkrāmbu vaccinavāru 48-4; vakrambu vacinavāru 64-17, mistake for -vaccinavāru

vakrambu vaccuvānṛu 13-17, 31-4, aor.p.n., m.sg.nom.;

vakrambu vacuvānṛu 81-11, mistake for -vaccuvānṛu;

vakrambu vaccuvanṛu 14-24, mistake for -vaccuvānṛu;

vakrambu vaccuvānṛu 26-25

vakrambu vaccuvāru 62-16, 74-17, pl.nom.

vagrabu vaccuvaru 27-8, mistake for vakrambu vaccuvāru
vakra palkinavāru 8-7, those that speak against, obstruct, pp.n., pl.nom.

vacci 38-23, having come.

vaccina 39-7, d.pp.

vaccinavāru 25-4, (in the sense of vakrambu-)

Vajjirāju 90-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom. (gen. sense)

vaḍavariki 25-2, to the God, see Karigaḷḷa vaḍavariki

vaṇam pariyaramu 22-10, a kind of tax? s.n.sg.nom. may be for paṇa-

vadhinḁi 90-9, having killed, pp.

vadhinḁina, d.pp.

vadhisinavanṛu 23-24, pp.n., m.sg.nom.

Vanṛi bōḷumu 17-4, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom. + -mu conj.suff.

Vaṁgunūṛla caruva sarma putra — Vinna śarmmaḷaku 31-2, to Vinnasarmma son of Vaṁgunūṛla Caruvaśarmma

Vayyēṭi mahānabhiyūḷ 25-10, s.pr.pl. (hon.) nom.

Vayyēṭi mahābhiḷ 25-9

Vayyēṭi mahānabhiḷ 25-9

- valayu (ēmi valayu) 44-30, will desire, aor.verb 3.sg. of valacu —
to desire, to want
valayun ēni 44-49, if wanted, valayunu + ēni, conditional
particle
- vallabhu kolpunan 39-6-, in the services of the king, s.n.sg.loc.
vallabhuṇḍu 39-9, king, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- Vallesappa 80-3, s.pr.n.sg.nom., place name
- Vavaharāju 93-4, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Vasantipōri Cōlamahādēvuḷu 13-7, s.pr.f.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Vasantīśvarambuna 13-8, in the temple of Vasantīśvara, s.pr.n.sg.
loc.
Vasantīśvarambunāku 13-15, dat.
- vāgū 41-10, for vāgu army
- Vāccō .. lāḷa 16-22, proper name
- vāni 44-61, his, demons.pron., sg.gen.
.. vānru 68-4
.. vāṇḍu 47-27, 28
vāriki 11-9, pl.dat.
vāri 65-15, 17; 33-2, gen.; vari 27-4, mistake for vāri
vōri cēta 83-4, for vāricēta, colloquial pronunciation.
- Vānapōtula Mucciyaku 66-7, s.pr.m.sg.dat.
- vāyurādityambu 50-5, wind and sun, used as adv. as long as the
wind and sun last
- Vāraṇāsi 74-19, s.pr.n.sg.nom.; Vāraṇāsi 66-4;
Vāraṇāsi 41-2
Vāraṇāsiyu 26-28, with -u conj.suff.
V- > B-, see Bāraṇāsi.
- Vārāṇṭa pāru 26-23, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- vārdhilucunūḍu 47-23, mistake for varddhillucunūḍu-, will flourish,
- Vikramarāmana Maḷuvakka dhūrtan 77-5, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Vikramāditya ... rāju 74-2
- vijayarāja samvatsarambu ... 39-1
vijayarāja samvatsarambuḷ 19-4, 51-5
- Vijayāditya pādapadma bhramarāyamāna śrīmat Kaḍeyarāju 37-1
the illustrious Kaḍeyarāju who is like a bee at the lotus feet
of Vijayāditya
- Viṭrajula 20-2, s.pr.n.pl. (hon.) gen. ṛ for r, rājula.
- viḍice 50-5, left, past 3.sg.
- viḍisi 38-15, having stayed, or lodged, adv.pp. of
viḍiyu — to lodge
viḍisinan 38-15, conditional form
- Vitaratti 86-2?

- vittu paṭṭu 46-2, land sowable with seed
 Vitpārti 10-6, 10-11, s. pr.n.sg.gen. cf. Viripaṛiti 13-10, 52-7
 Viddamaya 15-4, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Viniyaṇa 13-21, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 vipra kavacaṃbu 15-4, the armour of the brahmins
 Virāpava mahānabhiyuḷ 25-7, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 Viṣaya boḷa 17-5, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom. (abl. sense)
 Viṣṇuvarddhana mahāsatthavaḷ 25-11, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 Viṣṇuvarddhana mahāsatthavala 25-13, gen. :
 Viṣṇuvarddhanutōn 44-14, s.pr.m.sg. instr.
 vistara śrī Yuddhamalluṇḍu 38-2, Yuddhamalla of great prosperity,
 s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 vīṭa 48-3, in the house, capital s.n.sg.loc.
 vīḍu paṭu 54-4, house-site, cf. ilupāḍu 54-3
 vīnin 35-11, these, prox.dem.pron., n.pl.acc.
 Vīramahārāju 88-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 vīralōkambu 76-4, 80-4, the world of heroes, s.n.sg.nom.
 vīra lōkā .. 41-11 (probably lōkānaku)
 vīri 53-3, his, prox. dem. pron.pl. (hon.) gen.
 vīripayin 25-6, on them, about them.
 Vuddini Kommanayu 50-12, s.pr.m.sg. + -u conj.suff.
 Vṛiddha sammaṇa 17-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Veṭandala Caruvayya 25-11, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Veṭandaḷ 25-13, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 Venkayā cōḷa maharāju 47-19, mistake for -mahārāju, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Venṭha vaḍḍaci 43-7, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Vendarambuḷu 24-17, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 vennu 39-7, back, s.n.sg.nom.
 Veppari Siruvuṭṭi gāmuṇḍunu 50-11, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -nu conj.suff.
 velayaṃgan 38-14, so as to be known, velayan + kan
 veligānun 50-14, excepting, veli = outside,
 veliyai 52-25,
 velvarimcinan 38-19, if thrown out, conditional
 vellārabāmbu 44-63, a kind of tax?
 vēki .. pāra Candrādityunru 76-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 vēgavilālanu 54-6, a thousand cows of dark hue, s.pl.acc.
 vēgavilāḷu 20-14, pl.nom.
 vēguḷūrlu 31-3, a thousand villages, s.n.pl.nom.
 vēguḍluḷanu 54-6, a thousand temples, s.n.pl.acc.
 vēguḷuvu 14-21, nom.

vēdlumu 20-14, mistake for vēgudlumu nom. with -umu conj. suff.

Vēṇavōjanru 24-18, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

vēṇḍikoni 32-4, having prayed, pp.

-ṇ- > -n-: vēṇḍikoni 60-8,

Vēṇḍikonḍumu 44-34, mistake for vēṇḍikonumu? pray thou (for yourself)

vēṇḍikommu, aor. verb, = vēṇḍikonumu

Vēnāṇṭi 50-3, s.pr.n.sg.gen.

Vēnāṇṭi dāsu 50-12, the dāsu of Vēnāṇḍu

Vēmbaḷḷi Beytūrekkiyu 50-6, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -u conj.suff.

Vēṅgi dēsamu 44-14, the country of Vēṅgi, s.n.sg.nom.

Vēṅgi nāṇṭin 35-6, s.pr.n.sg.acc:

Vēṅgi pāra 26-13, the brahmin of Vēṅgi

Vēṅgīśvarunaku 44-4, to the lord of Vēṅgi, s.m.sg.dat.

Vēyi 74-21, thousand, num.adj.

vēyu (in Siddhivēyu Rēnāṇḍ-ēḷuvēla 14-7, vēyu kavilalā 10-33)

Vērarājun 44-69, s.pr.m.sg.acc.

vēreṟu 38-39

vēlupu 54-4, God.

vēvānṟuḷu 14-22, a thousand brahmin villages, s.n.pl.nom.

vēvuru 13-19, 20-16, 73-5, a thousand persons, num.appell.noun;

vevuru 27-9, mistake for vēvuru

vēvura 23-24, 54-6, acc.

vēvurānu 74-20, acc. with conj. -nu

vēvurggavilala 62-17, a thousand cows, vēvur — mistake for

vēyi, probably due to contamination with the mahat form — a thousand brahmins

vēseruvuḷu 14-21, a thousand tanks, s.n.pl.nom.; vē śeruvuḷu (20-15)

Vaidumbuḷa cētan 91-4, by the Vaidumbas, s.pr.m.pl.instr.

vraccinavāru 10-34, 62-18, 66-4, those who destroy, pp.n., ep.pl.nom.

of vraccu — to break, destroy; vraccinavaru 37-12, mistake

vraccinavāru

vraccina 21-13, 38-13, d.pp.

vracci .. 60-13

Forms with ṛ :

vraccina 61-16, d.pp.

vraccina vāru 64-17, pp.n.

vḷaccina 42-3, d.pp.

vrasivara 25-8

vrasi, 25-9,

vrālu 48-7, signature, s.n.sg.nom.

vrāsinavāṇḍu 50-8, he that wrote, pp.n., m.sg.nom. of vrāyu —
to write

vrāsivāṇḍu 52-27, mistake for vrāsina-

vrāsinavāṇḍu 61-17, with ṛ mistake for r.

vrāsiri 24-29, past 3.pl.

vrāse 13-22, past, 3sg.

vrituḍḍu 60-11, gifts, plural of vritti

viti 55-1, mistake for vritti?

§

Śaka Vaiśravanu 27-6, s.pr.m.sg.gen.

śata pamcāśat kṣētram 18-9, hundred and fifty (units of) land

Śatyaditunṛu 14-7, mistake for satyādityunṛu s.pr.in.sg.nom.

Śamasta bhuvanaśriya Kanaḍiraju 25-8, mistake for -bhuvanāśraya-,
s.pr.m.sg.nom.

śavaṇa 17-2, sale price?

śāsanāmbu 46-1, inscription, s.n.sg.nom.;

sāsanabu 65-21 (SLW)

Śica . yanu 50-12, proper name, -nu conj.suff.

śilāstambambu 44-51, stone pillar, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

śivapadavara sēvitunḍu 36-2, worshipper of the excellent feet of
Śiva, adj.s.m.sg.nom.

Śūrjya grahana nimittāmbuna 60-7, for the occasion of the solar
eclipse

śauca kandarppunaku 44-3 (SLW)

Śrī 44-33, prosperity, s.n.sg.nom (SLW)

Śrī Abhiccuramganṛu 71-1, s.pr.in.sg.nom.

Śrī Abhinutavāku 48-8, praiseworthy speech, written at the end
of the inscr.

Śrī Erikal muturāju 69-2, s.m.sg.nom.

Śrī Ēḷuḷakāla Vilmere 83-6, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Śrī Kalivadejamunṛu 83-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Śrī Kalivadejamuni 91-1, gen.

Śrī Kuruvadi ācarla 4-1, s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) gen.

Śrī Gaṇḍa maykaliyya s.pr.m.sg.nom. (gen.sense)

Śrī Gaṇḍa saṅkaliyya 80-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom. (gen.sense)

Śrī Gaṇḍa saṅkalinṛu 79-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Śrī Goyinda porēri 5-1, s.pr.f.sg.nom. (gen.sense)

Śrī Candra gaṇḍa triṇētra Vīramahārāju 82-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

Śrī Cālukya vamsōdbhava Śrī Vikramāditya maharājuḷa 15-1,
s.pr.m.pl.(hon.) gen.

- Śrī Cōlamahārājādhirāja paramēśvara Vikramāditya Śaktikomara
Vikramādityula 14-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
- Śrī Cōlamahārāju 67-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Śrī Cōlara 55-1, of Śrī Cōla?, s.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
- Śrī Jayamāyi 85-4, s.m.sg.nom.
- Śrī Jaṣṭi Pendaṭṭarra gaṇḍāṇḍu 25-18, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Śrī Tribhuvanādityan Śrī Maṛuvaratrinētrō . . mainru 58-1,
s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Śrī Dāmōdharēśvarāmbu 56-1, the temple for Dāmōdharēśvara,
s.n.sg.nom.
- Śrī Dānasirḷa Mārama dhāni maṅgiyāri 68-1, s.pr.f.pl. (hon.) gen.
- Śrī Dugirāju 34-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom. (gen.sense)
- Śrī Nāranarēndruṇḍu 59-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Śrī Nityavaruṣa pritivivallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara
parama bhaṭararā 52-1, mistake for -bhaṭararā, s.pr.m.pl.
(hon.) gen.
- Śrīparvvatāmbu 16-20, 60-13, s.n.sg.nom:
Śrīparvvatāmbun 48-5, acc.; Śrīparvvattamunu 52-22.
Śrīparbbātāmbunan 47-28, loc.
- Śrī Puliyāḍi yamakanru 70-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Śrī Pōrirāju 81-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
- Śrī Pōrmukharāmuḷ 26-9, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Śrī Prittivipati rājuḷa 30-1, s.pr.m.pl. (non.) gen.
- Śrī Prithivivallabha Vijayāditya Cōlarājuḷ 28-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.)
nom.
- Śrī Baṇḍaya 32-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom. (gen. sense)
- Śrī Baṇḍayaru 33-2, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Śrī Bādirājuḷa andu 16-6, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) loc.
- Śrī Bejeitta bhaṭarala 27-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
- Śrī Magidogarājuḷa 20-1, mistake for -rāju, s.pr.m.pl. (nom.) gen.
- Śrī Mayamkadala bhaṭaralu 66-5, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Śrī Maśiya . . 66-2, proper name
- Śrī Mahāsatthavaḷa 25-17, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
- Śrī Mahēndran, 29-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Śrī Miḷḷirājuḷa 72-2, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
- Śrī Mai . . rājuḷa 92-1, proper name, gen.
- Śrī Yuddhamalluṇḍu 38-43, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- Śrī Yteyari 64-15, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen. mistake for Ayteyri. Cf.
Aytama seṭṭi (SII.V—179), Aitamāmba (V-192)
- Śrī Vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭarala 31-1, s.pr.
m.pl. (hon.) gen.

- Śrī Vavamā . . 88-3, proper name
 Śrī Vāṇakabhāru 83-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Śrī Vikramāditya nṛipāgra tanayunḍu 44-1, the eldest dear son
 of Śrī Vikramāditya
 Śrī Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Prithuvīvallabha mahārājādhi-
 rāja paramēśvara bhaṭāralaku 51-4, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
 Śrī Vīramahārājula 85-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
 Śrī Viḷēvani 10-23, s.pr.m.sg.gen.
 Śrī Venkayācōḷa mahārājula 47-6, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
 Śrī Vēḷugunṭha ācārḷu 3-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 Śrī Vaidumba mutturājula 89-2, s.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
 Śrī Vyāḷacandra 66-1
 Śrī Sajaḷa 91-2, s.pr.m.sg.nom. (gen.sense)
 Śrī Sakalalōkāśraya Śrī Jayasiṅgha vallabha mahārājulāku 11-7,
 s.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
 Śrīsatiki 21-1, to the Goddess Sati, s.f.sg.dat.
 Śrīsalaku 10-29, to the Lord of Lakshmi, s.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
 Śrī Sēvuṇḍūre 84-1, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Śrī Sōlamahārājul 9-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 Śrīmat Kaḍeyarāju 37-2, s.m.sg.nom.
 Śrīmat Cōdamahārājulu 61-4, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 Śrīmat Cōlamahārāju 65-8, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Śrīmat Cōlamahārājula 63-4, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
 Śrīmat Bhikirāju 61-6, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
 Śrīmat Vallavarājula 52-6, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
 Śrīmat Vikramāditya Cōlamahārājul 22-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
 Śrīmat Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivīvallabha mahā-
 rājādhirāja Paramēśvara bhaṭāralaku 26-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
 Śrīmat Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja Vikra-
 māditya Paramēśvara bhaṭārulākun 48-1, s.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
 Śrīmat Sōḍa maha . . 60-3

S

- Sa. 48-2, contraction for Śaka,
 sakavarṣamma 49-6, mistake for śakavarṣammu, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
 sakavarṣambulu 63-6, pl.
 sakala vastu samētuṇḍu 38-5, one possessed of all things, adj.s.m.
 sg.nom. (SLW)
 sakala śāstrārtha pāragul-ayna 37-4, he who is well versed in
 all the śāstras s.m.pl. (hon.) nom. + ayna.

- sakalōkaśraya Prithivī mahāsartthavala 25-17, mistakes for sakalalōkāśraya-
- saktitraya sampannundu 37-9, mistake for śakti-, possessed of the three powers, adj.sm.sg.nom. (SLW)
- . . saṭi raṭṭakudiki 74-11, proper name, dat
- satyābhimāni 65-19, lover of truth, adj.
- santosambuna 50-3, with joy, = santōṣambuna, s.n.sg.instr. (SLW)
- sandhivigrahi paṇṇunu 50-4, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom.
- Sannimitra lōkeśvara bhaṭārulakun 48-3, to (the God)
- Sannimitralōkēśvara s.m.pl. (hon.) dat.
- sapuruṣunrē 26-19, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + ē emphatic particle
- Sabbētavva ūri 87-7, place name, s.n.sg.gen.
- Samati bōḷumu 17-3, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- samatta paḍuvatō 35-5, mistake for sāmanta-, with the army of the subordinate, chief, s.n.sg.instr.
- samayambu 43-1, agreement, stipulation, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
- samarambu 90-3, battle, s.n.sg.nom (SLW)
- samarthundu 37-7, capable one, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)
- samasta rāiyabhara nirūpita mahāmantrādhipati 37-8, the great chief of the ministers bearing the burden of the whole kingdom, s.m.sg.nom.
- samudrambu 10-21, tank, see Gommalōviḍi samudrambu, s.n.sg. nom. (SLW)
- samvatsarambuḷ 13-6, years, s.n.pl.nom. (SLW); cavaccarambuḷ 28-4
- saṅvatsarambu 26-8
- Samkilāṇḍu 39-7, s.pr.m.sg.nom.
- sarvvaparihāruvu 47-18, free of all taxes, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)
- sarvvabāda pariyāruvu 25-3
- Sarvvalōkāśraya . . kya Bhīmamahārājula 39-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
- sarvvalōkaśraya mahāsartthavaḷ 25-10, s.m.pl. (hon.) nom.
- Sarvvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvarddhana mahārājula 45-1, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) gen.
- Salkula kula santā paḍine 44-37?
- salalita . . . 36-12
- salpi 44-51, having done, i.e. having maintained, adv. pp. of salpu— to do
- salpinavāniki 14-20, pp.n., m.sg.dat.
- salpinavaru 37-13, mistake for salpinavāru, pl.nom.

sasvatambu 37-14, mistake for śāsvatambu, eternity, s.n. sg.nom.

(SLW)

sahitamba 13-12, including, s.n.sg.nom. + a emphatic particle

sākṣi 31-3, 62-14, witness, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)

saksi 17-5, mistake for sākṣi

śakṣikānu 2-8, mistake for sākṣikānu, as witness

sāmantakamuḷ 22-6, subordinate, s.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

siddhāyambu 25-3, a kind of tax, s.n.sg.nom.

siddhayambu 62-19, mistake for siddhāyambu

Siddhi 14-7, name of a territorial division, s.n.sg.nom.

Sirama peggadlu, 48-7, s.pr.m.pl. (hon.) nom.

Sirumūra 60-5, s.n.sg.loc.

Siluginḍunu 52-20, s.pr.m.sg.nom. + -nu conj.suff.

sukhamb-unḍi 44-23, having lived happily, living happily, adv.pp.

of sukhambuṇḍu — to live happily

sukhambu 44-67, comfort, happiness, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

sukṣētrambu 11-12, excellent field, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

suci 52-10

sutuṇḍu 38-24, son, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)

sutrōdāra buddhin 89-3, with liberal mind, s.n.sg.instr. (SLW)

suralōkam̐bu 90-10, the world of the Gods, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

surālayambu 84-3, the abode of the Gods, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

sūrjya grahana nimittambuna 60-7, for the occasion of the solar eclipse,

sūryya grahana stiti 62-6, the gift (made on the occasion) of the solar eclipse

sūragati 78-2, in the path of the warriors, s.n.sg.loc. (SLW)

sēpuṭa 10-23?

sēna 35-4, army, s.n.sg.nom. (dat.sense) (SLW)

sēnāpati 88-3, commander, s.m.sg.nom. (SLW)

sōma grahana . . . 89-4, lunar eclipse

sōmavāram̐bu 12-9, Monday, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

Sōramāḍi kayvambuna 83-8, in the battle at Sōramāḍi,

Sōremaḍi kayyambuna 41-8;

Sōravāḍi kayyambuna 82-6

. . . skarayya 62-13, proper name

stānambu 5-3, property, gift s.n.sg.nom. (SLW); stanambu 47-31, mistake for stānambu

stānambun 68-3, acc.

(nālugu) stānambulavārunu 62-15, people connected with the (four) gifts

stīti 25-2,4; 38-33, 39-3, 44-50, 72; 62-6, gift, s.n.sg.nom. (SLW)

sthiti 50-3,6, nom.

sthitilō 44-70, loc.

strī vadya 14-26, murder of a woman

Svasti 2-1, 7-1, 8-1, 9-1, 10-1, 11-1, 12-1, 13-1, 14-, 15-1, 16-1,

18-1, 19-1, 20-1, 21-1, 22-1, 24-1, 26-1, 28-1, 30-1, 31-1, 33-1,

34-1, 38-1, 39-1,3; 40-1, 41-1, 43-1, 45-1, 47-1, 48-1, 49-1, 50-1,

51-4, 52-4, 53-1, 60-1, 62-1, 63-1, 65-1, 66-2, 67-1, 68-1, 69-1,

70-1, 71-1, 72-1, 75-1, 76-1, 77-1, 79-1, 80-1, 81-1, 82-1, 83-1,

84-1,85-1, 86-1, 87-1, 88-1, 89-1, 90-1, 91-1, 92-1, 93-1.

svasta 25-1, mistake for svasti

svisti 27-1, mistake for svasti

H

Haridurddharāvara bhujāsi bhāsura pracaṇḍa pradyotira dinakara kulanandana Kāsyapa gōtra Kairkālānvaya-, belonging to the dynasty of Karikāla. of Kāsyapa gōtra, belonging to the Solar race, shining with the sword in the arm which is irresistible to enemy kings, 62-1, praśasti of a dynasty of Telugu cholas; occurs with minor variations in spelling in inserr. 60 to 65.

hōra 12-10

Hamegunuvula Dēvaṇa 21-6, s.pr.m.sg.nom.

L

Forms from root ali—to destroy—by metathesis resulting in initial

l, see ali-

lēmaṇḍala (Śrī Jayamāyi) 85-4, name of a territorial division,

lēmaṇḍa eḷapi . . . 81-3?

lōṅkuḷāku 91-6, to the lōṅkuḷas, a dynasty of subordinate rulers,

s.pr.m.pl.dat.

lōṅkuḷa . . 77-1,7

APPENDIX I*

PROPER NAMES

I. Male:

Aggisarmmāriki, Accakurṛavaniyu, Anṇarāpuli vāmbuḷu, Atiśaya raṭṭakūṭṭa, Atiśaya raṭṭaguḷḷu, Anantaśōbhūḷu, Aniganga raṭṭaguḷḷu, Annuvayan, Apayajanuvakola, Apimanagamṅu Kessaraḷu, Apimana goravalaku, Abhiccuramganṛu, Abhinutācariya, Amlutalālu, Aṅgarayyayu, Ayyapayyayu, Ayyaparāju, Aylama pergedalun, Arahamandi bhaṭṭāralu, Arivarajamunṛu, Aruturēvullayya, Aḷamkāriyaripuliyu, Aḷugurāl-(anvāru), Asivairuvu, Ādit-yana prabhugaḷa, Ālakumara (priyatanayimṛu), Āḷubāpasinḍi mire, Immaḍi Īto, Iśerēnikin, Isānaśivulu, Īśvarunāku, Ujēnīpiśāca nāma-dhēyimṛu, Uttamāditya (Cōḷa mahārāju), Uttamāditya (sāmanta-kamuḷ), Urupenakālu, Eyarakallu Kuḷagaṭṭuḷu, Erracamu . yayu, Erravummayunu, Erāma, Elammayu, Eḷuḷakāla Vilmere, Kaccarḷu, Kaḍandala Iśaraya, Kaḍeyarāju, Kattiśarmmaku, Kadaladēvani, Kanaḍirajuḷ, Kannaraballahuniki, Kannarābhūpati, Kabbada Kēsi-yanna, Karāyituṇḍu, Kariyamarammaya, Karuveṅgaḷa Nalucā-muḷaku, Kalanḍanāyyayu, Kalimuḍirājuḷ, Kalivadejamunṛu, Kāḍu-vattī (datti), Kāḍeyagāri, Kāpi bōḷa mutturāju, Kālpariti Barari-yaku, Kucibhaḍālu, Kuṇaṇḍāḷuvānṛu, Kuṇḍikāḷḷu, Kurureḷa remma, Kuruvadi ācarḷa, Kuruva bhaṭṭariki, Kurrimma Vallava raṭṭaguḷḷi, Kuḷḷamman, Kusumāyudhuṇḍu, Kūviya raṭṭoḷa, Ketti-coyyayu, Kēsariyu, Koṇḍivillu Raccayirriki, Koṇḍupāru, Koraviki, Koravi Nallamereya, Koraviyanna, Korinḍikoḷ, Korukālu, Kōḷa-nadippi Bīreya, Kōra Desimṅambu, Gaṇaya sammaṇa, Gaṇḍa Tri-ṇētrani, Gaṇḍa Maykaliya, Gaṇḍara Mutrāju, Gaṇḍa Saṅkaliyya, Gaṇḍa Saṅkalinṛu, Gāguḷlakāḍamma Śrīmeddi, Gumisiya reṭṭeḷḷu, Goggi bhaṭṭarala, Goṇaṅgayya, Gorigoṇḍu, Gōvriśāna bhaṭṭāraho, Caṭṭa-pākhyēna, Cantamāna Daḍini, Candraganḍa Triṇētra Vira-mahārāju, Candrādityunṛu, Cāmaṇakāla, Cāmuṇḍeya, Cāṅgeya bōyuṇḍunu, Cāḷukya Bhīmunaku, Ciriyanayunu, Cuḷpati, Cenūru-kāju, Cemṅālu, Cēdiśarmmaku, Cēlakāl Āytannayu, Cōḷlakālu, Cōḷiya raṭṭaguḷḷu, Jayasimghavallabha mahārājuḷakun, Jāyapāru,

* The lists are not exhaustive.

Jogiyayu, Timgaveḷḷi pāru, Tiruvuḷa pāraḷu, Turummunūḍḷa Bādeyya raṭṭoḍḷu, Tolpakāmi raṭṭaguḷḷu, Dantiyamma maṃgutōḷan, Dantiyōvajanun, Darayayu, Dānasirḷa Māramadhāni mangiyāri, Divakarayya, Duggayyayu, Dujayarājula mutturājulu, Dēsarati Bhimana, Doḍa Eḍayayu, Doḍa Cīṃkiyayu, Dhanamjayuru, Nakakōḷu, Narasiṃha Bāṇādhirāja-, Navapriya mutturājulu, Nārana-rēndruṇḍu, Nityavaruṣa . . paramabhaṭararā, Nolombitōḷi, Paṇḍaraṃgu, Paṇṭimukuna raṭṭorḷu, Paṃbayayu, Parkkuḷugu, Paldāmbu, Pallava Dukarajulu, Pallavarājula, Pallavācārjyasya, Pallavādirājula, Palleyari, Paḷugu bāru, Paḷḷeyari, Pālaśarmmāriki, Piccali Vaidumba raṭagudiyu, Puṇyakumārunṇu, Puṇyasārḷu, Puddana-kālu, Purranūrullu, Puliyadi Yamakanṇu, Puliyayu Pulvēri Sirāmayyayu, peda Paṇḍaraṃgulu, Pedaru Rerayurājul, Pedana, Penukōḷu, Pērerayu, Pōḍēri, Pōrirājula, Pōlaya bhaṭaraḷa, Prabhurāmunṇu, Prittivipati rājulla, Baṇḍaya, Baṇḍayaru, Bada-yāri, Badra Pereya, Bali Indra Bāṇarājula, Bādaya, Bādirāju, Bādirājula Buṭeli Marammacari, Bejeitta bhaṭaraḷa, Bejeyarāju, Bhaṭṭadēvaniki, Bhikiraju, Bhīmamahārājula, Bhīmarājunakun, Bhīmarājula, Bhīmasalukiyaṇḍu, Bhujamgadi bhūpādityula, Bhuvana Triṇētra Śrīmad Irugeya mahārāju, Bhuvana Triṇētra Śrīmat Vaydumba mahārāju, Bramma Vaḍḍaci, Magidogarajula, Maṇaya śammaṇa Mattiśaku, Manuja Triṇētra Śrī Baidumba mahārāju, Mayamkadaḷa bhaṭāralu, Maramayu, Malkoṇḍa Cāmiyu, Mallamḍu, Mahalaḍārunṇu, Mahēndran, Mācūrullu, Mārpidugu raṭṭaguḷḷu, Miriyampu bōḷajaku, Millirājula, Muṭṭaku, Muṭṭamale Dōcayya, Meykeṭi Vinakuccava pāracārīki, Mēlikurti Candiyanna, Mōrayāku, Mlāmpaḷḷi Kommaṇa gamuṇḍunu Yeriya Māḍavayyayu, Yuddhamalluṇḍu, Rakkasa gāmuṇḍunu, Raecayilḷun, Rāmāpriyayu, Ramisvarā prithimi mahāsartthavaḷ, Rāhanun, Reseraḷu Kumbaḷa, Rēriya Cāmuṇḍiyunu, Rēvaṇakālu, Rēvaśarmma, rākunḍa Koṇḍeyayu, rengari, rēyamayyaru, Līpara gāmuṇḍunu, Vajirāju, Vanri bōḷumu, Vaṃganūrḷa Caruva śarmma-, Vallabha mahārājādhirāja-, Vavaharāju, Vāccō . . . i, lāḷa, Vānakabhāru, vānapōtula Mucciyaku, Vārāṇṭa pāru, Vikramarāmana Maḷuvakka dhūrtan, Vikramāditya-, Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarājula, Vijayāditya-, Viṭrajula. Viddamaya, Viniyaṇa, Vinnaśarammaḷaku, Viṣaya bōḷa. Viṣṇuvarddhana mahāsartthavaḷ, Viṣṇuvarddhanutōn, Vīramahārāju, Vṛiddha sammaṇa, Vuddini Kommaṇayu, Veṭandala Caruvayya, Venkayā Cōḷa maharaju, Venṭha vaddaci, Vendarāmbuḷu, Veppari Siruvuṭṭi gāmuṇḍunu, Vēguḷūrḷu, Vēṇavōjanṇu, Vēmbaḷḷi Beytūrekkīyu, Vērarājun, Vēḷugumṭha ācārḷu, Śaka Vai-

śravanu, Śaktikomara Vikramādityula, Śatyaditunru, Śrī Jayamāyi, Śrī Jaṣṭi Pendatṭarra gandāṇḍu, Śrī Yteyari, Śrī Sajala, Sapuru-
ṣunrē, Samati bōḷumu, Saṁkilāṇḍu, Sirama peggaḍḍu, Siḷuguṇḍunu,
Haṁguṇuvula Dēvaṇa.

II. Female :

Kūcapōriki, Goyinda porēri, Bācavvariki, Maṁkhi porriyāru,
Mārakaṇaru, Mārammā Caḷki raṭṭaguḍi , Lōkama, Vasantipōri
Cōlamahādēvuḷu.

III. Names of Places :

Acalapuramu, Artirēvula, Aḷikalā (ūriṇḍavāru), Inmalūri, In-
pulōli, Uṇḍēlu Ujjayini, Uruvuṭūri (bōḷa), Emmuduru, Erikal-
(muturāju), Ēruvaviṣayaṁbu, Ēḷupakāla (ēḷuvāṇḍu), Kaṅgaḷūnru,
Kaṭṭepu (durggaṁbu), Kaḍapa, Kaḍuvaṁḍlula, Kaṇḍukur, Kal-
civīla, Kāṭiceruvulu, Kiranapuramu, Kumuḷu (kayyaṁbuna),
Kurramaduḅu, Gaṭṭu Viripariti, Goccicopatiya (Kayambuna) Cir-
paliya, Cirumbūri, Cuvvuṭūri (gāṇambu), Cēmrōlu, Cēramaṅga-
lambuna, Tarkkapulōla, Tirpalūra, Turumara viṣayaṁbu, Turuta-
tāka, Tlomrūru (raṭṭaguḷḷa), Tholgoṭṭu (gāṇambu), Dammavuraṁ-
buna, Daḷenāṇḍu, Dharmmāvurammuna, Naṁgaḷūri, Nayorrā,
Niḍumrani (Kayyambuna), Nidugaṭaṁbuna, Paḷḷināṅṭi, Pākanāṁṭi,
Pābuliggi, Pudali, Purranurḷa, peddha-Kalucuvubariti, Pottepi
(vīṭa), Pridhivīpallava paṭṭanabuna, Bejavāḍa, Beḍagi, Maddikaḍu,
Maṁcikoṇḍa nāṇḍu, Maṁjaramuna, Maṅḷalūra, Muḍibiyāṁbu,
Muttukūrānu, Mudumaḍuvuna, Mrōpōra, Mlāvimḍi, Reṇḍuvaḷala
(paṭṭanāvuraku), Rēnāṇḍu, Rurla, Vaṇavrōla, Vallesappa (yēḷu-
vānru), Vāraṇāsiyu, Vitparti, Vēṁgidēsamu, Vēṁgināṅṭi, Vēlka-
nūri, Subbētavva ūri, Siddhi, Sirumūra, Sōramaḍi, Śrīparvva-
tāmbu.

TELUGU VOCABLES IN THE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS
DURING 6TH—10TH C. A.D.

Andhravaram plates of Indravarman, Ganga, 6th-7th C. EI. XXX, 37-42: Krōṣṭukavarttanyām Tōṭavāṭaka-grāmē Andōrakāgrahāra vastavyēbhyō. Krōṣṭukavarttani appears in many of the Early Ganga plates as the name of a territorial division, identified with the area round about the Narasannapeta taluk in the Sriakulam dist. Tōṭavāṭaka appears to be the ancient name of Tōṭāḍa or Tōdavāḍa, a village eight miles from Andhavaram. Andōrakāgrahāra is the early name of Andhavaram.

Kopparam plates of Pulakesin II 608-642, EI. XVIII, 257-260: Mūgamūr, (identified with Mūngamūr in Kandukur taluk, Nellore dist.), Karmma-rāstrē Irbuli grāmē, kondavēṅṅupūr, Virpuṅṅu (= vipparla in Guntur dist.).

Cipurupalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I A.D. 615-633, I.A. XX, 15-18: Kālvakoṇḍa, Dimila Viṣayē (= name preserved in the modern village Dimile in Sarvasiddhi taluk, Vizag dist.), Cerupūra, palaki viṣayē.

Timmapuram plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I, EI. IX, 317-319: Piṣṭapurā (= Pithapuram, E. Godavary dist.) Palaki Viṣayē Kumulūra nāma grāmē.

Pedamaddali plates of Jayasimha I, A.D. 633-666, I.A. XIII, 137-138. Gudrahāra viṣayē, Marddavalli, pūrvvapārśvē peṅṅukapaṅṅu nāmagrāma, pogalūra vāstavyasya, ājñapti-siyaśarmma.

Niduparru grant of Jayasimha I. EI. XVIII, 55-58. Gaṅḍēruvāṭyām (= Kaṅḍēruvāḍi or Kaṅḍravāḍi of other inscr. see EI VI—148, XII-62), Vannēru nadyāśca tīrē, Gaṅḍēru rājadhānyān (Gaṅḍēru, the chief town of this dist. identified with Kaṅṭēru in Guntur taluk). Niḍubarū nāma grāmam, Niḍuparu nāma gramah (= Modern Niḍamarū about 8 miles to the east of Kaṅṭēru).

Pedavēgi plates of Jayasimha I, EI. XIX, 258-261. Kanthēravāṭi viṣayē Vlēṅṅūrīnāma grāmasya. (= Vellāṭūru in Repalle taluk, Gtr. dist.) Kōmbaru nāma grāma, Kukkunūr-vāstavya, Guddavāḍi viṣayē, Pulibumranāma grāma, (the correct reading is Pulimbūra).

Three Copper plate grants of Calukya Jayasimha-Vallabha I: 659 A.D. Gudivada, Visakhapatnam dist. EI. XXXI—129-138: Kal-lūra Vāsakāt, Plakki viṣayam, Ādivāsē; Kulivāṭaka Kṣētra sahitam. Kulivāṭaka is also mentioned as Kudivāḍa in the two other grants of the same king (see below)—It is the present village of Gudivāḍa. Plakki Viṣaya is mentioned in the Ramatīrtham plates of Indravarman, (Viṣṇukunḍin) and the Cipurupalli and Timmapuram plates of Viṣṇuwardhana I (as Paḷaki). It is identified with the contiguous portions, if not the whole, of the Sarvasiddhi and Anakapalle taluks of Visakhapatnam dist. Paḷaki > Prakki in later times.

(B) Plakki-viṣayē, Kudivāḍā-nāmā grāmē, Kundūra-grāma-

(C) Plakki-Viṣayē; Kudivāḍa-nāma-grāmaḥ; paścimataḥ gōlava-nāma-taṭākam, punaḥ Nāguvula ceṛuvu Kaṇḍikaṭṭu Kaḍa-kaṭṭu/uttarataḥ Āvakaṭṭu.

Kondanaguru grant of Indravarman EI. XVIII, 1-5 : Koṇḍana-gūru nāma grāma—, Mujumṇūru-nāma-grāmaḥ, pagunūru-nāma-grāmaḥ, Ceṛupūru-nāma-grāmaḥ, Irb̄bali-nāma-grāmaḥ, Durgaśarman receives the epithet Irralūr bōya. The context suggests that boya means 'resident of the village', Ālapāka bōḷ, Sōmayājulu Veḷlekki bōḷ, Māraṭa bōḷ, Cōḍa bōḷ. Cf. Similar forms in Reyuru and Cendalur plates below.

Amudalapadu plates of Calukya Vikramaditya I of Badami, Mahabubnagar dist., 660 A.D. EI. XXXII: Murrūra grāma-, Vaṅgūravāḍi-viṣayē, Iparumkal-nāma-grāmaḥ. Murrūra may be identified with one of the two localities called cinna Marrūra and Pedda Marrūra on the bank of the Kistna in the Kollapuram taluk, Mahaboobnagar dist. Vaṅgūravāḍi-Viṣaya may be Vaṅgūru in the Kalvaparti taluk; Iparumkal may be identified with Vīpanagamḍla about 10 miles from Marrūra village.

Reyuru grant of Visnuvardhana II A.D. 667-676. IA. VII 186-191. Karmma rāṣṭra viṣayē paṣiṇḍi, Paṃrunidu Mrānumi Delkontha Rāvinūyu ityētasya grāma-madhyasya Rēyūru nāma grāmaḥ; Kattisarmma, Kappaśarmma, Rēva Śarmma, Kōyilabōyasya Bharadwāja gōtra Bādisarmmaṇa muyyardhamśaḥ || Utpituru bōyasya Kaṇvagōtra Pālaśarmmaṇa ēkāmśaḥ. Similarly gōtra and personal names the following epithets occur: Kavila bōyasya, Alabum̄nabōyasya, Cimtūr bōyasya, Madubam̄ bōyasya, Puḷalūr bōyasya, Dūdibōyasya, Toṇḍadūrbōyasya, Cēyūr bōyasya, Miṛi

bōyasya, Mudugontha bōyasya, Cantrūr bōyasya, Māraṭa bōyasya, Muddamūr bōyasya, Ponnaḷūr bōyasya, vēgim bōyasya (should be read as vēmgi bōyasya), Katumur bōyasya, Rēkādi bōyasya, Munikol bōyasya, cēbum dōthi bōyasya, Eddoṇḍi bōyasya, ḷuttalūr bōyasya, Cinccakudi bōyasya, Samoti bōyasya, Maṁdu bōyasya. The following personal names are noteworthy: Jeṭṭiśarmmaṇa, ḷuddaśarmmaṇa, Jakkiśarmmaṇa.

Pallivada grant of Visnuvardhana II IA. VII, 191-192. Gudrahāra viṣayē Arutaṅkūrāśrayē Paḷlivāda gramam adhivasataḥ, Personal names: Nūvucūṭṭi, Dōciśarmma.

Koneki grant of Visnuvardhana II, E. Chalukya, 669 A.D. EI. XXXI 74-81: paḷli-rāṣṭrē Koṇeki-nāma-grāmam. Koneki can be identified with Kōṇaṅki near Gurazala, Palnad taluk; Paḷli-rāṣṭra is the ancient name of Palnad. In Inscr. the name appears variously as Pallināṇḍu, Paḷlināṇḍu or Paḷlidēśa and is referred to as a 300-division, paḷli 'place of worship, especially of the Buddhist or Jain sect'.

Names of donees are given. They are all associated with the names of villages of which they are stated to be the boyas (< bhogika).

All the names mentioned in the record except one are identified as shown below:

Village mentioned in the plate	Its modern name	Taluk
Kandēru	Kantēru	Guntur
Ātukūru	Andukūru	Sattenapalle
Mudokuru	Mutukuru	Palnad
Koṇḍasāmi	Koṇḍepādu (?)	Guntur
Pāṭi	Pāṭibaṇḍa	Sattenapalle
Kumunūru	Kōnūru (?)	do
Naḍukūru	Naḍikūḍe	Palnad
Kanpara	Kanuparru	Narasaraopet
Irukūṭūru	Ikkurūru	do
Veluḷaḷi	Velicerla	Bapatla

Cendaluru grant of Mangiyuvaraja I A.D. 673-701, EI. VIII 236-241. Karmma rāṣṭrē cendarūra grāmē. The same village name occurs as cendalūra (with I), in the cendalur plates of Kumara-visnu II (EI. VIII 234), modern cendalur in Ongole taluk. The

inscr. records that the village has been granted to six brahmins. Curiously enough their names have not been given but only their gotras and native villages, followed, in the case of the first donee by the Skt. word, Vāstavya, 'residing in, and in the case of the five other donees by the Telugu word bōya which seems to be employed in the same sense, ēṣa grāmēsmābhiḥ brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ chandōgēbhyaḥ Kauṇḍinya gōtrēbhyaḥ ṣatkarma niratēbhyaḥ Satat-āvicchinna Pañcamahā Yajña Kriyēbhyaḥ Kaṭūra Vāstvyāya dvē amśē, Vaṁgra bōyāya dvē, Kollipurōbōyāya dvē, Pidēna bōyāya dvē, kuriyida bōyāya dvē, kaḷabava gōtrāya koḍimki bōyāya dvē amśē.

Nutalaparru grant of Mangiyuvaraya I, IA. XX 104-106: Kramja vāstavyāya, Kuḷisarmmaṇaḥ, Karmarāṣṭrē Nutalapaṛu-nāmagrāmē, Rēvadistanē brāhmaṇa Kṣētram, paścimataḥ Penuka-parabum brāhmaṇa Kṣētram, Uttarataḥ Niḍubamru (the reading must be Nidumbaru) Panta (Punta?), Dōṇavādipanta brāhmaṇa Kṣētram, Etakaṇḍa-nāma-brāhmaṇa Kṣētram, Velerukaṇḍi-nāma-brāhmaṇa kṣētram.

JTA. 2. Pp. 215-218: Pāguṇāra viṣayē Bonḍāḍa no (rti) grāmē, paścimatō mūparinnāma kṣētram.

Vunnaguravayapalem plates of Paramesvaravarman I Pallava 7th C., Podili taluk, Nellore dist., EI. XXXII. 91-98:

Pūmi-rāṣṭrē, Muvuvadya mārḡē Musuṇa nadī dakṣina tatē kumbu-ṇūru-nāma-grāmē; urppuṭūru grāma vāstavyasya; Nandakurra nripēśvaraḥ. Musuṇa nadī seems to be modern Mūsi river. Pūmi rastra appears to have comprised parts of the Nellore dist. lying to the south of the ancient Muṇḍarāṣṭra Urppuṭūru is uppuṭūru in the Bapatla taluk.

Penukaparru grant of Jayasimha II A.D. 701-704. EI. XVIII 313-316: Vaṁgiṇaṛu vāstavyāya, Karmma rāṣṭrē Penukaṇaṛu nāma grāmē. This village must be distinct from another Penukaṇaṛu in the district of Gudrahāra IA. XIII, 138 l. 17. Names of persons: Era Drōṇa Śarmma, Gobbaḍi, ājñapatir-niravadya Sakala-lōkāśraya- Śrī-Prithivī gāmuṇḍī, an officer evidently named after his sovereign's surname. Gāmuṇḍin tdb. of grāmakūṭa.

Ipur plates of Vishnuvardhana III, A.D. 714-715, EI. XVIII 58-60: Kommara Vāstavyāya, Agniśarmmaṇaḥ pavutrāya Tāli-

śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Pḷolnāṇḍu viṣayē Jaḷayūru nāma grāmē paścimadiśāyām Eliyēru nadī paścimataḥ...Kākaṇḍivāḍa pūrvatō.. Śrī Maghimḍuvarāja (=Mamghiduvaraja) priya duhitā prithivi (vī) pōthī- nāma (for nāmnyā) dattam. The script in the word pōthi is different from that of th or r (Ed.) perhaps it stands for r, pōri is the fem. ending of proper names common in OT. Ājñaptiḥ kaḍa-ereya = Kaṭakarāja, chief of the royal camp, cf. EI. VII-184, IX-49. Kan. ereya, Tam. iraiyan. Pḷolnāṇḍu > prōlnāṇḍu in Pithapuram inscr. of Mallapadeva, A.D. 1202. Prōlnāṇḍiviṣayē, pithapuram plates of Viracoda EI. IV 230, l. 84 V-95-l. 69 Prōlnāṇḍu lies near Pithapuram in E. Godavary dist.

Two Eastern Ganga grants from Andhavaram, Srikakulam dist. EI. XXXI 199-204: (A) Plates of Anantavarmadeva, 720 A.D.: Vārāhavarttanyām Kālamaḍambiśakuna-grāmē. Kālamaḍambiśakuna-grāma appears to be the sanskritised form of some village name.

(B) Copper plate grant of Vajrahasta II, 10th c.: Gōṣṭhavāḍa, Gōṣṭhavāḍaḥ, may be Gottivāḍa in the Srikakulam dist. Telugu Academy plates of Vijayaditya I, A.P. 751-775. JAHRS. V 51-56. First set of plates: Gudrahāra viṣayē, Gommaḷūru-nāma-grāmam, Vargiparu vāstavyāya, pūrvataḥ Cittaṛuguta maṭṭabu, dakṣiṇataḥ Sēndarūbāya kṣētram, paścimataḥ kōḍu, Utarataḥ Pāṇḍarābu.

Second set of plates: Prakunōraviṣaya Dinakāḍu-nāma-grāmam, Varjiparu Vāstavyāya, pūrvataḥ Meṭṭaparati Pulam Karusu, dakṣiṇataḥ Vallēniyā kṣētram, paścimataḥ cirati cēla, Utarataḥ Magaṇa cēnu.

Korraparru grant of Vijayaditya II A.D. 799-843, IA. XX 414-418: Penpaṇḍuru Vāstavyāya, Valūcēri Vāstavyāya, Poḍemṅu Vāstavyāya, Krōvāsiri Vāstavyāya, Vaṅgiparru, Cānturu vāstavyāya, Karāñcedu Vāstavyāya, Krājaṁ Vāstavyāya (the reading should be Krāmja). Personal names: caṭiśarmmaṇē, rompayā śarmmaṇē. Korraparū-nāma-grāmaḥ, pūrvvataḥ Atūguparru, dakṣiṇataḥ Vānaparru, paścimataḥ Vāṇḍrūpedayū, (-yū may be conjunctive) Utarataḥ gani (na?) yyārabu.

Ederu plates of Vijayaditya II. EI. V. 118-121. Kaṇḍēruvāḍi viṣayē Va (ṇḍ) rupiṭeyu-nāma-grāmasya, Minamini vāstavyāya, pūrvvataḥ korraparu sīmaḥ, paścimataḥ Ramāṭi, Utarataḥ Reṇḍuvaṭi, Bōḷa reṇḍuvaṭi. Personal names: Tu (ū) rkaśarmma, pallabhattārakāya, Bōḷama.

Sataluru grant of vijayaditya III A.D. 844-888. JAHRS. V. 101-116.

Macilipatnam plates of Vijayaditya III, EI. V 122-126. Gudravāra viṣayē, Urppuṭūru Vāstavyasya, Tṛaṇḍaparū-nāma-grāmaḥ, Aṁgalūru, Vēlpūru, Uttarataḥ Cavi(ṭa?) parū. Personal names: Tūrkkasarmmaṇaḥ, vinayaḍi śarmmaṇē, inscr. written by Kaṭṭaya.

A grant from Galavalli, Bobbili taluk, Srikakulam dist. Devendravarman, Kalinga king, 889 A.D. E.I. XXXI, 187-192: Galela Viṣayē numkapaṭakagrāma Baḍavaḍāgrāma(mau) Hōmva viṣayē cintacēḍu gramānca Kaunḍuka-Guṇḍēsvarāya dattavān likhitam Kāyastha-rahasya-khaṇḍyamasya sūnu-cīdapa(pēna) iti.

10th C. Bezwada plates of Calukya Bhima A.D. 892-918, EI. V. 127-131 Uttara Kaṇḍērvāḍi viṣaya-, Ummaraḅaṅṭhibōḷ, Kūkiparru, pūrvvataḥ pōtaryamgāri ceruvu, āgnēyataḥ puruvula guṅṭha, dakṣiṇataḥ cāki-ceruvu, paścimataḥ cintarēni ceruvu, vāyavyataḥ juvviguṅṭha, īsanataḥ Airiviya guṅṭha. Personal names: Vēda Vēdāṅga pāragāḥ pōtamayya, ājñapatir-asya dharmasya kaḍeyarājah, Koṇḍācāryya likhitam.

Idem grant of Amma I, 918-925, IA. 13 50-55. Kaṇḍēruvāḍi viṣaya-, Gōmṭūru-nāma-grāmaḥ, pūrvvataḥ Gōmguva, dakṣiṇataḥ Gainayūru, paścimataḥ Kaluceruvulu, Uttarataḥ Maḍapalli, pūrvvataḥ pōturāyu, āgnēyataḥ Peṭṭakōyilamu, dakṣiṇataḥ kuruvacōṭi, nairititaḥ peruvātikuruva, paścimataḥ Pālaguṁṭṭa paḍamaṭi kaṭṭa, vāyavyataḥ pailakumgōṅṭam-aina durga-bhagavati, uttarataḥ Maḍapalluparru, īsanataḥ Cāmirēnigumṭṭa.

Masulipatam plates of Amma I. EI. V. 131-134. Vēṁggi-maṇḍalam, pennātavāḍi viṣaya-, Drujjūru-nāma-grāmaḥ (=Zuz-zūru, Nandigama taluk, Kistna dt.), pūrvvataḥ tālugummi sīmaiva sīmā, dakṣiṇataḥ goṭṭiprōlu, paścimataḥ Malkapōramu, Uttarataḥ Adupu, Personal names: ājñapatih kaṭakarājah.

Digubarru grant of Cālukya Bhima II, A.D. 934-945, IA. XIII, 213-215. Pāgunavara-viṣaya, Digubarru grāmaḥ, Pūrvvataḥ Krañca, dakṣiṇataḥ kranūru, paścimataḥ uttarataḥ palukonu, Personal names: Mēlāmba, Tūrkkama-bhūsurah, Viddamayyah.

Masulipatam plates of Calukya Bhima II, E.I. V. 134-139. Vēṁgi maṇḍalam, Gudravāra viṣaya-, Vaṁgiparru-mahā-grama-, Ākulamannaṇḍu-nāma-grāmaḥ, pūrvvataḥ pedda kōḍu, dakṣiṇataḥ

kōḍu, pascimataḥ kramkaṭavva sīmā, Personal names: Mēlāmba, Tyakkiya, Viddamaya.

Elavarru grant of Amma II, A.D. 945-970, IA. XII 91-95. Elavarru-nāma-grāmaḥ, pūrvvataḥ gōmaḍuvu sīmā, āgnēyataḥ Daggumbarti sīmā, dakṣiṇataḥ Inṭhūri sīmā nirṛiti paścimābh-yām prēmparti sīmā, vāyavyataḥ Turimiṇḍi sīmā, Amutunūri Sīmā. Personal names: Viddamayya, Kōramiyya, ājñaptiḥ Kāṭaka-rājah, Pōtanabhaṭṭa kāvyam, Jontācāryya likhitam.

Mayilapundi grant of Amma II 945-970 A.D. EI. IX 47-56. Noḍambarāṣṭranṛpatim (Ed. read noḍamba-) Kammanāṇḍu, vēmgi, Mayilapūṇḍi pūrvvataḥ Mumjunyuru, dakṣiṇataḥ yanimili paścimataḥ Kalvakuru, Yuttarataḥ Dharmmavuramu, pūrvvataḥ Gollanigunṭha, āgnēyataḥ Rāviya periya ceṛuvu, paścimataḥ Malkaparru Korabōyu taṭākāśca, Uttarataḥ Dūbaceruvu, īsanyataḥ Kalvakuri evvōka cēri sīmaiva sīmā, Names of persons: Jains—Jinandin, Divākara, Srīmāndiradēva.

The inscr. records a grant to a Jain temple and starts with an invocation to the Jain religion.

Masulipatam plates of Amma II, EI. V. 139-142. Pāmbarru-nāma grāmasya dakṣiṇa diśi Nōmi-kṣētram, pūrvvataḥ Indanī ceṛuvu, dakṣiṇataḥ raṭṭōḍi cēnu, paścimataḥ cēni garusu, uttarataḥ vēlpujēnu (ni) tūrpuna pannasa. dakṣiṇataḥ pedda-trōvā, paścimataḥ yēru, uttarataḥ ganṭhaśālayappavayyari pannasa, pūrvvataḥ Bādirālama (jji) ya-paṭu, dakṣiṇataḥ Tinṭhūrōṭamu-paṭu, paścimataḥ Jīvarakṣa paṭu Uttarataḥ racca.

Donor: Yuvarāja Ballāladēva Vēlābhata also called Boḍḍiya, son of (the lady) Pemmava of the Paṭṭavardhini family.

Padakalur plates of Amma II, IA. VII. 15-19: Pennātavāḍi Viṣaya, Kalvatorru, Paḍamkalūru-nāma-grāmaḥ, pūrvvataḥ Marupaḍuvam, dakṣiṇataḥ Eṇḍalūru, paścimataḥ Kāṇḍrūru, uttarataḥ Ālapūruḥ Driṇṭhamapūṇḍiśca, īśānataḥ Nandigāmaḥ. Personal names: Kollibhagaṇḍa Vijayādityaḥ, Guṇḍaśarmma, Pāliya, Peddiya, Paṇḍiya, ājñaptiḥ Kāṭakarājah, Jōntācāryyēṇa likhitam.

Pamulavaka grant of Amma II JAHS. II 242-249: Elamaṁci Kalimga Bārupunāṇḍu viṣaya nivāsinaḥ (= Kalinga of which Elamaṁci (Modern Yellammancili) is the capital), cavadi viṣayē, Bārupunāṇḍu leccādi viṣayē, Personal names: Cāmenākhyāya, Bētonākhyāya, (tadbhāryāya) Kūcenākhyāya.

Tadikonda plates of Amma II. EI. XXIII 161-170. pūrvataḥ Tūṇḍēru (=a stream), āgnēyataḥ Gāralaguṇṭa, dakṣiṇataḥ Lāmuna yuttarambuna būrugu (tree) nairṛityataḥ Oḍḍaguṇṭa, paścimataḥ cayitanāma taṭākam, vāyavyataḥ Bhīmasamudranāma taṭākam, uttarataḥ Ēnukarālu, īśānataḥ Rēgaḍu guṇṭa. Guḍlakaṇḍērvvāḍi viṣaya (i.e. Kaṇḍērvāḍi of the temples, ancient name of the tract of the country lying on the southern bank of the river round the celebrated place Amaravati which was noted for its beautiful temples and caityas of Amarāvātēśwara and Buddha respectively. Kaṇḍērvāḍi—the name from the ancient township Kaṇḍēru, modern Kaṇṭēru in Guntur taluk. Kaṇḍēruvāḍi viṣaya comprised the whole of Guntur taluk, the eastern portion of Sattenapalli and northern parts of Tenali taluk. Tāṇḍikoṇḍa-nāma-grāmaḥ (=Tāḍikoṇḍa in Guntur taluk, Lāmu is situated two miles south of Tāḍikoṇḍa), Ammalapūṇḍi, Gollapūṇḍi, Āsuvulaparru,

Vēmalūrpāḍu plates of Amma II, EI. XVIII 226-235: Karma-rāṣṭra—, Anmaṇaṅguru, Anḍeki-nāma-grāmē, Kāraṁcēḍu, Tumiya vēṇiyapūṇḍi, pūrvataḥ Mēdalkoṇḍa, dakṣiṇataḥ gaṭṭipūṇḍi, paścimataḥ lēṁkoṇḍa; boundaries of the field: pūrvvataḥ muyyalikuṭṭuna sīmā, āgnēyataḥ guṇṭa, dakṣiṇataḥ guṇṭēriya kariti vēvulu gōnu (=gonu tree with margosa trees on the bank of Guṇṭēru river), nairititaḥ vēṁca dakṣiṇamuna paruvulu (=salt marshes on the southern side of a lake), paścimataḥ ēṭiya kariti caṭalalu, vāyavyataḥ kuṇḍa, uttarataḥ caliguṇṭha, īśānataḥ muyyalikuṭṭuna Vellarāyu (=a white stone at the meeting point of the three boundaries), Personal names: Donee Misiya, Musiyanaśarma, grandson of guṇḍamayya. Bhaṭṭagaṇḍēna Viracitam kāvyam.

Mangallu grant of Amma II, Kistna dist. EI. XXXI, 37-44: l. 18 Tālaparāja, l. 21 Mēlāmba, Natavāḍi viṣaya; Eriya rāṣṭrakūṭaḥ; Mācemāmbāyām sūnur-d-Dommana samjñakaḥ; Māṅgallu nāma grāmaḥ, asy-āvadhayaḥ pūrvvataḥ kōḍupulūri polagarusuna yilindiguṇṭa, āgnēyataḥ Kurralabōla pannasa, dakṣiṇataḥ lamiyamaḍa sīmā, nairṛityataḥ Munnānadi paścimataḥ Pallikaṇṭi bhāṭaraṇḍu, vāyavyataḥ muyyalakaṭṭu, uttarataḥ Koṇḍūri polagarusuna cintalu, īśānataḥ muyyalakuṭṭuna pūlagudlaguṇṭa, ājñaptiḥ kaḍakarājah; Pōtanabhaṭṭa kṛitiḥ. Māṅgallu would appear to be Māgallu in Nandigama taluk. Munnā nadi is Muniyēru of the modern maps. Koṇḍūru is modern village of the same name in the same taluk.

Kandyam plates of Danarnava, A.D. 970. JAHRS. XI. 88-88.

Sripundi plates of Tala II c. 973, EI. XIX 148-154: ll. 30-35
 Kuppanayyavara-nāmnē Vāgaru madhyē śrīpūṇḍi-nāma-grāmaṭikā
 mayā dattā, tasy-ā vadhayaḥ. pūrvvataḥ, maṇḍimōṅka cinta,
 āgnēyataḥ koḍa maḍuvu, dakṣiṇataḥ Āduri sīmāntē gōgu-rēvu,
 vāyavyataḥ kadamu-kōpu, paścimataḥ kalavelalagula pedda cinta,
 vyāyavyataḥ ciru sōdi maddalu, uttataḥ goraga-pallamu-n-uttara-
 muna kaṭṭumbōḍalu, īśānataḥ bādiya bōlaya[nṭa] pēdari-yāku
 cinta.

maṇḍi moṅka cinta—young tamarind tree which is bent, maṇḍi
 ‘bent’ (Kittel), moṅka, mōka ‘a sprout, young tree’.

Koḍamaḍuvu—the top side of a sluice, cf. goḍugu baṇḍa ‘the top
 still of a sluice’, goḍugu balla ‘top plank of a doorway, if we take
 koḍa as cognate of the word meaning doorway, or if it is for koṇḍa
 it will mean ‘a sluice on the hill side’. gōgu rēvu—gōgu means
 hemp and rēvu means a ford, a ferry, a landing place, a fort,
 Kittel’s Dic. gives the word in both the forms rēvu and rēvu in
 the same sense, cf. taḍla rēva, golla rēva in Nandampudi grant of
 Rajaraja, rēvu is interpreted as a place where a group of people
 or of trees is to be found. If this interpretation is correct gōgurēvu
 would mean the plot of land in which gōgu plants are cultivated or
 grown in abundance”.

Kadamu kōpu—“kopu is canonical bar or column as the
 small pillars of earth left in the middle of pits by earth diggers
 to indicate the depth of the pit at different places. Bars of slate
 pencils are also called balapapu kōpulu. Kadamu may be kadambu,
 the Dravidian form of the Sanskrit word kadamba. The compound
 word then means the trunk of a kadamba tree which was like
 a cone”.

Kalavelalagula pedda cinta—may be corrected into kavala
 velagala.. ‘of bifurcated wood-apple trees, i.e. the big tamarind
 tree adjoining the bifurcated wood-apple tree’. (Ed.).

cirusōdi maddulu—cirusōdi is perhaps a variety of maddalu
 (bricadelia retusa) trees.

goraga pallamu—goraga is a śaiva mendicant, and pallamu
 means a low land, a wet land, a paddy field, the paddy field belong-
 ing to the Śaiva mendicants.

kaṭṭumbodalu—may be Kaṭṭu(m) podalu ‘fences made of
 natural bushes.

Bādiya bola yaṅṭa pēdariyāku jinta—The meaning of Bādiya is not clear. It may be a village. pola = boundary, aṅṭa = touching, nearby, by the side of, pēdari = poor, pēdari yāku = poor leaved, (with very small leaves)—the dwarf—leaved tamarind tree which is near the boundary limits of Bādiya. Velanāṅḍu viṣaya; Śrīpūṅḍi; Vāgaru (is in Repalle taluk, Guntur dist.); Personal names: Tāla bhūpāla, Kuppanayya, Pallavamalla, Kalivarma, Makariyarāja;

Arambaka plates of Badapa, A.D. 973-999, EI. XIX, 137-148. Śrīpūṅḍi (= Śrīpūṅḍi, Gtr. dat.); Ādumbāka (of the same name in Repalle taluk, Gtr. dat), Cerukumballi (> Mdn. Cerukumilli); Kāvūru (of the same name); Gōmaḍuvu (= Gōvāda in Tenali taluk). Personal names: Tālapa (The name occurs with the letter l in the Śrīpūṅḍi plates above), Bhāskara, surnamed Gaṅḍanārāyaṅa; Candena, Nṛpakāma; Nripakāma) Nāyamāmba (Fem.); Sāmakāmba (Fem.).

Pabubarru grant of Saktivarman A.D. 999-1011, JTA. II, 399-411; Attilināṅḍu; Pabhubarru; Dutika (= modern juttiga); Māvūṅḍūru; Ullikoḍamaṅḍru; Prōli sīma; Penugoṅḍa; pedda alampa kṣētram; Puccaguṅṭha; ... la ceruvu; Rēlamu kōḍu; Pammiteru teruvu; Coḍakilōla guṅṭha; Kākimarri; cilukaravi guṅṭha; Prōli-sāni ceruvu; cigoju Pannasa; Pammi teruvu; Polamēra kōḍu; naikarāla kōḍu; inu maddi 'two maddi trees, mōdāluga.

ADDENDA

Traditional Grammars in Telugu listed on pages 13-15 are the more important ones. There are a number of less known works which come under the category of the Telugu school and also recasts and commentaries on Grammars of Sanskrit school. To the latter for instance belongs *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmani Vṛtti*, in Sanskrit by Mancella Vasudeva Sastri towards the end of the 17th century. *Nārāyaṇīyāndhra Vyākaraṇamu* in Telugu verse (1937) by Carla Narayana Sastri is a digest of *Āndhra Śabdha Cintāmani*, *Atharvaṇa Kārikāvaḷi* and *Bālavvyākaraṇamu*.

A good edition of *Ahōbala Paṇḍitīyamu* (text in nāgari script and Telugu translation) has been published recently by Andhra Racayitala Sanghamu, Hyderabad, under the general editorship of K. Lakshmiranjanam.

Bālavvyākaraṇamu, shortly after its publication, because of its simplicity and fairly comprehensive coverage of the literary language became a popular and authoritative text,—to such an extent among Pandits, that where usages in older texts did not conform to the 'rules' of Cinnaya Suri they were altered without hesitation. Such tampering with the older texts by editors who believed in an unchanging literary dialect introduced much confusion and confounded the readings of older texts.

Among commentaries on *Bālavvyākaraṇa* those written by Kalluri Venkatarama Sastri, (*Guptārtha Prakāśika GP*), Dusi Ramamurti Sastri and Duvuri Venkata Ramana Sastri are noteworthy. Since the 19th C. we have grammars of Telugu written by Englishmen such as by William Brown (1807), William Carey (1814), A. Campbell (1816), C. P. Brown (1840), A. H. Arden (1872), H. Morris (1890), Alfred Master (1951) and Leigh Lisker (1963).

CORRIGENDA

Page - line	for	read
18 - 22	Chapter III	Chapter IV.
22 - 32, 34	Æ	ǣ
23 - 2	to 5th c. A.D.	to 6th c. A.D.
Page heading on pp.		
24 to 36	to 5th c. A.D.	to 6th c. A.D.
26 to 31 delete colon marks after Telugu vocables listed from inscrr.		
46 - 7 delete ēnūru (44-65)		
59 - 19	Pingali Sūraṇa	Bhaṭṭumūrṭi
93 - 27	tāṭi-āku	tāṭi-āku
29	*cēsiāḍu <	*cēsiāḍu >
173 - 27, 28 delete		
254 - 22	V. Hari	U. Hari
Page heading on pp.	Morphology-verbal	Morphology-
251 - 254	inflection	Adjectives
Page heading on pp.	Morphology-verbal	Morphology-Adverbs
256 - 258	inflection	
286 - 5	ann=ēṅṭi	ann=ēṅṭi
286 - 24	āḍla	āḍla
288 - 28	cirpaliya	cirpali itself
293 - 18	adhiṣṭānumr	adhiṣṭhānumr
294 - 22	īreṇḍuṭṭi	ī reṇḍuṭṭi
298 - 29	Kuṇaṇḍā	Kuṇaṇḍā
299 - 2	gaṭṭulu	gaṭṭulu
299 - 7	Vaḍavarikī	Vaḍavariki
299 - 12	uri	ūri
300 - 5	Ramisvanā	Ramisvarā
300 - 8	Nadimahanavilanāḍu	Nandimahā- navilanaḍupu
308 - 1	kāmpulu	kāmpuḷu
308 - 12	adlu	aḍlu
313 - 24	uḍi[se]	uḍi[ce]
313 - 28	calituṇḍu	acalituṇḍu
314 - 17	-ōpalaboda	-ōpalabada
316 - 15	cāḷukya	cāḷukya
319 - 2	silkonna	sikonna
319 - 4	ka[m]pu	kā[m]pu
320 - 18	cittṭadi	cittṭadi
326 - 22	alisinavāṇḍu	alisinavāṇḍu
327 - 17	calpariti	Gālpariti
330 - 14	siddhayambu	siddhāyambu
335 - 25	[vi]kramā[di]	[vi]kramā[di]
336 - 12	vāru [ada]	vāru [vāda]
341 - 20	navāru	navāru
341 - 26	-ōpaladha	-ōpaladdha

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF TELUGU

Page - line	for	read
344 - 6	gn̄rindagun̄ṭa	gurindagun̄ṭa
347 - 8	68	88
347 - 25	atlu	aṭlu
347 - 25	4 - 14	50 - 14
348 - 1	60 - *	60 - 6
349 - 30	44 - 66	44 - 86
349 - 31	44 - 42	44 - 52
350 - 22 delete		
350 - After l. 26 add:	aḷisikon̄na (44-90)	
350 - 37	laccuvān̄ru	ḷaccuvān̄ru
350 - 38	laccuvān̄ru	ḷaccuvān̄ru
351 - 18	ārḷa	ārḷa
352 - 1	44 - 72	44 - 92
352 - 7	44 - 50	44 - 61
352 - 34	iravadivadi yādi nālku	iravadiyādinālku
354 - 8	ūrḷu	urḷu
354 - 14	etticcee	etticce
355 - 5	Ergal	Erigal
355 - 11	erumga	erumga
355 - 14	Erama	Erama
355 - 37	44 - 49	44 - 60
355 - 38	44 - 71	44 - 91
356 - 5	Ēruvaviṣayambu	Ēruvaviṣayambu
356 - 22	ēleḍa	ēluḍu
356 - 26	89 - 8	69 - 8
356 - 28	ēluvēlun	ēḷuvēlun
356 - 28	ēru	ēḷu
356 - 29 delete:	vēlun 61 - 5, mistake for ēḷu	
356 - 30	oka	okka
357 - 34	king Kannarā	king Kannara
359 - 22	44 - 68	44 - 88
360 - 37	44 - 16, 25	44 - 16, 30
361 - 21	44 - 71	44 - 91
361 - 27	44 - 50	44 - 61
361 - 28	Nallamereya	Nallamēḷeya
361 - 29 delete		
361 - 38	44 - 53	44 - 64
363 - 25	44 - 46	44 - 57
364 - 19	cākalagundu	cākalagunḍu
364 - 22	bōyundunu	boyuḍnunu
364 - 31	Cirplaiya	Cirpaliya
364 - 39	44 - 57	44 - 77
365 - 9	cericinānu	caricinānu
365 - 9	44 - 56	44 - 76
365 - 28	44 - 29	44 - 34
365 - 30	44 - 21	44 - 26
365 - 32	44 - 55	44 - 66
365 - 34	44 - 28	44 - 33
366 - 15	cōḷ rājuḷ	Cōḷa rājuḷ

Page - line	for	read
367 - 2	ṅaravādyadiēnu	iravādyadiēnu
367 - 2	44 - 59	44 - 79
367 - 2 delete rest of the line		
367 - 8	44 - 42	44 - 53
367 - 16	44 - 41, 46	44 - 52, 57
367 - 27	77 -	77 - 8
370 - 38	44 - 47	44 - 58
371 - 18	44 - 24, 65	44 - 29, 85
374 - 12	44 - 63	44 - 83
375 - 20	44 - 35	44 - 40
379 - 11	44 - 29	44 - 34
379 - 40	rājāsrayuṇḍu	rājāsrayuṇḍu
380 - 2	44 - 26	44 - 31
383 - 8 delete		
383 - 20	44 - 73.	44 - 93
384 - 33	41 - 5, 44 - 60	41 - 5, māṇisi 44-80
385 - 28	muḷcīlananu 44 - 58	muṛcīlinānu 44 - 78
385 - 36	Kandivannavu	Candiyannayu
386 - 19	44 - 49	44 - 60
386 - 29	rāṣṭrkūṭa	rāṣṭrakūṭa
387 - 17	rajul 44 - 71	44 - 91
387 - 17 delete	mistake for rājul	
388 - 32	44 - 33	44 - 38
389 - 28	pariyaramu	pariyāramu
389 - 36	vinnasarmma	vinnaśarmma
390 - 1	44 - 30	44 - 51
390 - 3	44 - 49	44 - 60
392 - 6	44 - 34	44 - 39
392 - 8	vēṇḍikommu	vēṇḍikommu 44 - 36
394 - 38	Ayteyri	Ayteyari
396 - 3	sampannundu	sampannuṇḍu
397 - 14	44 - 23	44 - 28
397 - 16	44 - 67	44 - 87

Note: Ḷ is used for capital ḷ; similarly.
Ṛ for capital ṛ.
ṛ is sometimes used for ṛ.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arden, A. H. A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language, Madras, 1921.
- Bloch, Jules. The Grammatical Structure of the Dravidian Languages (English Translation), Poona, 1954.
- Burrow, T. 'Dravidian Studies' I — VII, BSOAS, Volumes 9 to 12.
The Parji Language — A Dravidian Language of Bastar, Hertford, 1953.
- Caldwell, Robert. Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or the South Indian Family of Languages, (CDL. CGD), Madras, 1956.
- Chatterji, S. K. Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926
"Old Tamil Ancient Tamil and Primitive Dravidian" IL, XVI (1954).
- Donappa, T. Middle Indo-Aryan loan-words in Telugu (unpublished thesis), Waltair, 1964.
- Emeneau, M. B. Kolami, A Dravidian Language, University of California, 1955.
Collected Papers, published by Annamalai University, 1968.
Lectures on Comparative Dravidian (Cyclo-styled) Summer School of Linguistics, Coimbatore, 1959.
- Gai, G. S. Historical Grammar of Old Kannada, (HGOK.), Poona, 1946.
- Godavarma, K. Indo-Aryan Loan-words in Malayalam, 1946.
- Gopalakrishnaiah, V. Dhvani, Lipi, Pariṇāmamu (DLP.), Patamatalanka, 1956.
- Grierson, A. A. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV Calcutta, 1906.
- Kanapati Pillai, K. A Grammar of the Tamil Inscriptions of the 7th and 8th C. A.D. (unpublished thesis), London.
- Krishnamurti, Bh. Telugu Verbal Bases (TVB.), University of California, 1961.
(Ed.) Māṇḍalika Vṛttipāda Kōśamu (MVK) Hyderabad, 1962.
"Telugu Verbal Bases", JAOS. 75, 4 (1955).
"Sandhi in Modern Colloquial Telugu", IL, 1958.

- Krishna Rao, B. V. A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa. C. 200 — 250 A.D. (EHA.), Madras, 1942.
- Mahadeva Sastri, K. Intensive and Inclusive Compounds in Telugu, IL. 14, 1954.
Telugu — Prākṛtam, Telugu Encyclopaedia, Vol. 3., Madras, 1956.
Development of the numeral noun "One" in Telugu, Bulletin of the philological Society of Calcutta, 1961.
- Master, Alfred. "The Zero Negative in Dravidian" TPS. 1946.
"Indo-Aryan and Dravidian" BSOAS. 12. 1948.
- Meenakshisundaram, T. P. History of Tamil Language, Poona, 1965. Papers on Linguistics and Literature, Annamalainagar, 1965.
- Nagabhushana Rao, K. A Descriptive Analysis of Nannaya's Usage (DAN) (unpublished thesis) Tirupati, 1964.
- Narasimha, A. N. A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions (GOKI.), Mysore, 1941.
- Narayana Rao, C. History of the Telugu Language (HTL.) 2 Volumes, Waltair, 1937.
(Ed.) Introduction, to Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritra of Palkuriki Somanatha, Madras.
- Prabhakara Sastri, V. (Ed.) Introduction to Basavapurānamu of Palkuriki Somanatha, Madras.
- Ramakrishnaiah, K. Studies in Dravidian Philology (SDP.) Madras, 1935.
Sandhi — A Historical Treatment of the Principles of Euphonic Combination in Telugu, Madras, 1935.
Desi in South Indian Languages and Literature, Madras, 1949.
Andhra Bhārata Kavita Vimarsanam, Madras, 1929.
Dravidian Cognates, Madras, 1943.
Bhāsa Cāritraka Vyāsamulu, Madras, 1954.
"The Dravidian Passive", AOR. Vol. 2, Part 2.
"Antasthas in Dravidian Languages", AOR. 3-2.
"Dravidian Infinitive", AOR. 7-6.
"Dravidian Inflexion", AOR, 8-2.
"Presidential Address of the Telugu Section of the All India Oriental Conference", 10th Session, Tirupati, 1940.
"Drāviḍa dhātuvulu — vāni Parināmamu", Bharati, February, March, June, 1943.
"Vartamānārthaka cu -varṇamu" — Journal of the Telugu Akademy, Vol. 22.
Nannaya Bhārata bhāṣa, Bharati, August, 1948.

- Ramamurthy, G. V. Bālakavi Śaranyamu (BKS.), Guntur, 1933.
Vyāsāval, Guntur, 1933.
Āndhra Paṇḍita bhiṣakkula bhāṣabhēśajamu,
Guntur, 1933.
- Ramaswami Iyer, L. V. "Dravidian Sandhi", QJMS. 25-28.
"Dravidic Glides", GVR. Commemoration
Volume, Guntur, 1933.
Collected Papers — Annamalai University
(Cyclostyled), 1960.
- Reddy, G. N. A Study of Telugu Semantics, Tirupati, 1966.
- Sankara Rao, L. B. The Language of Nannichoda (unpublished
thesis) Tirupati, 1967.
- Sekhar, A. C. Evolution of Malayalam (EM.), Poona, 1953.
- Sitapati, G. V. 'Telugu Language of the Inscriptions and Lite-
rature', Kalinga Sanchika Published by
Andhra Historical Research Society, Raja-
mundry.
- Sitarama Swami, V. Ch. Dravida Bhāṣā Pariśīlanamu (DBP), 2 vols.,
Waltair, 1956.
Andhra Vyākaraṇa saṁhitā sarvasvamu
(AVSS).
- Somayaji, G. J. Andhrābhaṣāvīkāsamu, Waltair, 1947.
- Subrahmanyam, P. S. A Comparative Study of the Telugu Verb
(CDV.) (unpublished thesis) Annamalai-
nagar, 1963.
- Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S. History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil,
Madras, 1934.
Comparative Grammar of the Tamil Language,
Tiruvadi, 1947.
- Suryanarayana, J. A study of Telugu Compounds, Tirupati, 1966.
- Venkataratnam, T. (Ed.) G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Commemora-
tion Volume, Guntur, 1933.
- Venkatavadhani, D. Prān-nannaya yugamu, Hyderabad. 1960.
- Venkata Rao, N. (Ed.) Introduction to Tripurāntakōdāharanamu,
Madras.
- Zvelebil, Kamil Dravidian Prilology — General Linguistic and
Early History of India. Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai
Commemoration Volume, Madras, 1961.

DICTIONARIES

- T. Burrow & M. B. Emeneau.—Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, Oxford
University Press, 1961.
- B. Sitaramacharya.—Śabdaratnākaramu, Madras.
- Sūryārāyāndhra Nighaṇṭuvu—6 Volumes—Andhra Sahitya Parisat, Kakinada.
(S.N.).
- Kotra Syamala Kama Sastri—Andhra Vacāspatyamu, Kakinada, 1940.

TEXTS

- Accatenugu Rāmāyaṇamu (Acc. Ra.) — Kucimanci Timmakavi.
 Aniruddha caritramu (Ani.) — Kanuparti Abbayamatya.
 Āmuktamālyada (Amu.) — Krisnadevaraya.
 Uttara Rāmāyaṇamu (U. Rama.) — Kankanti Paparaju.
 Uttara Harivaṁśamu (U. Hari.) — Nacana Somanatha.
 Kivikarna rasāyaṇamu (Kavika.) — Sankusala Nrsimhakavi.
 Kalāpūrṇodayamu (Kalā.) — Pingali Surana.
 Kāśikhaṇḍamu (Kasi.) — Srinatha.
 Kumārasāmbhavamamu (Kus.) — Nannicoda.
 Candrabhānu Caritramu (Candrabha) — Mallana.
 Jaiminī Bhāratamu (Jai. Bhā.) — Pillalamarri Pinavirabhadra Kavi.
 Tripurāntakōdāharaṇamu (Tripu.) — Tripurantakudu.
 Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇamu (Nir. Rama.) — Tikkana.
 Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritramu (Pa. Ca.) — Palkuriki Somanatha.
 Pāṇḍuranga Māhātmyamu (Pandur.) — Tenali Ramalinga Kavi.
 Prabhāvatī Pradyumnamu (Prabhā) — Pingali Surana.
 Basava Purāṇamu (Ba.Pu.) — Palkuriki Somanatha.
 Bhāgavatamu (Bhāg.) — Potana.
 Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇamu (Bhas.Ra.) — Bhaskara.
 Bhīmēśvara Purāṇamu (Bhi. Pu.) — Srinatha.
 Bhōjarājīyamamu (Bhoj.) — Anantamatya.
 Manu caritramu (Manu. Ca.) — Allasani Peddana.
 Mannārudāsa vilāsa nāṭakamu (MVN.) — Rangajamma.
 Mahābhāratamu (Mhb., Bhr.) — Nannaya, Tikkana. Errapregada.
 Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu (Ran. Ra.) — Gona Buddha Reddi.
 Rādhikasāntvanamu — (Radhika.) — Muddu Palani.
 Rāmābhyudayamu (Rama.) — Ayyalaraju Ramabhadru.
 Vasu Caritramu (Va. Ca Vasu.) — Bhattu Murti.
 Vijayavilāsamamu (Vi. Vi.) — Cemakura Venkata Kavi.
 Viṣṇu Purāṇamu (Vi. pu.) — Vennelakanti Surana.
 Śaṅkīrtanaṁḍalu — Tallapaka Annamacaryulu.
 Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadhamu (Sr. Nais. Nais.) — Srinatha.
 Sāraṅadhāra Caritramu (Sa. Ca.) — Cemakura Venkata Kavi.
 Hamsavimśati (Hamsa.) — Ayyalaraju Narayana.
 Hara Vilāsamamu (Haravi-) — Srinatha.
 Hari Vamśamu (Hari.) — Errapregada.

GRAMMARS

- Atharvaṇa Kārikāvali (Ada.)
 Appakavīyamamu (AK.)
 Ahōbalapaṇḍitīyamamu (Ahō.)
 Āndhra Kaumudi (Akau.)
 Āndhra bhāṣānuśasanamu (ABS.)
 Āndhra Bhāṣā bhūṣanamu (ABB.)
 Āndhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi (AŚC.)
 Kavisamśaya vicchēdamamu (KSV.)

Kāvyaḷaṅkāra Cūḍāmaṅi (KaC. Kac.)
Tenugu Vyākaraṅamu (TV.)
Prauḍha vyākaraṅamu (PV.)
Bālavvyākaraṅamu (BV.)
Lakṣaṅasāra Samgrahamu (LSS.)
Sarvalakṣaṅasārasamgrahamu (SSS.)

EPIGRAPHICAL PUBLICATIONS

Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy (ARE.)
South Indian Inscriptions (SII.)
Epigraphica Indica (EI.)
Indian Antiquary (IA.)
A Corpus of Inscriptions from Telangana districts in HEH. the Nizam's
dominions (TI.)
Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
Nellore Inscriptions — 3 Volumes (NI.)
Śāsana Padya maṅjari, (SPM) (Ed.) J. Ramayya Pantulu.
Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions (TDI.)

JOURNALS

Bharati
Sahiti
Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (JAHR.S.)
Commemoration Volumes:— Rajarajanarendra Sanchika, Kalinga Sanchika
published by Andhra Historical Research Society.
Journal of the Telugu Academy (JTA).
Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute (JSVORI.)
Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (QJMS).
Indian Linguistics (IL.)
Annals of the Oriental Research Institute, Madras (AORI, AOR.)
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS.)
Transactions of the Philological Society (TPS.)
Journal of the American Oriental Society (JAOS.)
Tamil Culture.
Bulletin of the Philological Society, Calcutta.

ABBREVIATIONS

Authors

Na. Nannaya
Nanni. Nannichoda

Ti. Tikkana
Pal. So. Palkuriki Somanatha

Languages

IA. Indo-Aryan
MIA. Middle Indo-Aryan
OT. Old Telugu
MT. Middle Telugu
NT. New Telugu
EOT. Early Old Telugu
LOT. Late Old Telugu
EMT. Early Middle Telugu
LMT. Late Middle Telugu
Mal. Malayalam
Mdn. Telugu — Modern Telugu

Dr. Dravidian
P. Dr. Primitive Dravidian
C. Dr. Central Dravidian
N. Dr. Northern Dravidian
C-N Dr. Central and Northern
Dravidian
Kan. Kannada
Tam. Tamil
Pkt. Prakrit
Skt. Sanskrit

General

Abl. ablative
acc. accusative
adj. adjective
adv. adverb
alv. alveolar
ama. amahat
aor. aorist
acch. ācchika
caus. causative
coll. colloquial
conj. conjunctive
dem. demons. demonstrative
dent. dental
dist. district
d. pp. declinable past participle
Anant. Anantapur
Cudd. Cuddapah
Ch. Chittoor
Ganj. Ganjam
God. Godavary
Gunt. Guntur
Kist. Kistna
Kurn. Kurnool
Nell. Nellore
Vizag. Vizagapatam
dvi. dvigu
dv. dvandva
ep. epicene
fem. feminine
gen. genitive
Karm. Karmadharaya

kri. kriya
hon. honorific
instr. instrumental
lab. labial
loc. locative
m. masc. masculine
nom. nominative
num. numeral
neut. neuter
p. part. Participle
pal. palatal
pl. plural
pra. prakirna paricchēda
pron. pronoun
rel. relative
retro. retroflex
sabda. śabda paricchēda
sama. samāsa paricchēda
Sem. Semantic
san. samjñā paricchēda
sg. singular
s. pr. proper noun
suff. suffix
tats. tatsama
tadb. tadbhava
tr. trans. transitive
UD. undated (inscription)
V. verse
vb. verb
vel. velar

APPENDIX II

A RAPID SURVEY OF TELUGU AND OTHER SOUTH INDIAN LITERATURE

The four major literary languages of Southern India are Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu. Of these Tamil has more ancient literature than others. It is further away in the south than Telugu and Kannada and escaped from the domineering Aryan influence. While the middle country South of the vindhya which is called *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and *Āndhrapatha* where Kannada and Telugu was spoken was over-run by the Aryan tribes like the Andhras who having settled in the country established kingdoms of their own many centuries before the christian era, the Tamil country was under the rule of the native kings for a long time. They were encouraging their poets in their language for celebrating their victories in song, and patronised them for writing poems on themes connected with love and war. Their language was, for a time, comparatively free from Sanskrit influence and they developed literary conventions of their own. Their religion was mainly animistic until the advent of the Aryans from the North when they had to contend against Brahmanism and then Buddhism and Jainism. These became gradually established in the country. In early Tamil literature we no doubt find references to sacrifices and other Aryan customs and *Tolkappiam*, the earliest extant grammar in the language, shows clear traces of the influence of Sanskrit grammar and *alankara*. Yet the author avoids the grammatical technique of Panini which grammarians in other South Indian languages have adopted. He follows *Prātiśākhya*s and other older systems of Sanskrit grammar in his analysis and treatment of the Tamil language. He refers to many an author and grammarian before him and there is no doubt that there must have been a very great literary activity in the Tamil country before him. One may not believe in the fabulous account given by some later authors about the three *Sangams* or literary academies said to have existed in the Tamil country for thousands of years with membership of hundreds of poets. Scrutinising and evaluating the worth of the poems presented to them, we can at least understand that there was a great literary activity in the country for centuries before the christian era. Some of the poems produced during that period were included in the collections made at a later period which go

by the name of the Sangam literature in Tamil. Though Agastya is considered as the father of the Tamil language and also its first grammarian his works are lost, but it is one of his disciples that wrote Tolkappiam which is considered as the grammar of the sangam period. Collections of poems like *Aganānūru* and *puranānūru*, each of four hundred poems dealing with love and war respectively, *ettuttogai*, *pattuppāṭṭu* etc., and works like *Tirukkural* of Tiruvalluvar, *Śilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkhalai* two of the celebrated *pancakāvya*s of Tamil literature, all these also come under the literature of the early sangam period. Among the authors of these poems there were a number of Buddhists and Jains.

The next period in Tamil literature was that of Ālwārs (the Vaiṣṇava saints) and Nāyanmārs (the Śaivite saints) who each in their own way were responsible for the decline of the non-vedic religions of Buddhism and Jainism that were current in the country. The poems of the Vaiṣṇavite saints were collected later in what is called the *Nalayira prabandham*, while those of Śaivite saints in what are called the *Eleven Tirumurai*. The Brahmanical religion consolidated its position; temples were raised for Śiva and Viṣṇu, purānas and itihāsas began to be translated. Perundēvanār translated the Mahabharata in *veṅbā* metre in the 8th c, and the poet Kamban translated Ramayana in the 12th c. Besides these *Skāndapurāna*, *Hālāsyamhātmya* and other works were translated during this period.

It was about the beginning of the 11th c. A.D. that the movement for the spread of Brahmanism in the Telugu country also began with the translation of Mahabharata by Nannaya bhaṭṭa. The Telugu country lying between the Tamil and Kannada areas was amenable to influence on both sides, and first about this time it happened to have direct political connection also with both the countries.

It is necessary to draw attention here to the characteristic feature of Tamil language and literature as compared with those of Telugu and Kannada in the early centuries of the Christian era. Though the first grammar in Tamil was attributed to the Aryan *muni* Agastya and the available Tolkappiam has been modelled on Sanskrit grammars, these grammarians have never interfered with the genius of the Tamil language. This is perhaps due to the fact that the earliest literature in the language was written not by scholars in Sanskrit but by the natives of the soil and it was all collected though at a later period and preserved for posterity,

while in Telugu and Kannada the earlier poems written in pure Telugu and pure Kannada were lost to us, and only those written on Sanskrit models and with a heavy admixture of Sanskrit words and compounds happened to be our earliest extant models of composition in these languages. Tamil grammarians though they have analysed the language on Sanskrit models have not adopted technical terms of Sanskrit grammar. They have at least coined words in their own language corresponding to the Sanskrit terms. While Sanskrit words were borrowed they were modified in accordance with the phonetic habits of the language. Again Tamil has not borrowed Sanskrit metres or the Sanskrit prosodial system. Most of its early literature was in the form of songs and hymns generally set to music and sung, and not in *campu* form abounding in quatrains interspersed with heavy passages of prose.

Most of the early literature in Tamil may be said to be of the *dēśi* type while the *mārga* type in the full sense of the term is not found in Tamil at all. It was about the 13th c. that Malayalam began to develop *mārga* type of poetry with complete admixture of Sanskrit not only in the forms of compounds but also in inflexional forms which was called the *manipravāla* style. The swing thus had gone to the other side. This kind of admixture was also in vogue in Kannada and Telugu countries for a time, but it was completely avoided and tabooed and it did not gain favour with the high class poets in these countries. It seems to have been composed by a few as a literary curiosity.

Even as early as the 9th c. A.D. *Kavirājamārga* has prohibited the use of such admixture of forms in Kannada poetry, and Telugu poets even before Nannaya followed the same principle. The earliest literature in Kannada and Telugu was lost owing to the absence of patronage by kings and neglect and prejudice on the part of the scholars in the country. It must have been in the form of songs or short poems set to music, written in *desi* metres and in a language pure and simple free from the Sanskritic. The language of the earlier inscriptions in Kannada as well as in Telugu show these characteristics to some extent and it looks rather antiquated when compared with that of later centuries. Yet Kannada seems to have adapted itself earlier to the Sanskritic influence than Telugu. Before the Rastrakuta king Nripatunga laid down canons for the *mārga* type of poetry in Kannada in his *Kavirājamārga* about the beginning of the 9th c. A.D. the path or the *mārga* was evidently made clear by eminent writers like

Vimala, Udaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinīta and poets like Śrī Vijaya, Kavīśvara and Lōkapāla. Durvinīta is a Ganga king and a contemporary of the king Vishnuvardhana of the Eastern chalukyan dynasty, and of Simhavishnu, the Pallava king of Kanci. He therefore belongs to the last quarter of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th c. A.D. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, author of a commentary on Panini's grammar and the patron of the great poet Bharavi. When sanskrit scholars of the type of Durvinita, Pujiyapada, and others referred to by Nripatunga begin to write in Kannada as early as the 5th or the 6th c. A.D. we cannot but expect a large importation of Sanskrit word material, thought and poetic technique in their Kannada compositions and it is no wonder that a work on *Kāvya lakṣaṇa* like the *Kavirājamārga* laying down the canons of classical Kannada poetry should have come into being by the 9th c. A.D., and that some of the best poets of the marga school in Kannada like Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, the Ratnatraya as they are called, should have risen about a century or so later. Nagavarma complemented *Nripatunga's* work by writing his *candōmbudhi*, a work on prosody before the close of the first millennium A.D. And we must remember that all this happened in the Kannada country just a century or so before Nannaya came on the scene of the Telugu world of letters.

Already by the 7th c. Kannada was laden with heavy long sanskrit compounds and composition in Sanskrit metres like *sragdhara* and *mattēbha* had come into vogue; observe for instance the Sravana Belgola Inscription of 7th c. A.D. Such composition in heavy Sanskrit metres does not appear in Telugu till about the time of Nannaya. During the pre-Nannaya period we do not meet with a single verse in Telugu written in any of the sanskrit metres. All of them so far available are only in desi metres like *taruvōja*, *akkara*, *sīsa* and *gīta*. The style of the verse inscriptions as the Addanki inscription of Panduranga (middle of 9th c.) is simple and direct. It is written in taruvōja metre. The taruvōja is called a *vṛtta* because it has four lines bound by yati and prāsa. Actually it is nothing but a desi metre converted into a quatrain i.e. the two feet of a dvipada are made into one line with yati observed instead of prasa at the beginning of the second half and four of such lines are bound by prāsa. Most of the so-called desi *vṛttas* like *utsāha*, *akkara*, *sīsa* and *ragada* on the model of sanskrit *vṛttas* are all made up like this. As a matter of fact these were not originally restricted to four lines. They can be made to run on to

any number of lines and were generally set to music. Most of our popular songs and those sung by women-folk in our homes were composed in one or other of these desi metres. The *tulasi pāṭa* of our womenfolk and some of their *maṅgaḷahāratis* are in *utsāha* or *ragaḍa* metres. Vinnakota Peddana recognised that *dampulla pāṭa*, the song sung by women while pounding paddy is in *taruvoja* metre. Here these are not restricted to four lines. *Palnāṭi-vīra caritra*, and *Bobbili pāṭa* are in *dvipada* metre and sung for hours together to the accompaniment of musical instruments. This 'systematisation' or conversion of old desi metres of song and music into quatrains must have been the work of Sanskritists of the day. The old desi types of composition gradually fell into disuse with the scholars although they were current among the common people. Nobody would have cared to collect these folk-songs or commit them to writing as it was done in the case of Tamil poems in the Tamil country.

This is why we do not know anything about the various compositions mentioned by Palkuriki Somanatha in his works except their names. He refers to *śatakas*, *mahānātakas*, *kaḷikas*, *udāharaṇas*, *muktāvaḷis*, *aṣṭakas*, *gītas*, *ēlas*, and a number of other compositions popular among the masses. But not one of them has come down to us. His own works were neglected because they were of the desi type. Even as late as the 14th c. A.D. Vinnakota Peddana in his *Kāvyaḷankāra cūḍāmaṇi* has lamented bitterly over such a condition of prejudice against Telugu language and composition prevailing in his own time. For he says "even though we have imported all embellishments of poetry from Sanskrit and adorned the Telugu language with them scholars pay no heed to Telugu works saying that it is after all a Telugu work; where can we get a remedy for this kind of attitude". That was the kind of prejudice against the desya Telugu compositions even after Nannaya and Tikkana have produced works of such eminence in the Telugu language. From this we can easily imagine how the condition of things would have been before Nannaya. Perhaps also it is the excellence of Nannaya's work, *Bharata* written in the *Marga* style that darkened out all the desi compositions before his age. Added to this was the powerful influence of the king Rajarajanarendra. His ardent desire to get *Mahabharata* translated into Telugu in order to establish Brahmanism in the Telugu country so as to react upon the influence of Buddhism and Jai-

nism found the proper person in Nannaya who by his allround scholarship, his equipment and eminence could not only reform the Telugu language and adopt the marga style in such a way as to enhance the beauty of the language and the grandeur of poetic expression but at the same time win the praise and favour of the poets and critics that adorned the royal court. It has thus ushered in a new era in the field of language and literary development in the Telugu country. The desi compositions could not have attracted the attention of scholars in the Royal court and suffered the same fate as that of *cattāna* and *bedeṇḍe* of the Kannada country. A few might have survived in the oral tradition of the people in the country only to be taken up and revived by a poet of a different religious persuasion like Palkuriki Somanatha two centuries or so after Nannaya. The same thing happened also in the Kannada country. There again the desi types neglected during the classical period, after Nripatunga were revived by the śaiva poets about the 12th and the 13th centuries A.D. and *ṣaṭpadi* began to replace *campu* as a popular form of literary composition. Thus śaivism and śaiva poets seem to have been important links in the history of our literatures — both Kannada and Telugu. But for Palkuriki we would not have had any information about a whole branch of literature — the desi branch. It may appear to be a small one compared to the marga, but it is the indigenous. As with the scholars and the royal patronage the main interest in the *lākṣaṇikas* lay in the marga compositions, and they dismissed desi ones as *cāṭu* or minor *prabandhas*.

Nagavarma, author of *candōmbudhi* in Kannada belongs to 10th c. A.D. and so older than Nannaya. After dealing with various *vṛttas* and *jātis* adopted from Sanskrit he mentions some metrical forms indigenous to Kannada, *Karṇāṭaka dēśīya chanda* he calls them. In order to explain these metres he was obliged to add a new chapter and give a new *prastāra* of *gaṇas* or the metrical feet. For the *akṣaragaṇas* of sanskrit prosody do not fit in with these indigenous metres of the Dravidian prosody and so he has to deal with the Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra *gaṇas* which go to form the lines of these native metres. This system of *mātra gaṇas* and the method of their *prastāra* obtains also in Telugu though with a slight difference of form and nomenclature. Instead of the Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra *gaṇas* of Kannada we have Ina, Indra, and Candra *gaṇas* in Telugu, and the metres like *akkara*, *gītika*, *tivadi*, *ṣaṭpadi*, *ēla*, *raghatā bandha* with their various varieties des-

cribed by Nāgavarma obtain in Telugu also. Telugu grammarians also had to deal with these metres though half-heartedly towards the end of their chapters on prosody. They have divided the metres into *vṛttas* and *jātis*, and the latter were subdivided into another section called *upajātis* under which are mentioned *sīsa* and *ātaveladi*. But these are not found in Kannada. These indigenous *gaṇas* and *mātras* of Kannada and Telugu can also be compared with those of Tamil, the *nēr-nirai* *gaṇas* and the two line and three line stanzas of the *veṅbā*, *asaval* metres of Tamil literature and when we do so we will realise there is a common prosodial and literary tradition running through the desi branch of the literary compositions in the three major languages of south India.

Another peculiar feature common to these languages is a somewhat regular observance of *vaḍi* and *prāsa* which is not found in the metrical compositions in Sanskrit. Even in metres adopted from Sanskrit *vaḍi* and *prāsa* are regularly observed in Telugu. But in Kannada *prāsa* is regularly observed while *yati vilanghana* has become a special feature of its poetry. For more details about this *vaḍi* and *prāsa* we have to turn to Tamil prosody. In *Tolkappiam* *vaḍi* is called *mōnai* and *prāsa* *yadugai*. It mentions eight kinds of *mōnai* and eight kinds of *yadugai*. Some of these might have been observed in our desi compositions but scholars of *marga* school have restricted them to one kind which they observed also quite regularly in metres borrowed from Sanskrit. Kannada poets have somehow rejected *monai* or *yati* or *vaḍi*, i.e., repetition of the same letter at the place of *virāma*, but took up only the *prāsa*, the repetition of the second letter of each line of the verse.

Most of our literatures in this country have a religious outlook and a religious background. There developed various religions in our land, and the predominance of a particular religion began to reflect in the literature of that period in that country. Thus in some of our languages religion happened to mark the period in the history of their literature. We have already seen how it affected the Tamil literature. The earliest works of the *sangam* period do not seem to have any particular religious colouring and so called the naturalistic period. The next period is one predominated by both Buddhism and Jainism. *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* show clear traces of Buddhism and Jainism, and

Tolkappiar is considered to be a jaina. Then the later period from about the middle of the first millennium A.D. was the age of Bhakti poets when both śiva and viṣṇu cults of the Aryan religion predominated and coloured the outpourings of the Ālwārs and Nāyanmārs of the Tamil country.

The earliest period in Kannada literature was influenced by Jainism and it was the period of Ratnatraya. It is the classical period in the history of Kannada literature. Even in later periods Jainism continued to flourish in the Kannada country and Jaina authors produced many valuable works. In the 12th c. Abhinava pampa wrote *Rāmachandra caritra Purāṇa* and *Mallinatha purāna*, and Nagavarma II, the poet-laureate under the Chalukyan king Jagadekamalla II wrote *Kāvyaavalōkana* and *Karṇātabhāṣābhūṣana*. It is perhaps this Nagavarma's book on Kannada grammar, *Karṇāta bhāṣā bhūṣana* that encouraged our first grammarian Ketana to write his *Āndhra bhāṣā bhūṣana* in Telugu. His translation of *Daśakumāra carita* of Dandi may also be attributed to the influence of Kannada literature on him. For it was only early in the 13th c. A.D. that Caundarasa translated Dandin's work into Kannada in the name of *Abhinava Daśakumāra carita*. It is particularly significant that the term *abhinava* added to the name of the work by the author in Kannada was taken as part of the title assumed by Ketana who called himself *abhinava Daṇḍi*.

Besides Ketana, Tikkana himself who was his hero seems to have got his inspiration of Hariharanātha from the Kannada country. It was just in the first quarter of the 13th c. A.D. during the time of Tikkana himself that the very temple for Harihareswara was built at Harihar in the Kannada country and the god installed there by Potalya Daṇḍanātha the author of a work called *Hari carita* in Kannada and minister successively of Bellala II and Narasimha II. Thus it was from Harihar that lord Hariharanatha came and appeared in the dream of Tikkana in Nellore to ask for the dedication of the Telugu Bharata from him. After that perhaps the Lord got himself installed in Nellore also.

It was during the 12th and 13th centuries that Virasaivism first rose in the Kannada country and began to spread into the Telugu country also. It was only as an overflow that it came here and affected its literature for a short time, but like jainism its main-stay happened to be the Kannada country itself. In the 12th c. Cennabasava, Siddharama and others have written vacanas. Haris-

vara the author of *Girijā kalyāṇa*, and Raghavanka, author of *Hariscandra Kāvya* wrote in ṣaṭpadi metre while Kereya Padmarasa author of *dīkṣā bōdha* wrote in ragale metre. Here we see how with the rise of a non-vedic religion like vīraśaivism popular metres have come into prominence in the literature connected with that religion. In the 13th c. Ramayana also was composed in ṣaṭpadi metre by Kumudēndu, in the name of Kumudendu Ramayana. Besides this new type of desi literature in what is called *sāngatya* metre which can be sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments like our *Bobbili pāṭa* came into vogue. Sisumayana wrote *Tripuradahana* and *Anjanacarite* in the *sangatya* metre for the first time in Kannada. In the 16th c. there was a prolific production of virasaiva works, *Vīraśaivāmṛta purāṇa* by Mallanarya and such other works. Purandaradasa, and Kanakadasa began to produce *Kīrtana* literature in Kannada which may be compared to the *sankīrtana* literature of the Tallapaka family of Tirupati in Telugu. Later Sarvajña wrote his padas in *tripaḍi* metre. Side by side with this Brahmanic and Jain literature also was being produced in the Kannada country during these centuries. Though there was some Madhva influence, vaiṣṇavism has not very much influenced Kannada literature.

Just like Brahmanism in Telugu literature Jainism and Virasaivism predominated in the literature of the Kannada country and though virasaiva poets were responsible for reviving desi models in literature, poets of other religions also began to take up these models besides prabandha and other models of the marga type.

The earliest period in Telugu literature is also said to be a Jaina period when a Padmakavi is said to have written *Jinēndra purāṇa*. and a poet called Sarvadeva is said to have written *Ādi-purāṇa*. But we know very little about these poets or their works. Atharvaṇācharya is said to be a Jain, and *Kavijanāśraya* is attributed to a Jain author. That Jainism and Buddhism were prevalent in the Telugu country before Nannaya and Rajarajanarendra tried to establish Brahmanism in the Telugu country, there is no doubt. But there does not seem to be specially a Jaina period. The Calukyan kings were tolerant towards other faiths but they were mainly supporters of brahmanism. The desi poetry which according to the testimony of Nannicoda was encouraged by early Chalukyan kings was purely Brahmanic. Otherwise Jaina poets

like Ponna, Nagavarma and others would not have gone from the Telugu country to the Kannada country for patronage. And there is no trace of Jaina poetry in any inscription of the pre-Nannaya period.

The vedic faith of Brahmanism firmly planted by Nannaya and carefully nourished by the *dharmādvaita* of Tikkana and Errana has taken deep root in the Telugu soil. Neither the Viraśaivism that came as an overflow from the Kannada country nor the Vaiṣṇavism which came over from the Tamil country in the south could shake the foundations of the Brahmanic faith and Puranic religion in this country. Therefore the translation of various purāṇas into Telugu and developing the puranic theme in an independent and artistic manner into what is known as Prabandha came to be the main feature of the literary activities of the Telugu poets after Nannaya. All the genius and poetic skill of the Telugu poets was exhibited in the manner they handled these themes though outwardly they may be called translations. The model form for the marga style has been set by the classical poets in Kannada and the Telugu poets from Nannaya onwards have closely followed it up, of course with various embellishments of their own.

The campu form, the tatsama style as very aptly described by pal-kuriki Somanatha *ārudhagadyapādyaḍi prabandha pūrita saṁskṛta bhūyishtha racana*, the strict avoidance of maṇiprāvaḷa method, the use of Sanskrit metres along with desi metres with yati and prasa strictly observed, the practice of composing a work in dedication to a king or a great personage sometimes identifying the king with the hero of the poem, composition of certain verses in the beginning in praise of certain dieties, special verses at the beginning and end of the āśvāsas, verses in praise of good poetry, in condemnation of bad poets and their poetry, details about himself or his own geneology and that of his patron, details about the qualities of his own poetry and the circumstances under which he undertook the writing of the work—in most of these things Kannada poets have led the way for marga poets in Telugu. The parallelism also in position, importance and greatness of the Ratnatraya of Kannada literature with the Kavitraya of Telugu literature is really peculiar, though of accidental coincidence. In Kannada Ratnatraya's works were of two kinds. One is a purāṇa dealing with the story of a Jaina tirthankara and the other, a prabandha dealing with the story of a heroic personage borrowed from a work like Mahā-

bharata. Pampa's Ādipurāṇa, Ponna's Śāntipurāṇa and Ranna's Ajitapurāṇa belong to the first category while the *Vikramārjuna vijaya* of Pampa, and the *Gadāyuddha* of Ranna in which the poets identify their patrons Arikesari and Satyāśraya respectively with Arjuna and Bhima, the heroes of their poems belong to the second category. For poetical art, diction, imagery and beauty of expression the works of these poets are considered as models of classical poetry in Kannada and no wonder that our poets who just came after them drew every inspiration from them in treatment of the poetical theme though in life and religion they differed from them.

The Kavitraya in Telugu have also started with the writing of a purana or itihasa and tried their hands at prabandha also. Nannaya Bhatta in whom the religious urge towards Brahmanism as against Jainism and Buddhism gained an upper hand followed the puranic method of the Kannada poets in translating into Telugu the Mahabharata — *the Panchama Vēda*, and there he cared more for “*prasannakathā kalithārtha yukti and akṣhra ramyata*”, than anything else. But Tikkana being more imaginative and artistic by nature and temperament skilfully created a Prabandha maṇḍali out of the remaining 15 parvas of Mahabharata left unfinished by Nannaya. In writing *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyana* as a sort of prabandha he imitated the Kannada poets, as Nannichoda did in observing the *āśvāsādyanta niyama* and in many other respects. Yerrāpraggada also wrote *Harivaṁśa* as a purana and the story of Nrisimha with Prabandha characteristics and also assumed the title of *Prabandha Parameśvara*. Religious differences, as also differences in ideology regarding *desi* did not perhaps allow Tikkana or later *lāksanikas* to make any reference to Nannicoda to whom strictly speaking the credit of having produced the first Prabandha in Telugu Literature should go. After Nannaya there may have been some reaction against the Sanskrit laden style adopted by him in his translation of Bharata. It is a rare fortune of the Andhras that such a superb personality in the form of Tikkana should have come forward even after a long time to complete the work started by Nannaya in the self-same spirit but in a far more excellent manner satisfying both the schools of *marga* and *desi* and at the same time making a happy blend of them, as Nannicoda before him has suggested.

Nannicoda in his work seems to have already sounded a note of warning about this reaction when he suggested that the two

types of marga and desi may better be mixed together so that desi also may appear in better colours just as Pampa and others endeavoured to do in their own day. Pampa made a definite mention of this in his Bharata that desi should be made to agree with marga. It is perhaps just in trying to keep to his statement i.e. in trying to adjust desi with the marga that Nannicoda offended the orthodox school of poets. His use of *arisamāsas*, of colloquial forms like *kaluhāra*, *barihi*, *nirutī*, *haruṣāśru-dhāralu* which are found in some of the inscriptions of his day, use of Tamil and Kannada words and expressions, reference to Jaina *sampradāyas* like *dīpavrikṣa* etc., involved constructions and expressions commonly used by the people in the country—all these might have sorely offended the orthodox school which followed Nannaya. This adoption of desi was enough to send him into *agñātavāsa* for nearly eight full centuries.

There was yet no grammar for the language in the days of Nannaya. With the encouragement of the king and the support given by the Pandits of the Royal court, he reformed the language according to the usage of *siṣṭas* and adopted a method of his own generally following the principles of marga style laid down for the poetry in Kannada. So for the marga style of poetry Nannaya's Bharata came to be considered as a *lakṣya* as well as a *lakṣaṇa*. This must have been the meaning of Kavirākṣasa's injunction as it is revealed to us perhaps for the first time by Appa Kavi, that since there were no grammatical rules framed for this language, no one should swerve from the standard laid down by Nannaya in his Bharata composition.

But the world of letters cannot wait for grammars and injunctions. Nannaya might have systematised the language of his day; we cannot however expect this language to have been spoken throughout the country in the same manner. The dialect of the southern and western districts might have differed from that of the Northern Districts, and Nannicoda might have adopted the dialect spoken in those days in the region of Srīsaila. Besides this the Telugu country had a closer contact in those days politically with the Kannada country on the one hand and with the Cholas and Tamil Kingdom of the South on the other. Nannicoda was amenable to influences from both sides. If anything more is needed, there is his advocacy for desi. He did not hesitate to use the forms of language current in the Telugu country though they did not sometimes conform to the rules of Panini's grammar or the standard

usage of Nannaya. Palkurki Somanatha followed in the footsteps of Nannicoda and made a better use of his *desi* for his own purposes. All this must have offended the followers of Nannaya who sometimes after the completion of 'Telugu Bharata formed into a school to maintain the language of Bharata as the standard of literary expression in the 'Telugu country. This has led to the writing of *Āndhra Śabda Cintamani* by some later scholar, perhaps by Balasaraswati himself who wrote a commentary on it about the beginning of the 17th century, and it was fathered on Nannaya in order to enhance the importance of the work. Is it after all a peculiar coincidence that a comprehensive work on Kannada grammar in Sanskrit should have been produced by Bhattakalanka about the beginning of the 17th century only? Anyway by the time of Appa Kavi the position of Nannaya as the grammarian and the dictator of 'Telugu letters has been established. Really it was Tikkana that by his dexterous handling of the 'Telugu language set the model started by Nannaya on a firm footing. His friends and disciples supported and followed it and for all subsequent poets Bharata came to be the model and Kavitraya the objects of praise in *pūrvakavi stuti*. Those who did not follow this model were considered *alākṣaṇikas* and so neglected by the poets as well as the grammarians. Unlike Nannaya, Tikkana had a good following. Ketana who wrote a grammar for the language for which a standard has been fixed by Tikkana made him a hero and dedicated his work *Daśakumāra Caritra* to him. Marana was one of his disciples. He praised Nannaya as *Āndhrakavita guru* and Tikkana as *Ubhayakavitva tatva vibhavōjvala*. How should we understand this epithet? Tikkana is not credited with any work in Sanskrit except a verse in praise of Hariharanatha. Perhaps by this attribute he wants to indicate that Tikkana had done better justice to 'Telugu language and idiom in his rendering of Bharata than Nannaya. Madiki Singana, Nachana Soman, Srinatha and most of our later poets belong to the school of Nannaya and Tikkana and they modelled their works on them in form as well as in expression. The translation of the Purāṇas and kavyas and kathas went on during this period. *Mārkaṇḍēya purāṇa* was translated by Marana, *Harivaṃśa* by Yerrāpreḡgaḍa and Nacana Soman, *Padma purāṇa* by Madiki Singana, *Bhāgavata* by Potana, *Varāha purāṇa* by Nandi Mallaya and Ghaṇṭa Singaya, *Jaiminī Bharata* by Pillalamarri pinavīrabhadra kavi, *Viṣṇu purāṇa* by Vennelakanṭi Surana and portions of *Skāṇḍapurāṇa* by Srinatha in the form of *khaṇḍas*. Srinatha, we know is a great scholar and a very powerful persona-

lity in his days; he has great praise for Nannaya and Tikkana and great reverence for their school. Besides Puranas, Kavyas like *Kādambari* and *Naiṣadha*, story books like *Kēyūrabāhucaritra* by Mancana, *Vikramārkkacaritra* by Jakkana, *Bhōjarājīya* by Anantamatya, *Pancatantra* by Narayana Kavi have been rendered into Telugu. Stories of dramas like *Prabōdha candrōdaya*, *Śākuntalam* and portions of Puranic stories like *Bhīma khaṇḍa* and *Kāśī khaṇḍa* and collection of stories connected with a central figure made as the hero of the poem, like *Śivalīlā vilāsa* of Nissanka Kinmana, and *Haravilāsa* of Srinatha began to supply themes for the Telugu poets of the age of Srinatha. This selection of a shortened theme from a big and voluminous purana and collection of stories with a central hero, has gradually led to the evolution of Prabandha in Telugu in the coming age of Krishna Devaraya. Though the Prabandha with all its necessary paraphernalia has taken its rise even in the early age of Purana in the form of Nannicoda's work, *Kumārasambhava*—and the Prabandha maṇḍali of Tikkana in Andhra Bharata, it had taken some centuries to evolve itself out as an independent form of art with the necessary technique perfected. Telugu Prabandha is really a magnificent contribution of the Andhra genius to the art of letters in South India. It has taken its birth in the glory of the Andhra Empire of Vijayanagar under Krishna Devaraya. Emperor Krishnaraya has himself led the way for conquests in the field of Telugu letters as in the fields of battles. While he contested for victory over the kings of other lands and offered his hand to their daughters after conquering them he contested for glory in the field of letters with *aṣṭa diggajas*, the poets of his own court, and was prepared to offer a helping hand to lift the palanquin of his court poet *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha* as a sign of the great honour done to him. Krishnaraya was a close observer of nature as well as of life high and low, and it was in his age that Vaishnavism began to influence our literature. Though his *Āmuktamalyada* may be said to be the first in the field of independent Prabandha, *Manucaritra* of Peddana, *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* of Timmana have become more popular and powerful in their appeal to the high and low. Rāmarāja Bhūṣaṇa in his *Vasucaritra* and Tenali Ramkrishna Kavi in his *Pāṇḍuranga Mahātmya* have aimed at higher technique and perfection, but have fallen in their appeal to the ordinary educated. To crown all came Pingali Surana with his *Kalāpūrṇōdaya* wherein he combined the perfect technique of a prabandha with the romance of a novel, exquisite beauty of style and expression with the depth of philosophical thought. Thus it

is during the age of Krishnadevaraya that 'Telugu poetry of marga type has reached its highest watermark. Afterwards nobody could soar to the heights reached by Pingali Surana, and gradually 'Telugu Prabandha has become a stereotyped form of composition and began to decay.

After the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire the centre of gravity in political affairs, as well as in patronage of letters shifted towards the South. 'The southern kingdoms of 'Tanjore and Madura came under the Vijayanagara Empire even before the time of Krishna-
 raya but were under the rule of their respective kings. During the time of Krishnadevaraya owing to quarrels that arose among them, they were brought under the direct rule of Vijayanagar with deputies appointed. 'The Nayaks who were appointed as their governors became independent rulers in course of time. 'These Naik kings in the South followed the tradition of the Vijayanagara kings as regards learning and patronage of letters, and gradually a number of families of scholars and poets from the 'Telugu country gathered round them in the Southern country. 'Though a few of the 'Telugu poets have still preferred the marga type and wrote prabandhas making some innovations in it in order to make it popular, desi types began to find favour with the kings as well as the poets and poetesses of their courts. 'Thus we see there is a sudden revival of desi Poetry in 'Telugu outside the 'Telugu country under the Naik rule of 'Tanjore and Madura, nearly thousand years after the Calukyan kings have installed it in the 'Telugu country.

We have already noted how after Nannaya Nannicoda pleaded for a happy blending of desi with marga. After him Somana entirely took up the cause of desi and wrote in desi models. Through these desi models and *jānu Tenugu*, he wanted to bring about the effect of the marga style and hoped to gain the appreciation of the scholars of the marga School, for he argues—does not the greatness of a poet lie in presenting high thoughts in simple language?

Thus his dvipada compositions in *jānu Tenugu*, namely *Basava Purāṇa* and *Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritra* really vied with the Prabandhas of marga school for a time. Besides the dvipada he has shown to us for the first time many other models of desi compositions in Telugu like *śataka—Vriṣādhīpa śataka*, *udāharaṇas* wherein vṛttas in eight different cases were interspersed with the *kaḷikas* and *utkaḷikas*. He has written two *udāharaṇas*, one in Sanskrit and another in 'Telugu which is named *Basavōdāharaṇa; ragaḍas—*

Basvaragaḍa, *Gangōtpatti ragaḍa*, *gadyas*—*Akṣaharānka gadya* and *Namaskara gadya* and *Panchaparakāra gadya*, *Ṣaṣṭhala vacana* and *Cennamalla Sisas*. Besides these he has given us a lot of information about various kinds of dramas and dramatic entertainments and various kinds of songs that were popular in the country.

After Palkurki, *dvipada* and *śataka* are the only types of *desi* literature that have attracted the attention of scholars in the 'Telugu Country'. Of the *dvipadas* we may note the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Ranganatha, *Navanādhacaritra* and *Harischandra dvipada* of Gaurana, *Paramyōgi vilāsa* and *Aṣṭamahīṣī Kalyāṇa* of Tallapaka Poets, and *Palnāṭi Vīracaritra* of Srinatha and a number of other works of the south. Of *śatakas*, *Sarvēśvara śataka* of Annamaya, *Vēmana śataka*, *Dāśarathī śataka* and a host of others. But of *yakṣaganas* we have only stray instances, as '*Sugrīvavijaya Yakṣagāna*' by Rudra Kavi'. But most of the other types of *desi* were revived and prose came into importance only during the reign of the Naik kings of Madura and Tanjore, and also under the kings of Mysore and Pudukottah during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Raghunatha Naik of Tanjore was a great scholar and patron of letters. Cēmakura Venkata Kavi, the author of *Vijaya Vilāsa* and Krishnadhvari the author of a *dvyyarṭhi kāvya*, *Naiṣadha Pārijātīya* and Kavi Caudappa one of the few humorous poets in Telugu were his Court poets. Of the women poets in his court two require special mention, Ramabhadramba and Madhuravani; the former was the author of the poem *Raghunāthābhyudaya* and the later has translated into Sanskrit the *Rāmāyaṇa Sangraha* of King Raghunatha written in Telugu. Raghunatha's other works are *Nalacaritra* in *dvipada* metre and *Rukmiṇīvivāha*, a *Yakṣagāna*.

Vijayaraghava Naik, his son, was like his father, a man of great ability, valour and learning. *Tanjāvūru Annadāna Mahānāṭaka* by Purushottama Dikshita refers to the valour as well as the generosity of the king Vijayaraghava. He was surrounded by a large number of learned and accomplished women in his court, many of them were scholars in Sanskrit and masters in music and the art of Bharata Nāṭya. They seem to have enacted on the stage many a song composed by him and from the *sīsamālika* given in one of his dramas we see what a number of *desi* compositions he has written and what a variety of them were current in those days. He was the hero of many a work composed by his court poets and poetesses, like *Vijayarāghava candrikā vilāsa* by Kamarasu Venkatapati Somayaji and *Vijayarāghava kalyāṇa nāṭaka* by Koneti

Dikshita. Cengalva Kalaya Kavi was the author of *Rajagōpala Vilāsa* and *Pārvatīpariṇayam*. One of the best poetesses of his court was Rangājamma daughter of Pasupuleti Venkanna. She was a very learned lady and could compose poems in eight languages—*aṣṭabhāṣā kavayitri*, and was the recipient of the unique honour of a *Kanakābhiṣēka* at the hands of Vijayaraghava. *Mannarudāsa Vilāsa Nāṭaka*, *Rāmayana Sangraha*, *Bhārata*, *Bhāgavata Sangraha* are some of her works. Kṣētrayya the composer of the celebrated *Muvvagōpāla padas* who, like Tyagaraja of a later date, established his name and fame in the musical world of South India, belonged to the court of Vijayaraghava. Mannarudeva, Vijayaraghava's son was the author of two dramas—*Vijayarāghavābhyudaya* and *Hēmābjanāyikā svayamvara*. Even Maratha Kings of Tanjore were the authors of many Telugu Dramas. Sahaji son of Ekoji wrote *Draupadīkalyāṇa*, *Vallīkalyāṇa*, *Saraswatī Vilāsa*, and *Tyāgarāja Vinōda Citra Prabandha Nāṭaka*, in which the characters were made to speak in three different languages, Sanskrit, Maharashtra and Telugu. Giriraja Kavi the grandfather of the celebrated Tyagaraja adorned the court of King Sahaji, and was the author of many dramas and Koravanjis in Telugu, like *Sāhendra Caritā Yakṣagāna*, *Rājamōhana Koravanji*, *Rājakanyā pariṇaya koravanji*, and they were dedicated to the King of Tanjore about 1750 A.D. It was during the time of Sarabhoji II (about 1800 A.D.) that Tyagaraja composed his famous Kīrtanas that helped to establish the domination of the Telugu language over the musical world in South India even after the political power is gone, and maintain its reputation as 'the best of vernaculars'. He is the author of two beautiful yakṣagānas in Telugu, Viz. *Naukā Caritra* and *Prahlāda Caritra*.

While the special feature of the literary activity of Tanjore was the production of dvipada and yakṣagāna, that of Madura happened to be the composition of prose works. The credit of having started a new era of prose in Telugu literature must go to the Naik Kings of Madura. Vijayaranga Cokkanatha himself led the way by writing two works *Śrī Ranga māhatmya* and *Māghamāhātmya*. His general Samukham Venkatakrishnappa Naik wrote *Jaiminī bhārata* and *Sārangadhara caritra* in Telugu prose. Muddalagiri wrote *Dhēnumāhātmya*. Other works during this time were *Rāmāyana vacana* by Syamaraya Kavi, *Hālāsyamahātmya*, and prose versions of Ramayana and Bhagavata by Kundurti Venkatachela-pati Mysore has also been the centre for the development of Telugu literature for a time about the end of the 18th century. Kaluve

Virarāja, the commander of the King Krishnabhupathi rendered Bharata into Telugu prose and dedicated it to Sri Krishna. His son Nanjaraja was the patron of Nrisimha Kavi the author of "Nanjarāja yasō bhūṣana". Nanjaraja himself was the author of many works like *Hālāsyamāhātmya*, *Harabhaktivilāsa*, *Lingapurāṇa*, and *Kāśīmahimārtha darpaṇa*. Tupakula Ananta Bhupala was a great prose writer of the day and a close friend of Kaluve Viraraja. *Vacana Viṣṇupurāṇa*, some parvas of Mahabharata and Ramayana *Sundarakāṇḍa* are some of his works. It is to be noted that the production of these prose works in Karnataka synchronised almost with the period of the development of Telugu prose in the Pandya country.

Again Vijaya Raghunatha Raja of Pudukkotta was a contemporary of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha of Madura (1700-1734 A.D.) and also helped him in his wars. Poet Seshayya wrote a *sīsamālika* in praise of Tondaiman kings. His son Rayaraghunatha was the patron of Nudurupāṭi Venkanārya, the author of *Āndhra-bhāṣārṇava nighaṇṭu* and of *Mallapurana* and *Parvatīkalyāṇa*, a yakṣagana dedicated to God Meenakshisundareswara. Kavi Seshayya was the author of a daṇḍaka called *Līlāvati daṇḍaka*.

Thus for two centuries after the fall of Vijayanagar Telugu Literature found patronage and flourished in the Chola and Pandya kingdoms of the South under the Naik and Maratha rulers of those countries and also, for a time under the rulers of Karnataka. The remarkable feature of this age of Southern literature may be said to be the revival of desi models of dvipada, yakṣagana and prose compositions in Telugu and the wonderful development of music and song; and though these have no direct bearing on the literary development of the modern period, which must be traced to the contact with the West and to the influence of English language and literature, these types may be taken as the precursors of modern Telugu literature which appeared in similar forms like Khaṇḍa Kāvya in various desi metres like *Mutyāla saras* etc., nāṭakas, first translations of Sanskrit and English Dramas and then original dramas and now Ēkāṅka rūpakas and prose in various kinds of gadya kavyas, novels, criticism and the short story which now fairly dominate the whole literary field. Even in other South Indian languages these types dominate the literary field at the present day as the predominating influences of the contact with Western literature is a common feature throughout the whole country.